Ask what you can do for Canada, and Canada will do its best for you

By: Nathalie Vogel

Toronto hosted the Inter-University Seminar (IUS) on "Transformation and Convergence Armed Forces and Society in the New Security Environment" in October 2004. Dr. Frankly Pinch of Queen's University was the IUS Chair and coordinator and Eric Ouellet of the Canadian Forces College provided impeccable direction. The Seminar gathered approximately 250 specialists from Europe, North America and Israel to discuss topics as diverse as human security, civil-military relations and the impact of terrorism on armed forces and society. One of the panellists gave insight into how Canada's diversity can contribute to global security.

Christian Leuprecht (Royal Military College of Canada) discussed, "Leveraging Ethnic Demography: Canada's Force Multiplier." He pointed out that Canada like no other country in the world could respond to the new challenges of multilateralism and security post 9/11 by using its most precious capital: ethnic diversity. In this "give and take model," new Canadians could automatically become active members of Canadian society through rapid integration into specific security relevant areas. Canada could profit directly from their cultural and linguistic skills. These skills are in high demand, especially when it comes to nation-building measures or peace enforcement. Leuprecht warns Canada not to jeopardize its unique reservoir. Compared to other immigration countries, it has fairly good relation with resident ethnic diasporas. Such ties should be strengthened, he observed.

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According to his studies, this ethno-demographic advantage is a decisive tool worth more than any investment in modern armament. Indeed, the last conflicts have shown the progress made by modern technologies. They reduce potential loss of life and enable the quasi-neutralization of an enemy with the sole use of air strikes. But in asymmetric conflicts,we have also learned that while modern warfare can make the difference in times of war, it is of no use in winning the peace. Peace, specialists reiterated, can only be won on the ground. In this context, the ultimate ultimate tool for psychological operations, public information, post conflict command and control measures remains the human being. Leuprecht argues that it is precisely in this area that Canada can make the difference. The country's unique diversity facilitates "the use of civil affairs and psychological operations as a Canadian force multiplier in support of today's asymmetrical operations."

At the same time, Leuprecht postulates that Canada's own strategic concerns will lead to the deployment of counterterrorist units in the Middle East, Africa and Asia, particularly in areas with a Muslim majority or substantial Muslim minorities. He argues that statistics on groups made illegal in Canada since 9/11 substantiate his claim: "Of the groups that have since been banned, sixteen are associated with the Middle East (47%), eleven are based in Asia (32%) two in North America (6%), three in South America (9%), one in Africa (3 %), and one in Europe." It follows that Canada might get involved in helping to eradicate some of these groups in the future. Canada's involvement against al Qaeda in Afghanistan is the first proof. To Leuprecht, the most probable theatres of operations are now distinctly located. The major problem democracies face in fighting these threats is a lack of trained human resources. "The phenotypic markers as well as the unfamiliarity with language and customs, insufficient networks of internal support for inserted troops provide a formidable obstacle to effective operations," he stated. Such difficulties have been encountered by the US armed forces during *Operation Enduring Freedom* for instance, and continue in Iraq. Thanks to an immigration policy that differs from that of the US, Canada could play a key role in responding to the new challenges.

"In light of the differential in total population between the two countries, Canada turns out to have a far greater proportion of immigrants from India, the Philippines, Indonesia and Vietnam, for instance, than the US... Middle Eastern emigrants [also] prefer Canada to the US....

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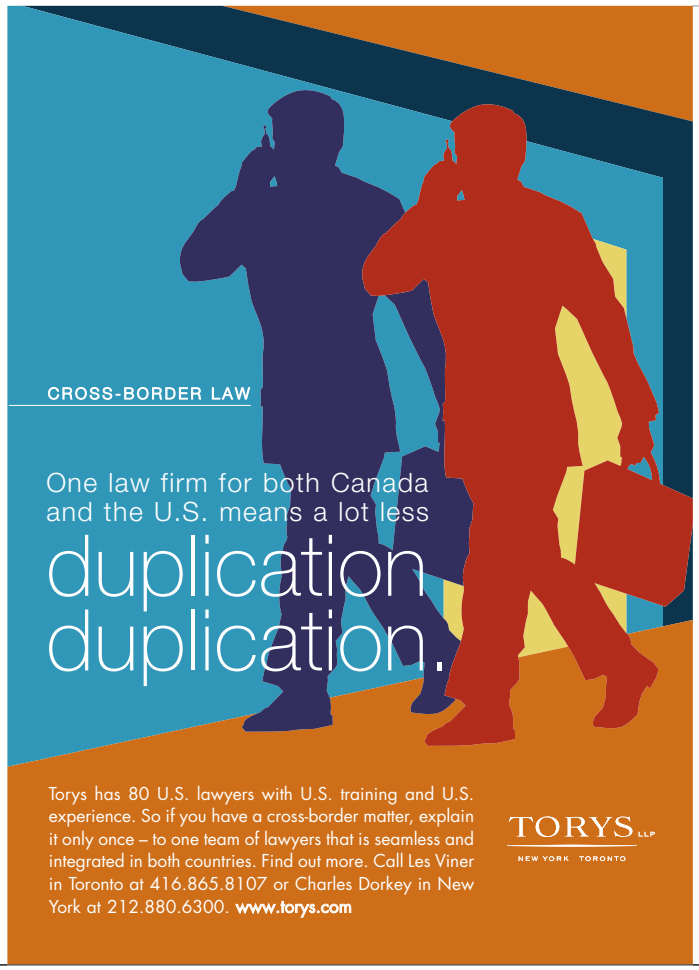
Whose International Law Anyway? (continued from page 78)

8. Scott, Craig. "Interpreting Intervention" (2001) XXXIX *Can. Y.B. Int'l Law* 333 at 335. If these remarks were in fact made, they were on the margins of the speech cited, since the official text actually contains no reference to these comments: Canada, Government of Canada, Speech by the Hon. Lloyd Axworthy to the Think Peace and Security Symposium Tokyo, 17 April 2001 (Ottawa, ON: Ni-Ka Online), online: Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade <http://www.dfait-maeci.gc.ca/ni-ka/keynote-en.asp>.
9. This may have prompted the "Axworthy Commission" to argue two years later that the Security Council may be the "first," but should not necessarily be the last "port of call" on issues "relating to military intervention for human protection purposes." The Commission contended that where human security is at stake and the Council either rejects the use of force or simply fails to address an emergency humanitarian or human rights situation in a timely manner, other options must be considered including action by regional organizations.
10. Paul Heinbecker. "Human Security" (1999) 7 *Canadian Foreign Policy* 19 at 2.
11. Canada, Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade, Notes for an Address by the Honourable Lloyd Axworthy, Minister of Foreign Affairs, to the Woodrow Wilson School of Public and International Relations Princeton University "Kosovo and the Human Security Agenda" (Ottawa: Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade, 1999) at 2.
12. Irwin Cotler. "Laws of War Apply to All Sides" *The [Montreal] Gazette* (8 May 1999) B5.
13. *Ibid.*
14. John Currie, "NATO's Humanitarian Intervention in Kosovo: Making or Breaking International Law?" Speaking notes for speech to the Atlantic Council of Canada on 18 November 1999 at 1.
15. The Parties agree that an armed attack against one or more of them in Europe or North America shall be considered an attack against them all and consequently they agree that, if such an armed attack occurs, each of them, in exercise of the right of individual or collective self-defence recognized by Article 51 of the Charter of the United Nations, will assist the Party or Parties so attacked by taking forthwith, individually and in concert with the other Parties, such action as it deems necessary, including the use of armed force, to restore and maintain the security of the North Atlantic area.
16. UN Charter, Article 51.
17. "Let Loose the War on Global Terrorism," Editorial, *The Globe and Mail* (12 September 2001) A18.
18. "What the Protesters Miss," Editorial, The Globe and Mail (2 October 2001) A16.
19. House of Commons Debates, 071 (17 March 2003) at 1420 (Right Hon. Jean Chrétien).
20. Bill Graham, "Parliamentary Debate," (30 January 2003) online: CBC News <http://www.cbc.ca/news/iraq/documents/parliamentary_debate.html>.
21. Jean Chrétien, ed. by George Stephanopoulos.
22. House of Commons Debates 074 (20 March 2003) at 1135 (Mr. Stephen Harper).
23. House of Commons Debates, (20 March 2003) At 1415 (Right Hon. Jean Chrétien).
24. *Ibid.*
25. John Currie et al., "Military Action in Iraq Without Security Council Authorization Would be Illegal" (Winter/Spring 2003), online: Canadian Council on International Law <http:www.ccil-ccdi.ca/bulletin/mcwhinney.html>.
26. John Currie, "Text of Comments Presented on CBC Radio One's Commentary Programme" (26 March 2003), online: CBC Radio's Commentary <http://www.cbc.ca/insite/COMMENTARY/2003/3/26.html>.
27. Edward McWhinny, "The United Nations Charter and the Non-Use-of-Force: The Chrétien Doctrine and the Iraq Crisis" (Winter/Spring 2003), online: Canadian Council on International Law <http:www.ccil-ccdi.ca/bulletin/mcwhinney.html>.
28. Colleen Swords, "Address" (Lecture Presented to the CBA Conference on International Law, Ottawa, 5 June 2003) [unpublished].
29. Dunfield, Allison. "PM Signals Shift in Missile Defence Position," (5 May 2003) online: *Globe and Mail* <http://www.globeandmail.ca/servlet/story/RTGAM.20030505.wmissil0505/BNStory/National/>.



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[I]t follows that the pool of potential special operations links with the Arab Community in Canada is relatively more plentiful than the potential pool of Arab recruits for US special operations."

Leuprecht's recommendation to the government is to play the ethno demographic card: "Recruitment should focus on [multicultural] cities such as Toronto, Vancouver and Montréal."

Such a policy would increase the professionalism of the armed forces. This would, in turn, increase efficiency on the ground and more generally improve the level of security during missions. Enhanced security would ultimately benefit all allied forces.

While rapid integration and intercultural communication skills among its population are among Canada's strongest assets, Leuprecht acknowledged a drawback: loss of the culture of origin. After the second generation, intercultural skills could disappear through adaptation to the all-Canadian environment. Nonetheless, the benefits of this recruitment policy outweigh its limitation. According to Leuprecht, Canada and its allies would find itself in a win-win situation. ■