

Keynote Address to the Canadian Pugwash Group Annual General Meeting
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Senator Roche, distinguished members, ladies and gentlemen. Thank you for allowing me the opportunity to participate in this year's General Meeting of the Canadian Pugwash Group. It is truly an honour to be addressing a group whose efforts in promoting peace and security have been recognized around the world, including at the highest level, with the Nobel Peace Prize – an honour now shared with the Secretary General of the United Nations. Your work in Canada has deservedly garnered both national and international acclaim. I am very pleased to be with you today.

I have been asked to discuss Canadian foreign policy in the wake of the terrorist attacks of September 11. I know we have all been affected by the horror of the events of last month. The victims that day were our neighbours, our friends, and in too many cases, our fellow citizens.

With a resolve and a pace of action rarely seen, the world stands united both in its condemnation of the attacks carried out in New York, Washington, and Pennsylvania, and in its determination to combat terrorism. The international community and its major multilateral institutions have unanimously condemned this attack. UN Security Council resolution 1373 is a landmark document which provides a clear international template for international action, not talk, to deal with the many dimensions of terrorism. It provides a monitoring mechanism and a time-frame of 90 days for reporting back on measures taken. This is the UN and multilateralism at its best: setting universal standards and norms of behaviour and ensuring follow-up and compliance. Encouragingly, other multilateral institutions have also risen to the challenge: NATO, the G8, the EU, the OAS, the OSCE, the Arab League and APEC. The Commonwealth and La Francophonie are also engaged. This gives the international community an unprecedented level of common purpose upon which to draw, for what will be a vigorous, determined and undoubtedly lengthy campaign against terrorism.

September 11th has fundamentally altered the global security environment. What happened in the United States on that day demonstrates in the most graphic and devastating way that armies alone cannot defend us against new threats nor provide complete security. We live in a world where security is more complex than ever – where civilian aircraft and now the daily mail can become weapons of mass terror. These are unconventional threats which do not lend themselves to conventional responses.

In the wake of the attacks, the Canadian government's immediate focus was to ensure the safety of Canadians. At Foreign Affairs, teams worked around the clock to ensure that we could provide consular assistance to Canadians – locating Canadians lost at ground zero and assisting Canadians living and travelling around the world, particularly in places like Pakistan. We were dealing with the immediate human impact of the tragedy including the massive influx of aircraft diverted to Canadian airspace, and the 35,000 people grounded in Canada as a result.

Since that time, the government has been moving forward in a systematic and deliberate way to introduce and implement a comprehensive package of domestic measures. The action plan is measured and focussed and has four key objectives: stop the terrorists from getting into Canada and protect Canadians; bring forward tools to identify, prosecute and convict

terrorists; prevent the Canada-US border from being held hostage by terrorists and impacting on the Canadian economy; and work with the international community to bring terrorists to justice and address root causes of such hatred. Measures taken thus far include: regulations to enable the freezing of terrorist assets; the criminalization of terrorist fundraising; law enforcement cooperation and intelligence sharing; and enhanced security for our airports, our borders, and our passport. These measures really do place Canada at the forefront of the efforts being taken by governments around the world to respond to this threat. These are important steps, and they will enhance the security of Canadians while respecting the open, democratic and diverse character of Canadian society. Minister Manley's ad hoc Cabinet Committee on Security and Anti-Terrorism is meeting as we speak to consider next steps. The Minister travels next week to Washington to meet with Governor Tom Ridge, the newly appointed Cabinet Secretary for Homeland Security, to discuss border management issues.

However, we can only do so much to combat terrorism by focussing on domestic action, given that the sources of terrorism often originate a long way from Canadian shores. And while the effects of international terrorism are now being felt acutely across North America for the first time, much of the rest of the world has lived under its insidious shadow for far too long. That is why the only way to build real security for Canadians is to deal with these problems where they begin. This means more intensive international engagement through a proactive foreign policy.

I do not think it would be overstating matters to say that September 11 has crystallized the manner in which countries approach and articulate foreign policy. Governments everywhere are now learning to cope with an enemy which is driven by hate and which has proven to be unpredictable, cunning and ruthless in its methods. Interestingly, however, it has also highlighted the importance of coalition-building – or multilateralism, as we call it in Canada – in meeting common threats in an interconnected world. This is not news to Canada. Building cross-cutting partnerships to deal with challenges and to reach common goals is the essence of Canadian foreign policy.

To succeed, this campaign against terrorism must be multi-faceted in character and comprehensive and integrated in approach. We will need a long-term view which encompasses action on the humanitarian, political, diplomatic, economic, financial, legislative and military fronts. While public and media attention will naturally be drawn to the work of our troops, the fact is that the military campaign will probably be less decisive here than, for example, in Kosovo. It is the other aspects that we will need to focus on if we are to sustain this effort and truly eradicate terrorism. The political coalition will be the bed-rock of our effort and this is where Canada will be investing most of its work.

Together, the Prime Minister and Minister of Foreign Affairs have spoken with much of the world since September 11, including: a continuous dialogue with partners in the Middle East; detailed consultations with G8 colleagues; and discussions with our friends in the Americas and Africa and Asia, with a particular focus on India and Pakistan. The Prime Minister is in Shanghai today at the APEC Summit where he has important bilaterals on the crisis with key world leaders. The Minister will be travelling to the Middle East in the coming weeks to ensure that these contacts are solid and to encourage the parties in the region to work together with us in meeting the common threat of terrorism. He will also be encouraging the parties to the Middle East peace process to get back to the negotiating table. The recent upsurge in violence in the region is of particular concern at this time of crisis.

As you are aware, Canada will assume the presidency of the G8 in January. We have said that we want to pay particular attention to Africa. This remains a clear priority for the Prime Minister. The economic outlook must also be a priority. In addition we will be working with our G8 partners to combat terrorism by taking a practical and action-oriented approach to our

Presidency. The events of September 11th have shown that concrete cooperation and action are what matter – on this issue at least, the world really has moved beyond the level of rhetoric.

We will be working harder than ever to reinforce the framework within which the world operates – here I am talking about the United Nations and the extraordinary instruments that we already have at our disposal to deal with terrorism and related threats, such as weapons of mass destruction.

Your meeting coincides with the global gathering in New York of the General Assembly. Within the First Committee, Canada will be pursuing vigorously its non-proliferation, arms control and disarmament agenda. There is no doubt, from the statements of Osama bin Laden and others, that weapons of mass destruction form part of the diabolical terrorist agenda. As we have seen in recent days, there exists a real threat from chemical, biological, radiological and nuclear weapons. The way to deal with this threat is to stop these programmes in the labs - before they become the tools of terrorists. We need to build an international treaty system with effective commitments and with compliance mechanisms, to ensure that these weapons are not produced, stockpiled or used. Canada will be working to promote a Convention to Cut Off the Production of Fissile Material for Weapons Purposes; we will be looking at ways of strengthening the Biological and Toxin Weapons Convention; we will ensure that the world continues to focus on the nuclear non-proliferation and disarmament agenda. Now, more than ever, we must deal with these weapons systems and ensure a universal, rules-based approach to their control and dismantlement.

The UN clearly has a special role to play in the global campaign against terrorism. The conclusion of negotiations in 1999 on the International Convention for the Suppression of the Financing of Terrorism, under Canadian leadership, now brings the number of international counter-terrorism instruments to twelve. These twelve conventions constitute a comprehensive legal framework to combat terrorism. We must now work toward implementation of these commitments. Canada, as I have outlined, has taken important steps in this regard. However, there are many countries that will need assistance if they are to meet these new, higher standards. There will need to be a global effort to enhance capacity and to share technical expertise and experience. We also need to fill in the gaps. This is why Canada will continue to press for a comprehensive UN Convention on Terrorism and a Convention against Nuclear Terrorism. We need to work together to create a common understanding where state-sponsored terrorism is unthinkable and where harbouring terrorists is impossible.

Multilateral institutions, partnerships and practical action at the domestic level in each country are key to long term solutions. However, the fact is we also need to act decisively on the military front. When the U.S. was brutally attacked on September 11th, that attack constituted an attack on Canada and Canadians. For the first time, Article 5 of the NATO Treaty was invoked; the NATO Secretary General informed the UN of this fact and Canada, under Article 51 of the UN Charter – which deals with self-defence – decided to join the military coalition.

The threat from Osama bin Laden, Al Qaida and the Taliban sponsors of terrorism in Afghanistan cannot be addressed solely through the mobilization of political pressure. Diplomatic solutions require reasonable interlocutors, which terrorist leaders and their organizations most manifestly are not. A diplomatic approach also presumes a rational cause. Here I would like to reinforce a point that Minister Manley has been stressing: there is no explanation, justification or rationalization possible for the acts of September 11th. These were terrorist, criminal acts. They cannot, must not and will not be subject to negotiation. They are to be condemned, utterly; they are to be dealt with definitively. In joining this action we have made clear that we have no quarrel with either the people of Afghanistan, who have suffered

for too long under the Taliban, or with Islam. Our fight is with extremists. Their acts of mass murder have unjustly smeared a country and a great world religion.

As we speak, the Canadian government is overseeing Operation Apollo, the largest deployment of Canadian armed forces since the Korean War, involving over 2,000 men and women. Our naval ships, air transports and air surveillance planes have been assigned vital tasks in connection with the ongoing international military action that is being carried out against Osama bin Laden, his Al Qaida network and the Taliban regime. We have made the most significant military contribution to the coalition after the US and UK.

The military action in Afghanistan is an act of self defence. It is undertaken under the auspices of Article 51 of the UN Charter. The evidence against bin Laden is beyond doubt, and the link between Al Qaida and the events of September 11th has been convincingly made. The Taliban has rejected the peaceful option and has refused to turn over bin Laden and the Al Qaida leadership, preferring instead to stand on the side of terrorism. Bin Laden himself has stated his intention to continue his campaign of terror. It is for these reasons that Canada is member of a military coalition which, working within the bounds of international law, will take action to deal with terrorism.

I would like to close by focussing on one of the key elements of Canada's engagement in this effort – responding to the humanitarian crisis in Afghanistan. The fact that I come to this last does not reflect the priority we accord this issue. Quite the contrary.

The deteriorating humanitarian situation in Afghanistan is of grave concern to Canada and long pre-dates our current action. Afghanistan has experienced one of the worst humanitarian crises of the post-Cold War era. From Soviet occupation to civil war, from the unremitting horror of the Taliban regime to three years of drought, the Afghan people have endured suffering beyond imagining. Afghanistan is one of the largest recipients of international assistance and home to one of the largest UN humanitarian operations ever. It is a place where women have been victimized by the denial of their most basic human rights and by inhuman treatment and abuse. For almost ten years, the international community has tried to meet the basic human needs of Afghans, who have been systematically neglected and abused by their own rulers. The fact is, the humanitarian situation in Afghanistan was dire before the crisis. The closing of borders and the Taliban's interference with NGO operations, including the looting of UN food stores, has exacerbated the suffering of Afghanistan's starving masses and demonstrates the Taliban's cynical disregard for their own population.

As we have in the past, Canada will continue to take extraordinary measures to help the Afghan people survive their regime. Since September 11, there has been an unprecedented flow of humanitarian assistance to the region. Canada has contributed \$16 million in the last month alone, to go with the \$14 million we gave before September 11. This is in addition to the \$150 million we have provided over the last ten years. UN humanitarian appeals have been fully subscribed. We hope that the decisive action we are taking now – on the humanitarian, political, diplomatic and military fronts – will help end the suffering of Afghan people and begin to sow the seeds of hope that have been so lacking in their barren existence for so long. It is clear however that long term sustained humanitarian relief, peacebuilding and reconstruction by the international community will be required to address the problems of Afghanistan and that region more broadly.

Ironically, the campaign against terrorism presents us with an opportunity to find solutions to major problems that have eluded us in the past. It is a chance to remove the shadow of terrorism which has for too long hung over the world. It is a chance to forge new partnerships. I know it is difficult to find anything positive out of the horror of September 11, but I do believe that the new international resolve around this issue – from the efforts of the UN to the

common sense reaction of people around the world – does give hope for a new moment in international relations, one in which we recognise that we must work together, in partnership and solidarity, if we are to build true security for all our peoples.

The principles that underlie your organization – tolerance, respect, and the search for peace – are at the heart of this campaign. We need governments and NGOs to work with a common sense of purpose in this fight against terrorism. We look forward to hearing your views and working with you in the days and months ahead on what I know is a common agenda: global peace and security.

Thank you.