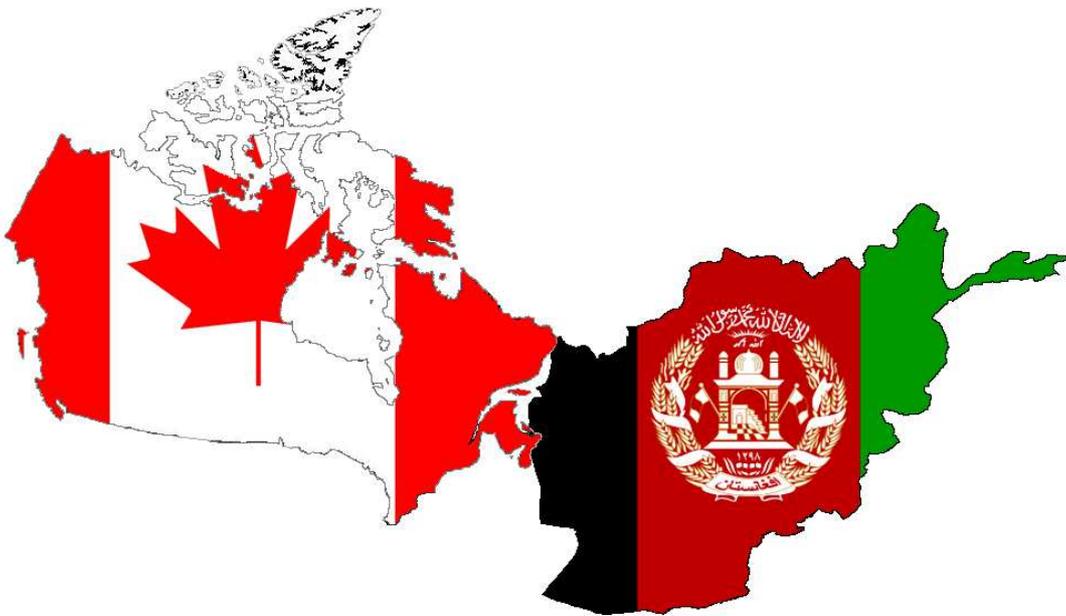


THE SENLIS COUNCIL

Security and Development Policy Group

Peace in Afghanistan – Made in Canada



OTTAWA - September 2007

A companion report to
Peace Talks Simulation Game
AFGHANISTAN: A WAY OUT OF WAR?

John G. Diefenbaker, former Prime Minister of Canada



*"I am a Canadian,
free to speak without fear, free to worship in my own way, free to stand for what I think
right, free to oppose what I believe wrong, and
free to choose those who shall govern my country.*

*This heritage of freedom I pledge to uphold for myself
and all mankind."*

John G. Diefenbaker

1.0 Canada in the World : A Historical Perspective

Canadian Foreign Policy: Evolving

Canadian foreign policy has been characterized as pragmatic and cautious. Canadian diplomats are known for their multilateral problem solving skills and participation in peace keeping. This perspective of Canadian foreign policy was internationally recognized and defined by the Nobel Peace Prize awarded Prime Minister Lester B. Pearson in 1957.

The institutionalization of such a narrow external policy has worked for Canada. However, this view limits Canada's position to be present on the forefront of international affairs. The present Prime Minister's Office headed by Prime Minister Stephen Harper has the opportunity to manoeuvre the evolution of Canadian Foreign Policy to match a changing global dynamic.

Lester B. Pearson, former Prime Minister of Canada



"But while we all pray for peace, we do not always, as free citizens, support the policies that make for peace or reject those which do not. We want our own kind of peace, brought about in our own way."

"Our problem, then, so easy to state, so hard to solve, is how to bring about a creative peace and a security which will have a strong foundation."¹

Lester B. Pearson

¹ Lester B. Pearson was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize in 1957 for his peacekeeping efforts. Pearson was one of the three-man United Nations committee that negotiated the ceasefire that ended hostilities during the Korean War. He also introduced the resolution which created a United Nations Emergency Force to police the evacuation of British, French and Israeli forces ending the Suez Crisis.

Canada's Multilateralism / "Neo –Multilateralism"

Multilateralism is still key element in Canadian foreign policy. In the past, multilateralism for Canadians included heavy use of diplomacy via United Nations created organizations and mechanisms such as NATO and the United Nation Peacekeeping Force.

Multilateral relations, for the purpose of external policy, are no longer bound to such nation to nation dialogue. "Neo-multilateralism" includes dialogue with intergovernmental and non governmental groups, networks, and individual actors within and transcending a legally defined geographical entity.

Re-opening the Window of Opportunity in Afghanistan

The current dynamic in Afghanistan stems from not having developed an *effective* blueprint for cooperation and collaboration within Afghanistan. Lacking this *effective* blueprint, the US-led nation-building efforts in Afghanistan have been characterised by misplaced priorities, misguided policies, and the misled implementation of these policies. As such, it is necessary to develop a model for effective "neo-multilateral" collaboration to address the problems arising from the last five years of international efforts in Afghanistan.



Cultural diversity is a strength in our response to these issues,

The first step in developing such a model lies in recognising and appreciating the extent and importance of the cultural and political differences among and between the peoples of Afghanistan on the one hand and the international community on the other. It is necessary to find a way of working with these cultures and domestic political climates so that the diversity itself becomes part of the formula integral to the solutions. Canada's own cultural fabric is a model for approaching this diversity as a strength to be built upon rather than a weakness to be bashful about.

The West has evolved different models for managing cultures that must co-exist. Immigrants to the United States are said to be assimilated in a great *melting pot*, whereby from the East Coast to the West, everybody becomes American. Canada and the United Kingdom follow a *mosaic* model, in which each culture remains distinct but combine to make a whole inter-dependant community. In recent years, European countries have discussed, negotiated and struggled with different ideas, many of which are still under experimentation. All countries, however, seek to find ways to incorporate separate cultures so that together, they are stronger than when apart.

In Afghanistan we must find a way for the West and the Muslim world to be linked together in a cooperative venture, to respond as partners to the hunger, poverty, counter-narcotics and security crises that threaten this strategically important country.

Recommendation One:

Canada can and should take leadership on re-building relationships with Afghans and re-building the approach of the international community working in Afghanistan.

It is imperative that the international community generates new and innovative approaches to building the necessary collaborative relationships with Afghanistan. Given that Canada and Europe have positive experiences in building and developing collective cultural relationships, their experience should lead the international community's efforts to develop, with Afghanistan, the blueprint necessary for further cooperation and collaboration.

Canada must stop seeing itself as a "junior" partner to the United States and take leadership of the international community regarding Afghanistan. Until there is real and meaningful engagement on the over-riding issue of Afghans' and Westerners' widely divergent world views, it will not be possible to address the continuing deterioration of the situation in Afghanistan.

2.0 Canada's National Interests and International Responsibility: How Do They Converge?

What the war in Afghanistan means as an expression of who we are as Canadians: an opportunity for innovative solutions.

We stand with our closest international friends and partners in our determination to bring peace and prosperity to Afghanistan. However, as Canadians, we bring a distinctively multi-lateral and 'peacemaker' heritage to war.

All partners in the war on terror which is being staged in Afghanistan agree that the challenge is complex. The solutions must therefore reflect this complexity. After five years on the ground in Afghanistan it is an appropriate time to reflect on lessons learned and what approaches have worked and which have not, and in some cases which of our own policies have worked against our objectives.

Canadians can be proud of the unwavering skill that our military has delivered to n Afghanistan. *However, there is little evidence that the equally important development efforts and counter narcotic initiatives that should accompany military efforts in this counter-insurgency campaign are keeping pace². This is a departure from our heritage and undermines our military efforts there.*

Canada had been widely recognized around the world for its non-military innovation in both conflict and post-conflict zones. Indeed, the tradition of non-military innovation in conflict is one of the expressions of who we are as a 'nation among nations' – a heritage that distinguishes us and animates the language of our Charter of Rights and Freedoms beyond our borders.

² See : Canadian International Development Agency in Kandahar – Unanswered Questions. Available online at:
http://www.senliscouncil.net/modules/publications/publications/025_publication/documents/CIDA_Unanswered_questions

Canada's military spending contributes to world trend

"Sadly, Canada's growth in military spending is contributing to a startling international trend. Annual global military spending has surpassed one trillion dollars, approaching the level of spending at the height of the Cold War.

Meanwhile, the UN is warning that unless drastic measures are implemented, the world will not meet its targets for reducing poverty and millions will die needlessly during the next decade, many of them before they reach their fifth birthday."

The Polaris Institute³

Military versus Diplomatic/Development contributions

Canada has a long history of heroic and effective military participation in world conflict. As early as 1884, Canada sent troops to the Sudan to help the British against the Mahdi uprising. This was followed by our commitment to the Boer War in South Africa – a theatre of operations that marked the beginning of the polemic in Canada between English and French Canadians – a source of debate and scrutiny that has enhanced accountability for Canadian military action and continues to this day. Nevertheless, 7,400 Canadians, including 12 female nurses, served in South Africa. Of these, 224 died, and 252 were wounded.

The pivotal sacrifices made by Canadians in both World Wars are well known and will not be reviewed here. The gratitude and recognition from peoples in far-away lands whose liberation was wrought by Canadian bravery persists to the present and is fundamental part of how we are seen by the international community in times of war.

³ <http://www.polarisinstitute.org/files/Never%20enough.pdf>



Canadian Mamba II Armored Personnel Carrier in Kandahar, August, 2007

Canada is a founding member of NATO; Yet, our participation, which reflects our limited military platform, is as part of a multinational group. The inclination of our national character has pre-disposed our commitment of armed forces to the invaluable role peace-keeping. Peace-keeping missions prevent war-related devastation while providing a window of opportunity for parties to a conflict to find common ground. "It is better to jaw, jaw, jaw, than to war, war, war."⁴ Canada's prominence in UN Peacekeeping missions has since become part of our identity in terms of foreign policy. Over 125,000 Canadians have served in about 50 UN peacekeeping missions since 1949.

Canadian peacekeeping work began with a 1948 mission to Kashmir. This was followed by a protracted commitment in Cyprus, and smaller contributions as observers in the middle-eastern region - Sinai and Golan Heights. More recently, the Canadian contribution to the war in Bosnia marked a return to combat and was the largest battle fought by Canadian forces since the Korean War. At about the same time, the Canadian military was providing humanitarian mission to Somalia – an unfortunate part of our international activity marked by the infamous Somalia Affair of 1993.

⁴ Sir Winston Churchill

Canada sends a field hospital to the Gulf

Canada was one of the first nations to agree to condemn Iraq's invasion of Kuwait in 1990, and immediately agreed to participate in a US-led coalition. In addition to its armed military contribution to the Gulf War, Canada also sent a field hospital to meet the needs of casualties from the ground war (a much-needed contribution that is not being made in Afghanistan today despite thousands of innocent civilian casualties of NATO bombing raids).

The current commitment to the 'war on terror' – in this case against the Taliban/Al Qaeda in Afghanistan – represents therefore, a significant and profound return to a combat role. The success of our troops in Afghanistan will determine the security of Canada and our allies for generations to come – our failure or premature pull-out will mean unending terror for our children and their children.



Canadian Forces Convoy – Fort Wilson, Kandahar, August, 2007

This commitment has been paid for with the lives of Canadians. If this commitment, along with a dramatic increase in military spending, is to have the continued support of Canadians, it must be an extension of, indeed a manifestation of who we are as a distinctive part of the international community – who we are as Canadians. Canadians therefore must see milestones being met. Those milestones however, have yet to be articulated.

The Charter of Rights and Freedoms

The mosaic that is Canada is enshrined in our Charter of Rights and Freedoms. It is precisely this distinguishing and enviable Charter that sets the stage for Canada's leadership role in Afghanistan. The preamble to the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms states that "...Whereas the rights and freedoms of the human person are inseparable from the rights and freedoms of others and from the common well-being..."⁵ This is a fundamental Canadian belief that not only makes our national community work, it sets the stage for our attitude toward the broader global community.

Canada's distinct identity reflects one of many ways of organizing a free country. The Constitution of the United States of America holds the rights of the individual as primary, while European constitutional tradition has not found space for the rights of groups. These models stand in contrast to the innovation and leadership that is Canadian. The Canadian Charter blends three kinds of rights: Those of the individual, those of the collective or community/nation, and those of groups such as aboriginal groups, faith traditions, or language groups. The latter brings to life one of greatest strengths of Canadian identity which differentiates it from the American and European experience. Canada is not a melting pot. It is a rich mosaic with people who draw strength and insight from the celebration of their differences. "Every nation needs a basic statement of what it stands for. For Canada, the *Charter* [is] that statement..."⁶

Peace in Afghanistan can be led by Canadian innovation. However, such an undertaking will depend upon casting off the inhibitions that make us appear to be 'junior' partners to other NATO members and returning to our heritage of demonstrated leadership and innovation.⁷ We have a proud legacy of social and cultural development and diplomacy, ranging from our progressive universal health care system to our

⁵ <http://digitalcommons.ilr.cornell.edu/cgi/viewcontent>

⁶ http://www.scc-csc.gc.ca/AboutCourt/judges/speeches/charter_e.asp Remarks of the Right Honourable Beverley McLachlin, P.C. Canadian Rights and Freedoms: 20 Years Under the Charter April 17, 2002 *Coming of Age: Canadian Nationhood and the Charter of Rights*

In its opening statement, the Canadian Charter begins with the assertion that "Everyone has the following fundamental freedoms: a) freedom of conscience and religion; b) freedom of thought, belief, opinion and expression, including freedom of the press and other media of communication; c) freedom of peaceful assembly; and d) freedom of association. Available online at:

<http://laws.justice.gc.ca/en/charter/>

participation in the Geneva Conventions, NATO, UN Peacekeeping and international mine clearing and health programs. However, in any conflict, the stamina and determination required for such leadership come from a belief that one is doing the right thing for the right reasons – particularly where the loss of human life is a certainty in the enterprise. Here again, the government of Canada can appeal to Canadians' sense of a just war and our commitment to our Charter. But in both cases, there must be a clearly articulated plan with measurable outcomes or critical success factors. To date, we have not seen such a plan.

The absence of explicit goals and objectives as part of Canada's foreign policy in Afghanistan reflects a weak and unacceptable management approach to the war. This disappointingly lax approach to Canada's most significant foreign affairs portfolio is dividing Canadians on the issue of Canada's participation in the war. Moreover, it threatens the success of the NATO campaign in Afghanistan.



Three year-old girl, Miwais Hospital, Kandahar, August, 2007

FIGHTING A 'JUST' WAR

Canadians must see our military action in Afghanistan as an extension of our Charter of Rights and Freedoms and as contributing to a ‘just’ war which appeals to both individual and collective sensibilities about natural justice anywhere that people enjoy freedom. One popular illustration of this is that justice must not only be done, it must also *be seen to be done*. Therefore, what Canadians require and deserve is transparency and accountability from the government of Canada in the deployment of our military in Afghanistan. The governments of all NATO participants must show their constituents that measurable objectives are being won through the use of a carefully orchestrated combination of force and innovative development. It must be clear that this is a ‘just’ war. The principles of a just war include fundamental conditions that, characteristically, Canadians have been calling for.

Principles of a ‘Just’ War

- A war is just only if it is waged by a legitimate authority. Even just causes cannot be served by actions taken by individuals or groups who do not constitute an authority sanctioned by whatever the society and outsiders to the society deem legitimate.
- A just war can only be fought to redress a wrong suffered. For example, self-defence against an armed attack is always considered to be a just cause (although the justice of the cause is not sufficient--see point #4). Further, a just war can only be fought with "right" intentions: the only permissible objective of a just war is to redress the injury.
- A war can only be just if it is fought with a reasonable chance of success. Deaths and injury incurred in a hopeless cause are not morally justifiable.
- The ultimate goal of a just war is to re-establish peace. More specifically, the peace established after the war must be preferable to the peace that would have prevailed if the war had not been fought.
- The violence used in the war must be proportional to the injury suffered. States are prohibited from using force not necessary to attain the limited objective of addressing the injury suffered.
- The weapons used in war must discriminate between combatants and non-combatants. Civilians are never permissible targets of war, and every effort must be taken to avoid killing civilians. The deaths of civilians are justified only if they are unavoidable victims of a deliberate attack on a military target.⁸

⁸ <http://www.nationalreview.com/interrogatory/interrogatory101501b.shtml>; see also:

<http://www.mtholyoke.edu/acad/intrel/pol116/justwar.html>

<http://www.bbc.co.uk/religion/ethics/war/just/what.shtml>

“A war is just only if it is waged by a legitimate authority”: The NATO/ISAF forces fighting in Afghanistan are there at the invitation of the democratically elected government of Afghanistan and supported by several United Nations Security Council Resolutions.⁹

‘A war can only be just if it is fought with a reasonable chance of success’: The war in Afghanistan is a counterinsurgency war which has become unnecessarily protracted because of the insufficient commitment from some NATO countries.

The NATO forces soldiers fighting in Afghanistan, while valiant and able, lack sufficient ground troops. While they invariably win individual skirmishes and areas, it is too often through the use of air support which causes unacceptable civilian casualties. Also, our troops are required to leave hard-won areas to take new fights in other places only to have the Taliban move into the recently vacated area again. This means that battles have to be re-fought putting our troops at risk in areas they had already secured. Moreover, military efforts continue to be undermined by the absence of developmental components of counter-insurgency that should be in place. Canadians are becoming increasingly vocal about ‘pulling out’ or ending the mission as more young Canadian soldiers are killed in a war that shows no sign of resolution or victory.

Recommendation Two:

NATO countries must deploy more troops to end reliance on deadly aerial bombings and stabilize territory taken.

NATO countries already present in the South should have their troops supplemented by those from other NATO countries rather than having to increase their own troop commitments.

Recommendation Three:

Canada’s troop commitment to Afghanistan should not have a fixed end date but should be governed by achieving fixed measures of success.

Our presence in Afghanistan is to bring peace and prosperity to the people of Afghanistan and ensure that Al Qaeda elements do not again have a geo-political base for their global terrorist actions. Consequently the withdrawal of our troops should be linked to the attainment of that goal and not an arbitrary calendar date that is tragically used as the focus of debate and policy development.

<http://www.npr.org/programs/morning/features/2002/jan/justwar/020125.justwar.html>

⁹ See, for example, resolutions 1368, 1373, 1378, 1383, and 1386. Available online at: <http://www.un.org/Docs/scres/2001/sc2001.htm>

To leave before we have achieved that goal not only endangers Canada's own security for generations to come but can easily be seen as a manifestation of the west's 'disposable' and arrogant attitude toward the people of Afghanistan, a fickle abandonment of our "most significant foreign policy endeavour", and a sad commentary on the value of the Canadian lives already sacrificed. The Taliban understand this and have successfully capitalized on the west's behaviour in their propaganda.

Recommendation Four:

The Canadian Government must develop a new "Fast Track" approach to peace and stability in Afghanistan.

Canadians are clear they want the troops back in Canada as soon as possible so the government must develop a clear, comprehensive plan for "fast tracking" all opportunities to stabilize Afghanistan and the Karzai government.

We must clearly and honestly look at the stark reality of the situation on the ground and address the shortcomings of the development, aid and counter narcotics policies in Afghanistan.

We must also address the on-the-ground political realities and the failures of our "hearts and minds" campaigns. The Taliban/Al Qaeda forces are taking advantage of our errors and using these errors against us, and as an opening to turn the local population against the international community and the Karzai government.

Despite our good intentions we are seeing the local population, who once welcomed us with open arms, turn against us.

Recommendation Five: Decrease civilian casualties.

Increased incidents involving civilian casualties, primarily in bombing raids, have predictably proven to be detrimental in winning the support and trust of the Afghan people, and have caused enormous suffering for the people of Kandahar.

We must adopt a policy of **zero civilian casualties**. Air strikes must be limited to those instances where the target is well defined and civilians will not be victimised.

"Canadians have a sense of what they want Canada to stand for in the world, and attacking villages in far-away places as part of a broader U.S. campaign focused on changing the world isn't part of it."¹⁰

Linda McQuaig

¹⁰ Holding the Bully's Coat, by Linda McQuaig, Published by Double Day, Toronto, Canada, 2007

Recommendation Six:**Introduce emergency field treatment of civilians injured in fighting and bombing**

The deployment of highly skilled military paramedics must be implemented immediately in southern Afghanistan. These paramedics would locate, transport, and stabilise casualties of war in liaison with the armed forces and should also be used to train Afghan women and men as future paramedics.

Recommendation Seven:**Provide mobile field hospitals Now**

Mobile field hospitals are urgently needed to deal with war casualties, severe malnutrition and other urgent medical cases, and should be immediately established until proper hospitals are in place in southern Afghanistan. Blood banks must be established as part of each temporary mobile medical and surgical facility and eventually become part of the permanent hospitals.

Recommendation Eight :**Rebuild existing hospitals to help Afghans.**

Existing hospitals must be immediately renovated to provide not only basic health care, but also care for war casualties and the endemic malnutrition. As part of this hospital renovation, training in basic hygiene and institutional housekeeping should be provided to local Afghan people to create immediate employment in the existing hospitals.

Recommendation Nine:**Implement outreach and training programmes to foster sustainable improvements in health.**

Medical doctors should be provided with continuing medical education by their military counterparts to manage the trauma of war, and outreach programs for the malnourished, children under five, pregnant women and the elderly must be developed and implemented.

Meanwhile, comprehensive surveillance of health indicators such as disease incidence and prevalence must begin immediately. This surveillance must include those living in refugee camps and remote villages. The information gained should be used to guide the response of the international community.



Recommendation Ten:

Build new hospitals to international standards to meet Afghans' expectations.

The international community should immediately fund and provide the engineering and construction expertise to build new hospitals in Kandahar and Lashkar Gah. To positively impact on Afghans' perceptions, these hospitals must be built to British and Canadian standards, the same standards as the hospitals provided for NATO military troops.

Recommendation Eleven:

Make emergency poverty relief a top priority.

Poverty is the primary enemy of Afghanistan's reconstruction, and must be defeated. As a beneficiary of international aid, Afghanistan receives the lowest amount of reconstruction financing compared to all other post-conflict nations, signifying a failure to recognise that Afghanistan is among the poorest of the poor nations. The response to emergency crises like starvation is not only a humanitarian necessity – it represents an essential part of any stabilisation effort.

It is important to engage with communities on the ground, reflecting their priorities and real needs in national development policies. By integrating the development priorities and possibilities of the real Afghanistan, Afghans' increasingly negative perceptions of the reconstruction process can be dispelled.

Red Cross Sounds Alarm on Humanitarian Emergency

The International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) this week sounded the alarm on Afghanistan, saying the humanitarian situation in the country continues to deteriorate and has become an “emergency.” Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty (RFE/RL) correspondent Jeremy Bransten interviewed Carla Haddad, deputy spokesperson for the ICRC’s Asia and Pacific region, for her assessment.

RFE/RL: Reto Stocker, the head of the ICRC delegation in Kabul, told a news conference in Geneva on September 13 that almost half of Afghanistan is now affected by fighting involving the Taliban, government forces, and NATO’s International Security Assistance Force. What has been the impact on civilians and where is the situation most acute?

Carla Haddad: The armed conflict in Afghanistan has in fact continued to intensify throughout 2007, especially in the southern and eastern regions. It is also spreading geographically to the west and north and getting closer to Kabul. So the ICRC is concerned about the situation and especially about the humanitarian impact of the armed conflict on the Afghan people.

RFE/RL: From what you have seen, how has the spreading conflict impacted ordinary people? Are they being displaced? Are key supplies running short?

Haddad: You can see that countrywide, insecurity and instability have affected the daily lives of large segments of the Afghan population. Men, children, women are more and more likely to be either killed, wounded, displaced, or have their dwellings and livelihoods affected. One of the main concerns of the ICRC is also access to the people who are most affected. The security situation makes it very difficult for humanitarian workers to reach remote areas and rural areas where there are needs in terms of medical care, assistance, and support. So the ICRC is concerned about not being able to reach those most affected and is trying its best to do so.

"We are not facing a development phase in Afghanistan. We are somehow back to an emergency phase, where the most primary and basic needs have to be addressed." -- Carla Haddad, ICRC

Recommendation Twelve:

Give priority to the economic wellbeing of poor farmers in the formulation of responses to the opium crisis.

The social, economic and political structures that create and maintain poverty in Afghanistan are the same structures that have created and maintained opium cultivation. Thus although the illegal opium economy provides subsistence livelihoods for many Afghans, it enriches very few. For most Afghans involved in opium cultivation, opium is virtually the only means by which they can gain access to credit and land for farming.

Yet the first casualties of current opium eradication responses are the farming communities: the impact of eradication is felt most acutely by the most impoverished elements in Afghan society, namely, resource-poor farmers and labourers. Opium poppy eradication cannot therefore succeed where so many poor farmers are dependent on its cultivation and where no viable economic alternatives exist as a means for their survival.

Recommendation Thirteen:

Canada must take the leadership role in support of President Karzai against Chemical Spraying - End chemical warfare against poppy farmers and begin immediate rural economic reconstruction plan.

US plans for chemical poppy eradication must be immediately halted. As the lead country for international counter-narcotics efforts in Afghanistan, the UK bears the responsibility for the consequences of this 'chemical warfare', including troops casualties.

The prospect of chemical eradication in Afghanistan – spring 2008

For spring 2008, the United States is planning chemical eradication of poppy crops in Afghanistan. Chemical eradication will take place either from the ground, using tractors equipped with spraying devices or through aerial spraying, using aeroplanes.

So far, manual and mechanical eradication of poppy crops in Afghanistan have not produced any sustainable results with both illicit poppy cultivation and opium production on the rise. There is no correlation between eradication and the levels of poppy cultivation and opium production. Instead, it is the economic nature of the Afghan opium crisis – extreme poverty and a lack of sustainable alternatives – that renders eradication ineffective as a counter-narcotics policy tool and counter-productive in terms of the international community's wider development and security agendas.

Switching to the use of chemicals would make the current failing counter-narcotics strategy even more harmful by putting international troops and national law enforcement forces in extreme danger. The likely exploitation of farmers' despair by the Taliban and other insurgents would create more political volatility in a country where the battle for hearts and minds is already suffering from previous policy errors.

In 2006, the US announced its intentions to use the herbicide glyphosate in Afghanistan. It is sold in the US and Canada under the trade name "Roundup". Although Roundup can be bought in stores for weed control, the damaging effects it can have depends on the exact composition of the glyphosate mixture used.

A highly concentrated “industrial strength” form of Roundup mixed with the surfactant “Cosmo-Flux 411” is used in the chemical eradication of crops in Colombia. The concentrate is 100 times more potent than authorised for the US market. The pollution of water and soil from fumigation affects human health with stomach, skin, lung and eye pathologies¹¹ as well as threatening animal survival (levels of bird, fish and amphibian fauna were reported to dramatically decrease or become extinct in the case of some species). One study demonstrated genetic damage in human beings exposed to fumigation¹². **The United Nations are currently investigating the negative effects of using glyphosate in Colombia through the lens of the human right to health.**

Aerial spraying of glyphosate in Afghanistan by definition involves “missing” which in technical terms is called “spray drift” - the spraying of dwellings, fish ponds, legal food crops and people. Glyphosate kills indiscriminately. This is one of the main reasons why President Karzai and the Afghan government are against chemical eradication.

The Karzai government is opposed to aerial spraying as an instrument of poppy eradication and has not authorized any foreign government or foreign company to carry out aerial spraying. In 2005, the Afghan Ministry of Interior already expressed concerns about spraying when General Mohammed Daud said:

“We don’t know the side effects of spraying. Also, Afghans are not used to seeing [it]. It could be seen as an attack on the people, not just the poppy crops. It is a dangerous road to take.”

The provincial Governors seem to agree with Karzai. Asadullah Wafa, Governor of the biggest poppy growing province Helmand said:

“We are happy with Karzai’s decision. Spraying affects the animals and vegetables, even humans.”

The United Kingdom, coordinator of Afghanistan’s counter-narcotics policy on behalf of the international community, has echoed Karzai’s objections to chemical spraying on several occasions. Dr. Kim Howells, UK Minister responsible for the Middle East said in February 2007:

“I have seen from the air and on the ground how farmers in Afghanistan grow crops interspersed with opium. Aerial spraying could cause famine, among other things”

In March this year, Howells added:

¹¹ Departamento administrativo de Salud, Oficina de Planeacion, Seccion Epidemiología, Efectos de la fumigación : Valle del Guamué y San Miguel Putumayo, February 2001.

¹² Adolfo Maldonado, Daños Genéticos en la Frontera de Ecuador por las fumigaciones del Plan Colombia, 2003.

“Neither chemical eradication nor incineration of poppy crops are viable options in Afghanistan. There would also be concerns about the risks that both chemicals and incineration pose to the environment and human health.”

As well as the concerns that the governments of both the United Kingdom and Afghanistan have expressed, the 1384 (2005) Afghan Counter Narcotics Implementation Plan states that **“The Afghan government has a no aerial eradication policy.”** The question is, however, how long the Afghan government will be able to resist the strong political pressure of the United States. In Afghanistan, counter-narcotics policy is not an autonomous policy of an independent Afghan government.



Eradication interventions don't work. According to the United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime "in 2007 Afghanistan produced an extraordinary 8,200 tons of opium (34% more than in 2006)"¹³ Eradication interventions are crude policy instruments that fail to resolve the root causes of opium cultivation in Afghanistan.

Further, the international community has failed to provide farmers with a viable economic alternative. Opium cultivation must therefore be conceived of as being far broader than simply a drug policy challenge. Failure to do so will, as eradication interventions in Latin America and South East Asia have shown, blur distinctions between development and repression, and escalate social tensions as livelihoods are destroyed.

¹³ http://www.unodc.org/pdf/research/AFG07_ExSum_web.pdf p. iv

“A majority (54%) of Canadians oppose destruction of Afghan poppy crop...”

“82% of Canadians oppose proposed US chemical spraying in Afghanistan...”

Ipsos Reid, Canada, August, 2007¹⁴

Recommendation Fourteen:

Support Poppy for Medicine – ‘P4M’

The international community’s refusal to support the Afghanistan government in wresting the tremendous natural economic resources – the medicinal poppy crop – away from the Taliban and Al Qaeda is a key ingredient fuelling this phase of unrest in Afghanistan. Instead, U.S.-led crop eradication is fuelling the insurgency and resulting in year over year increases in opium yield. This policy means that billions of dollars in illicit narcotics trade are funding terrorism.

Effective responses to the challenges confronting Kandahar Province require a deeper understanding of the diverse and multiple connections between security, development and poppy cultivation in Afghanistan.

Instead of implementing futile yet politically expedient crop eradication-centred drug policies, the international community must recognise the unique circumstances characterising the continued cultivation of poppy in Kandahar and open the way for new pragmatic approaches. An available and immediate-term solution for southern Afghanistan is the production of essential opium-based medicine such as morphine.

The international community, led by Canada in Kandahar, must recognize and take advantage of this strategy. Tomorrow’s diversified and vibrant agro-economy in Afghanistan must start today by meeting the world’s long-standing need for pain-relief medicine

¹⁴ http://www.senliscouncil.net/documents/Ipsos_polling_canada

The benefits of such a policy are many. They include:

- Removing the major source of funding to the Taliban and Al Qaeda
- Permitting impoverished farmers to escape from the no-man's land of illegal agriculture that squeezes them between the government of Afghanistan and the Taliban.
- An increase in legal and social ties between Afghanistan's villages and farmers on the one hand, and the central government and international community on the other through the development of economic, revenue-generating partnerships.
- An immediate increase in security to the Afghans, the Canadian and other international troops working in Afghanistan, and non-governmental organizations who are ready to move in to re-build Afghanistan.
- An immediate and substantial source of internal revenue that would allow Afghans to fund their own infrastructure redevelopment.
- Provision of pain-relief medicine to the more than 80% of the world which otherwise cannot afford it.

Canada must help Afghanistan to stand alone – economically and politically – as a trading partner in the world. Moving in that direction requires the enormous financial opportunity for Afghanistan that medicinal poppies represents as outlined above. Such an holistic and comprehensive strategy puts the lie to the propaganda of the Taliban and Al Qaeda and makes it clear to Afghans that westerners can and do care about them.



In a poll conducted by Ipsos Reid in August of 2007, Canadians were clear: They want innovation that capitalizes on the existing resources of Afghanistan. Canadians see that development in Afghanistan must build on existing natural and human resources by assisting Afghan people where they are now – not where foreign experts insist they ought to be.

Eight out of ten Canadians support Poppies for Medicine in Afghanistan.

Eight out of ten Canadians support poppy-for-medicine pilot projects.

Seven out of ten Canadians believe that Prime Minister Harper should support a poppy-for-medicine pilot project in Afghanistan

Ipsos-Reid, Canada, August, 2007¹⁵

The agricultural wealth that Afghanistan has in its latent medicinal crops is being successfully hijacked by criminal and extremists forces. These forces are in turn growing in their perceived political legitimacy as they use the proceeds of illicit opium trafficking to assist the people of Afghanistan.

Recommendation Fifteen:

Support President Karzai in his attempts to negotiate with those elements of the Taliban that can be brought into legitimate democratic debate.

¹⁵ http://www.senliscouncil.net/documents/Ipsos_polling_canada

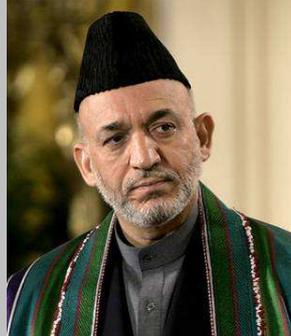
General Jaap de Hoop Scheffer



It is not the use of force against Taliban and al-Qaeda, but reconstruction and nation-building exercises which hold the key to an enduring peace in Afghanistan. The answer to the Afghan problem is not military and rather, reconstruction, development and nation building,"

NATO Secretary General Jaap de Hoop Scheffer, May 9, 2007.

President Hamid Karzai



President Karzai said in September 2007 that “peace cannot be achieved without negotiations”. He said that “the road to peace is ultimately, no doubt, through negotiations. We will continue to work with all those Taliban who want to come back. Our doors are open and negotiation is the best way.”

Nevertheless, President Karzai has stated some conditions for reconciliation with the Taliban. He only wants to negotiate with those elements within the current insurgency who are genuinely interested in peace. “We are going to engage the calls that are truly from some of the Taliban who want to come forward, settle down in the country again.”

With regards to power-sharing with insurgents, President Karzai is clear. He does not want a power-sharing arrangement under the current rules of Afghan democracy: “There is a constitution; there is a way of life. Let them come and participate [in elections] and win.

"The Taliban and everybody else should remember President (John F.) Kennedy's words when he said to the American people, 'Ask not what America can give, ask what you can give to America, that's our position. They should not ask what Afghanistan can do for them but ask what it is they can do for their own country and people."

Karzai's Office said the leaders agreed that "if the Taliban are really sincere about negotiations, the government should open the door for talks and negotiations with the Taliban under Islamic Law in order to bring peace." "For the security and prosperity of the Afghan people, in order to be freed from Al Qaeda and terrorists and their inhumane actions, we are ready for any type of discussion and negotiations"

"Our sole objective is to bring peace and security for the Afghan people. We will do our best and will talk with everybody."

UN supports Peace Talks with Taliban

Fri Sep 21, 11:21 PM By The Associated Press

UNITED NATIONS - The United Nations would support peace talks between the Afghan government and the Taliban and is prepared to help mediate, a key UN envoy said Friday.

Tom Koenigs of Germany, ahead of a high-level meeting to support the government that will include the U.S. and Iran, said that negotiations won't produce "a quick result" but are essential.

"We from the United Nations will certainly support peace talks because the insurgency cannot be won over by military means only," he said. "We have to keep the door open for negotiations."

Afghan President Hamid Karzai has pressed for open talks with the Taliban and the group initially seemed willing. But Taliban leadership returned with conditions that would kill chances for talks - that U.S. and NATO troops withdraw and Islamic law be re-imposed on Afghanistan.

The United Nations doesn't expect the "hard core" of the Taliban to negotiate, **"but there are certainly tribes who are alienated, maybe even by misgovernance, who can be brought back,"** Koenigs told a news conference.

He said the UN can mediate, for instance, between tribes that are fighting for the government and tribes that are fighting for the Taliban.

Efforts to bring peace to Afghanistan will be high on the agenda at Sunday's meeting, chaired by Karzai and UN Secretary General Ban Ki-moon, that will bring together donor nations, contributors to the U.S. and NATO-led peacekeeping forces, Afghanistan's neighbours, the European Union and international lending institutions.

This week, the UN Security Council extended the mandate of the NATO-led alliance to almost 40,000 in the face of an emboldened insurgency led by the country's former Taliban rulers. The United States maintains about 13,000 troops in a separate counterinsurgency force.

Recommendation Sixteen:

Canada should convene an emergency NATO meeting to discuss a new “hearts and minds” strategy for Afghanistan.

Canada should play a leading role within NATO to create a new “hearts and minds strategy” as a key role in the stabilisation of Afghanistan.

The Taliban/Al Qaeda forces are hijacking the political agenda of the country, and undermining our efforts to stabilize the Karzai government. In order for the international community to return to its role in supporting the elected Karzai government, the legitimate grievances of Afghan people have to be addressed and the Afghan population drawn away from the Taliban propaganda machine.

Canada’s actions in Afghanistan are teaching both Canadians and our neighbours around the world, what it means to be a Canadian in a time of war.

We can and should take leadership on the issues facing us in Afghanistan today, and make the Canadian commitment in Afghanistan illustrate our ability and willingness to take that leading role in peace and stabilization efforts internationally.

In conclusion, Canada’s experience and success with building a vibrant nation based on inclusiveness and mutual respect make it well placed as a positive force to influence the conflict in Afghanistan. Canada’s reputation for peace building/keeping is well established. Our actions have spoken the words of our charter loudly regarding the rights and freedoms of others in wars gone by. Our Charter of Rights and Freedoms shows us as a nation and the rest of the world what our expectations are for national harmony and growth as individuals and as a community. Canada’s role in Afghanistan will be a defining moment that will enhance our self-image and our position in world affairs, or not.

Appendix One

Poppy for Medicine in Afghanistan
Polling Results

Canada
United Kingdom
The Netherlands
United States of America

August, 2007

Poppy for Medicine in Afghanistan

Poll Results in Canada, the United States, the United Kingdom and the Netherlands

Question 1:

In Afghanistan Opium Poppy has many uses, including being used in the production of illegal narcotics such as heroin. However, it can also be converted into legal medicine, such as morphine and codeine, which are essential painkillers. To what degree would you support or oppose a “poppy for medicine” scheme which would allow farmers to switch their crop away from the production of illegal narcotics, and towards the production of legal medicines?

	Canada	US	UK	Netherlands	Average
Support	79%	66%	84%	92%	80%

Question 2:

Some people say that in order for the “poppy for medicine” scheme to work, there needs to be a trial run first. Would you support or oppose the implementation of a pilot project?

	Canada	US	UK	Netherlands	Average
Support	79%	69%	86%	89%	81%

Question 3:

Do you personally believe that Prime Minister Gordon Brown should support or oppose the implementation of a “poppy for medicine” pilot project in Afghanistan for the next planting season?

	Canada	US	UK	Netherlands	Average
Support	70%	54%	73%	79%	69%

Question 4:

Would you use Afghan-made ‘fair trade’ morphine if it matched World Health Standards?

	Canada	US	UK	Netherlands	Average
Yes	73%	57%	80%	85%	74%

Question 5:

In order to combat growing poppy for the production of heroin, the international community has begun to eradicate poppy fields throughout Afghanistan, but this causes many poppy farmers to lose their only livelihood and means to feed their families. Now that you know that alternative options for poppy production exist, to what degree do you support the eradication of poppy fields?

	Canada	US	UK	Netherlands	Average
Oppose	54%	47%	47%	43%	48%

Question 6:

Now, some people in particular the United States, say that these poppy fields should be destroyed by spraying the farmer's fields with chemicals because it is a more efficient way to eradicate poppies. To what degree do you support spraying chemicals on Afghan farmer's fields to kill poppy crops?

	Canada	US	UK	Netherlands	Average
Oppose	82%	69%	74%	70%	74%

Overall results:

Respondents' answers *non weighted* averages for the four countries

