

Some Understandings of Internationalism

Chapter

11

Figure 11-1

A UN-sponsored AIDS clinic in South Africa. Some people see the United Nations as the best and only hope for the survival of the world in order to meet the problems of war, uneven distribution of wealth, religious fanaticism, environmental degradation, pandemics, and terrorism. A unifying world organization could be part of the solutions to many of these problems.



In a United Nations press briefing, Canadian politician, broadcaster and diplomat Stephen Lewis said the following:

“ We came out of the Holocaust asking ourselves how we could ever live with the recognition that much of the world knew what was in those trains rumbling down the tracks to Auschwitz. We came out of Rwanda asking ourselves how it was possible that the world was inert in the face of a hideous genocide that everyone knew was taking place. It is my contention that years from now, historians will ask how it was possible that the world allowed AIDS to throttle and eviscerate a continent, and overwhelmingly the women of that continent, and watch the tragedy unfold, in real time, while we toyed with the game of reform.¹ ”

Based on Stephen Lewis's quotation, what is his understanding of internationalism (in this case, genocide and international health crisis intervention)? To what extent do you think he feels internationalism should be pursued?

¹ UN press briefing by Stephen Lewis on his February 2006 visit to Lesotho and Swaziland, 17 March 2006. http://www.stephenlewisfoundation.org/news_item.cfm?news=832.

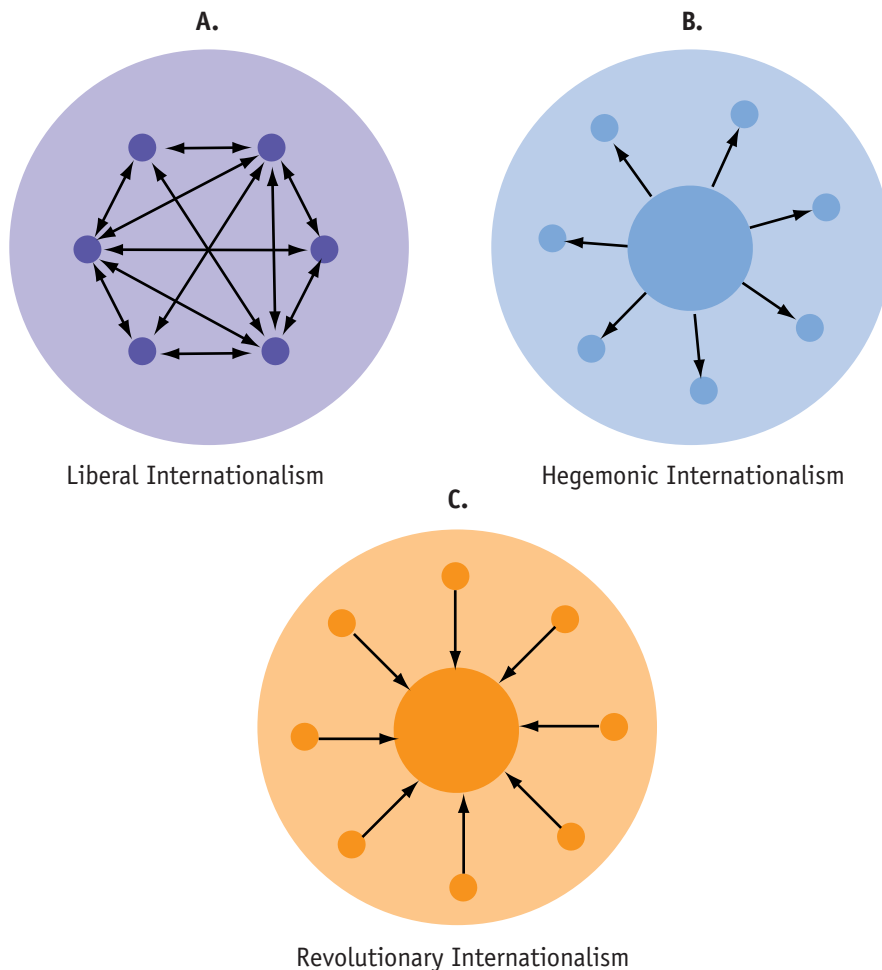
Chapter Issue

To what extent should nations and nation-states be involved in international affairs?

As the world becomes smaller, it becomes increasingly important for nations to recognize when it is in their citizens' interests—as well as the interests of the world—to become more involved at the international level, even to the extent of intervening in other nations' affairs. As a result, it is worth asking the question that frames the issue for this chapter: *To what extent should nations and nation-states be involved in international affairs?* The following inquiry questions will be used to guide your exploration:

- What are different understandings of internationalism?
- Why might nations choose to participate in international affairs?
- Why might nations choose not to participate in international affairs?

This will prepare you to address the Main Issue for Part 3 (chapters 11–15): *To what extent should internationalism be pursued?*



◀ Figure 11-2

If each of the circles within the three larger circles represents a nation-state and the arrows represent the impact of one on another, which of the three do you think most accurately represents the world today?

SKILL PATH

Using Geographic Sources

Maps are simply flat representations of an area. They can provide you with useful information to help you deepen your understanding of the physical and political world. To make the best use of a map, follow the steps outlined in this Skill Path.

Step 1 Decide on Your Purpose

1 Before searching for a map, decide on your purpose. For example, historical maps will help you chart change over time, while thematic maps—such as one showing Canada’s trading partners—will give a specific type of information.

Step 2 Look for Standard Information

2 Maps generally have all, or at least most, of the following elements. Use these elements to help you interpret maps.

- **Title:** The title of a map tells what the map represents, where it is in the world, and when it was created or the period it represents.
- **Orientation:** Maps today are generally oriented to the North; this means that the top of the map page is pointing North. This was not always the case. Hundreds of years ago, maps usually pointed to the Orient (hence the term “orientation”). Today, if a map is oriented other than to North, a compass rose will usually help you view the map appropriately.
- **Scale:** Maps usually show a scale, or comparison to the real world. Sometimes, this is shown as a ratio; for example, 1:5000. This tells you that 1 cm on the map equals 5000 cm in the real world. Other ways to show scale are comparison bars that visually show a length as equivalent to a real distance, or a statement like “1 cm equals 50 m.” Whatever the form, a scale is very useful in making spatial comparisons.
- **Legend:** The legend identifies the symbols on the map. It helps you understand the information on the map and links the symbols to the real-world entities they represent.

SP Thinking Like a Geographer

- **Grid:** Maps generally show a grid of longitude and latitude for absolute reference to position. Some historical maps do not show a grid.
- **Distortions:** All maps, particularly those showing large portions of the earth, have distortions. This is because the spherical world is translated to a flat map. Places closer to the poles appear larger compared to those near the equator. Greenland, for example, looks exceptionally large on maps, while Mexico, only slightly smaller than Greenland, looks much smaller. The lines of longitude converge at the poles, but a flat map cannot accurately show that.

Step 3 Consider the Origin and Context of the Map

3 As with other sources, it is useful to consider the *origin* of a map, including the

- author
- publisher
- date
- target audience
- source of information
- context in which it was made

By finding out who the map was made for and where its data came from, you can gain insight into what biases it may contain. Knowing how a map fits within a sequence of maps helps you discern patterns of change over time.

Step 4 Interpret and Analyze the Data

4 It is important to be able to recognize the types of data found on a map. Often, statistical data from charts or graphs is placed on maps. Recognizing the types of data on a map can assist you in deciding how it might help you in your research.

Step 5 Make Inferences and Draw Conclusions

5 Often, maps help you draw conclusions about world events and economic and political relationships between countries. Consider: What motives might Canada have in sending peacekeeping troops to areas of conflict such as Cyprus or Rwanda? You can use information from maps of areas of conflict to see the need for peacekeeping forces, and to better understand internationalism.

Practise It!

In this chapter you will explore different understandings of internationalism. When you read about relationships or alliances between countries, you should investigate the location and physical geography, economic activities, and political situation in each country, to determine what might encourage relationships between them.

Understandings of Internationalism

Question for Inquiry

- What are different understandings of internationalism?

Internationalism is a term that carries different meanings for different people. As you read the quotations in the following Voices feature, consider what each is suggesting about internationalism.



Views on Internationalism

Speaking to the Council on Foreign Relations in December 2003, Hillary Clinton said:

*We need a tough-minded ... defense policy, one that ... seeks new friends as it strikes at known enemies, but ... is supported by the ... American people. The consequences of unilateralism ... are severe. We will end up with ... fewer nations helping to counterattack when we are struck ... The more we throw our weight around, the more we encourage other nations to join with each other as a counterweight. We have a lot of problems ... on the horizon ... And so we have to have a united front ... standing together, fighting together, working together.*²

Another perspective on internationalism is offered in this statement by Chief Arthur Manuel of the Shuswap Nation Tribal Council:

*The Indigenous Peoples of the Interior have always been actively involved in the protection of their traditional territories and knowledge, and especially since the emergence of international Indigenous and environmental movements ... All this activity set the stage for the United Nations Earth Summit that was held in 1992 in Rio de Janeiro. Many Indigenous representatives, including those from the Interior of British Columbia, were present at the conference.*³

Julian Ku, a blogger on the *Opinio Juris* website, contrasts Canadian and American internationalism:

I've spend the last two weeks in the least foreign country that exists in the world for most Americans: Canada ...

Canada has a long and glorious military tradition joining up with Britain in the First and Second World Wars and following the US lead into Korea and NATO. Modern Canada, however, is very suspicious of foreign adventures,



Figure 11-3 ▲

A girl at the Earth Summit in Rio de Janeiro, June 1992, looking at a painting that depicts the earth's environmental problems.

² From Council on Foreign Relations website, http://www.cfr.org/publication/6600/remarks_by_senator_hillary_rodham_clinton_transcript.html

³ Chief Arthur Manuel, "Traditional Knowledge and Aboriginal Title: A View from the Interior," *Bulletin of the Canadian Indigenous Biodiversity Network* (CIBN) 21, April 2001. <http://www.cbin.ec.gc.ca/ips/ibin21.cfm?lang=e>.

especially adventures led by Americans. Indeed, the biggest foreign policy difference with its neighbour to the south is almost certainly Canada's instinctive faith in liberal internationalism and international institutions. Unlike the US, Canada is a founding member of the International Criminal Court, a party to the Kyoto Protocol, and a vigorous supporter of the UN's peacekeeping missions. Canada balked from joining the Coalition of the Willing in Iraq (and its usual partners, the UK, the US and Australia) largely due to the lack of UN authorization (in contrast, Canada has sent troops to Afghanistan pursuant to both UN and NATO resolutions).⁴

A review of public opinion and internationalism, published in 2001 by Don Munton and Tom Keating, observed that in Canada:

*Policy debates often revolve around clashing internationalist conceptions: but that "Governments are generally on safe political grounds for characterizing their policies abroad as internationalist, given the strong public consensus that exists on the basic elements of an active and committed international involvement, politically and economically."*⁵

- 1 What do you think might be meant by the phrase "The consequences of unilateralism ... are severe."?
- 2 In what ways might forging international links help the Indigenous Peoples of the Interior?
- 3 What is the key difference that Julian Ku suggests exists between Canadian and American approaches to internationalism?
- 4 What do Munton and Keating suggest about Canadian internationalism?

PAUSE AND REFLECT

Based on the sources you have read, what are some understandings of internationalism?

PAUSE AND REFLECT

Which of these interpretations of internationalism most closely reflects your beliefs and values?

A Larger Community

Many different understandings of internationalism reflect the idea that nations and nation-states are, and should be, part of a larger community. Although there are many different ways of looking at internationalism, for most Canadians it means being actively involved in the world's political and economic affairs. This provides the basis for an article written by Fred Halliday called "Three Concepts of Internationalism." By focusing on the goals of involvement, Halliday has identified three visions of internationalism: hegemonic, revolutionary, and liberal. As you read about Halliday's three visions below, consider what examples you can find for each, either now or in the past.

- **Hegemonic internationalism** is the belief that the world is being integrated based on unequal terms with the dominance of one nation or nation-state over others.
- **Revolutionary internationalism** is the belief that conflicts within societies are determined by international factors and alliances.
- **Liberal internationalism** is the belief that, through greater interaction and co-operation, nations and nation-states can achieve common goals, especially peace and prosperity.⁶

⁴ Julian Ku, 30 July 2005.

<http://lawofnations.blogspot.com/2005/07/canadas-nationalistic-internationalism.html>.

⁵ Don Munton and Tom Keating, "Internationalism and the Canadian Public," *Canadian Journal of Political Science* 34, no. 3 (September 2001): 548.

⁶ Fred Halliday, "Three Concepts of Internationalism," *International Affairs* 64, no. 2 (Spring 1988): 187–198.

These understandings of *internationalism* are not necessarily mutually exclusive. Elements of each may appear stronger at different times and in different places.

Hegemonic Internationalism

According to Halliday, *hegemony* means exerting a dominating influence over other groups or societies. Colonialism and imperialism are examples of this type of internationalism. For example, for more than 200 years, Britain ruled over 70 of what are today nation-states. Even today, many people believe that international security and prosperity are best achieved when certain nation-states assert a leading role.

Perhaps more than any other type of internationalism, many believe *hegemonic internationalism* has done the most to shape the modern world. Hegemonic internationalism can also be reflected in the areas of culture and language. International communication has continued the process of making one language the language of power. English is increasingly the language of international business and politics. Colonization—and recently, modern globalization—has had a major impact on English becoming a dominant language in the world.

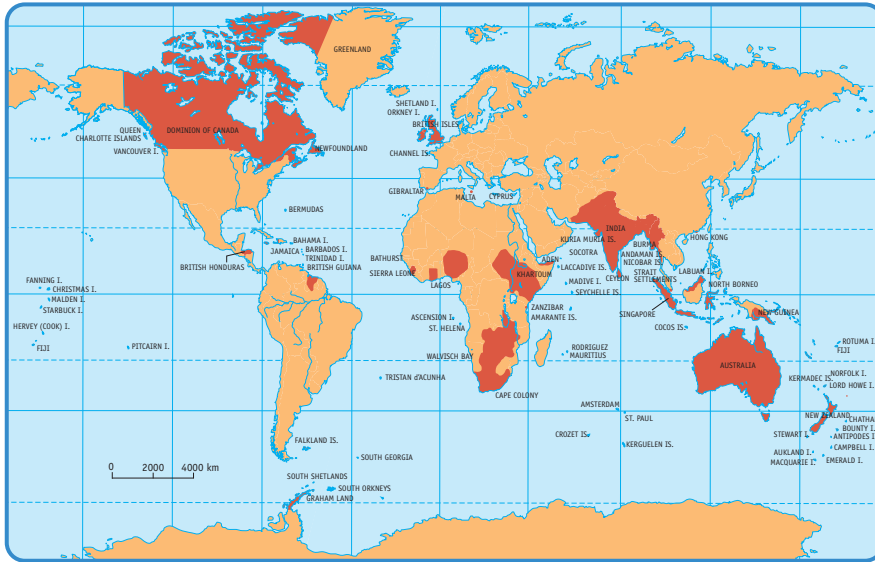


Figure 11-4 ▲

This map shows the world in 1897, with the British Empire shown in red, as well as all labelled islands and small territories. It shows some of Greenland as part of the British Empire. Though it was never occupied by the British and was contested by Denmark, Britain continued to claim sovereignty over Greenland. Use the skills from this chapter's Skill Path to analyze this map. **SKILLS**

Fast Facts

The best estimate of the total number of languages spoken throughout history is about 8000. Today, though, linguists estimate that there remain 6809 “living” languages. Forty-six of these languages are spoken by just one person. In addition, there are 357 languages with fewer than 50 speakers.

Only 200 to 250 languages are spoken by more than a million people. The three most common languages are Mandarin, English, and Spanish.

North American Aboriginal languages have been hit hard by hegemonic internationalism. Since 1600, over 50 of the original 176 languages have become extinct.

Figure 11-5 ▼

Does this satirical cartoon reflect a fair representation of cultural hegemony? What evidence is present in the cartoon to support this representation; for example, stereotypical images, use of bias, and identifiable symbols?



PAUSE AND REFLECT

Are you subject to hegemony? In what ways are you made to think that “the way things are is the way they ought to be”?

Ideas and Opinions

Harvey Kay, a professor at the University of Wisconsin, explains the subtle but influential power of hegemony:

“Hegemony is a process of ruling not simply through force and coercion ... but, as much as possible, by persuading the ruled that the way things are is the way they ought to be [emphasis in the original] or at a minimum ... that whatever may be wrong with [the existing social order] it is remediable without any need for any major structural change.”

—Harvey Kay, *Powers of the Past* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1991), p. 67

How can powerful nations get others to think that “the way things are is the way they ought to be”?



Figure 11-6 ▲

Cuban militia and military raise their rifles and wave Cuban flags to mark the 40th anniversary of “Día del miliciano” (“Day of the Militiaman”), 16 April 1961, when Fidel Castro proclaimed that the Cuban Revolution was to be socialist.

Revolutionary Internationalism

Halliday observes that *revolutionary internationalism* has a history extending back to the American and French Revolutions and continuing in recent times; for example in Latin America under leaders such as Ernesto “Che” Guevara, and in Iran under Ayatollah Khomeini. Although this sort of internationalism is not as common these days, it has had a significant impact on the modern world. It created economic and political alliances and modern nation-states, wars, and—indirectly—it even brought the world to the brink of nuclear war. Halliday notes that:

More than any other event it was the French Revolution that ushered in the modern epoch in Europe, spreading new ideas, unleashing new social movements and transforming much of Western Europe, for all its ultimate distortion and defeat. The Bolshevik revolution and that of China culminating in 1949 have had consequences for the world that need little underlining, and much of postwar history has been marked by the assertions of revolutionaries and those opposed to them—in Korea, Algeria, Cuba, and most of all, Vietnam, which ended the ‘American century’ in 1973, 25 years after it began.⁷

Even if *revolution* is a radical or extreme change, it need not be violent. For example, one might see feminism or environmentalism as forms of revolutionary internationalism. Can the desire for more equitable treatment, greater power, or unity by certain ethnic groups or religions also be seen as revolutionary internationalism?

⁷ Fred Halliday, “Three Concepts of Internationalism,” *International Affairs* 64, no. 2 (Spring 1988): 195.



◀ **Figure 11-7**

Given the potential threat of an attack by the US, which believed that Iran had a plan for the use of nuclear weapons, tens of thousands of Iranians attended the speech in support of Iran's supreme leader, Ayatollah Ali Khomeini, on 4 June 2003. Khomeini warned that any military attack against the Islamic republic would be "suicide for the aggressor."⁹

Liberal Internationalism

*For Canada, bruised by two wars and one world depression, decisions taken in far away places have a vital importance for the village square. There is no escaping today the results and the obligations that flow from the interdependence of nations.*⁸

—Lester B. Pearson, 1948

In the 20th and 21st centuries, Canada, as a nation, has embraced liberal internationalism. Halliday identifies *liberal internationalism* as having at its core the optimistic belief that, through greater interaction and co-operation between peoples, a common purpose will evolve. The common purpose is primarily to create wealth and peace, and it often is assumed that one would lead to the other. Politically, this is expressed through the creation of organizations such as the League of Nations (1919–1920) and the United Nations (1945).

Humanitarian efforts by nation-states and non-governmental organizations (NGOs) to improve the welfare of people in poorer countries, as well as the peace movement, are typical of this form of internationalism. For example, World Vision's work to promote children's rights, address the HIV/AIDS crisis, and provide relief to victims of natural disasters could all be said to reflect the belief that such actions are based on compassion, and also that what happens to people in one place affects us all.

⁸ Lester B. Pearson, quoted in "Summary of the Task Force Report," International Development Research Centre. http://www.idrc.ca/en/ev-62082-201-1-DO_TOPIC.html.

⁹ BBC News, "Iran Warns US against Attack," 4 June 2003. http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/middle_east/2962258.stm.

¹⁰ From: <http://www.gwsafrica.org/african%20feminist%20thinkers/adamu/adamu%20publication5.htm>.

Ideas and Opinions

According to Dr. Fatima Adamu, of the Usmanu Danfodiyo University in Sokoto, Nigeria, internationalism can greatly benefit marginalized peoples:

“The current globalisation in the world economy . . . present(s) challenges and opportunities for women activists and scholars of Africa and the West. It presents an opportunity for the re-emergence of internationalism within feminism and the women's movement. For instance, the globalisation of the world economy . . . have highlighted the need for global coalition and solidarity on women's struggles at the local level, while the technological advances in communication has provided opportunity for facilitating such solidarity. The current trends in globalisation do not only make this international alliance feasible, but also imperative. For example, the current monopoly of the economy of the developing countries by international institutions provides an agenda for co-operation in research and action across academic feminists of all disciplines and feminist movements of Africa and the North.”¹⁰

—Dr. Fatima L. Adamu,
“Women's Struggles and the
Politics of Difference in Nigeria.”

What is ironic about internationalism as described by Dr. Adamu?



Figure 11-8 ▲

A volunteer marks a child who has received drops of a polio vaccine in Kandahar City as part of a sweeping World Health Organization campaign, financed in part by the Canadian International Development Agency, to immunize 1.2 million children in Afghanistan.

Liberal internationalism can also be economic. As nation-states create regional trading blocs, many assume that new international understandings will result—ones that may override nation-state-based interests. Liberal or free trade between nations is seen as key to reducing conflict between states, which clearly benefits all people.

Those who support this sort of internationalism generally assume that interaction and co-operation is on equal terms and is mutually beneficial. However, critics argue that this approach assumes a level playing field where none exists. So, for example, countries with more robust economies have an advantage. Similarly, humanitarian efforts have been criticized for imposing donor-country values on recipient countries.

Others feel that the donor nations do not do enough, and neglect the developing nations. Former Canadian foreign minister Lloyd Axworthy says:

In the early nineties there had been fond hopes of a new era of prosperity based on the liberalization of markets, deregulation and the global movement of capital. Poverty in the Third World would be whittled away by the powerful forces of the marketplace. By the middle of the decade though, that tide of optimism was on the wane. Inequities were growing, not receding. The value of global trade and investment agreements was under challenge by southern countries, and there was growing skepticism from civil-society groups.¹¹

Explore the Issues

- 1 Create two Venn diagrams to compare and contrast
 - hegemonic internationalism with liberal internationalism
 - hegemonic internationalism with revolutionary internationalism
 Which form of internationalism best reflects your beliefs and values?
- 2 Respond to the following question with specific examples: How might Halliday's types of internationalism apply to interactions between First Nations and the Canadian government?
- 3 To what extent do you feel that hegemonic internationalism is, in reality, one nation pursuing its own national interests? Is this truly internationalism?

¹¹ Lloyd Axworthy, *Navigating A New World: Canada's Global Future*, (Toronto: Alfred Knopf, 2003), p. 2.

Motivation behind Internationalism

Question for Inquiry

- **Why might nations choose to participate in international affairs?**

Every nation has its own justification for international involvement, but by looking at some examples of when nations choose to participate, you can begin to address the Chapter Issue: *To what extent should nations and nation-states be involved in international affairs?*

With the growth of globalization and the use of technology, global connections are increasing, and nations and nation-states are more interdependent. For example, issues like global warming—which is having a significant impact on Canada’s North—cannot be stopped by Canada alone. It requires international co-operation. Beyond this reality, however, when is it in a country’s national interest to participate in international affairs? In this section you will look at why nations and nation-states are involved internationally in terms of self-determination, humanitarianism, peace and security, and economic stability.

Self-Determination

The self-determination of a nation is the ability and desire to fulfill its people’s economic, social, cultural, and political needs so that the nation can continue to exist and grow. For some groups, it is perceived that this is best achieved through international involvement. For example, Indigenous peoples have a variety of international organizations that promote their interests. One example, formed in 1980, is the World Council of Indigenous Peoples, which seeks to ensure fair and just treatment, and a united voice, for over 370 million Indigenous people worldwide.

If national self-determination means meeting the needs of a nation’s people, what happens if exploiting resources to meet the needs of people in one nation negatively affects other nations, or even the world? What are the responsibilities of other nations? To whom is each nation most accountable—to its own population or to the people of the world? And, to what extent does recognition by other nations affect self-determination?

In Brazil, for example, efforts to provide opportunities for some Brazilians to meet their basic needs through harvesting timber have come into conflict with efforts to preserve the rain forest. Brazil has

Figure 11-9

The use of slash and burn farming on settlement lots in the heart of the Amazon, in Brazil, leaves immense plains of devastation in its wake, nicknamed “tree cemeteries” by Brazilians.



PAUSE AND REFLECT

What is the responsibility of citizens of the world to families living in poverty, such as those in Brazil?

about 30 per cent of the world’s remaining tropical rainforest, the most diverse ecosystem on earth. The Amazon basin produces roughly 20 per cent of the earth’s oxygen; yet between 2000 and 2005, more than 130 000 square kilometres were destroyed—nearly one-fifth of the natural cover of this area. This resulted from land reforms enacted in 1994, through which over 500 000 families living in poverty have been granted land. Many of these people make money quickly by selling timber and land, which affects the environment. Many others clear the rainforest for farmland by setting fires.¹² What is Brazil’s responsibility to other nation-states?

Humanitarianism and Global Citizenship

What obligations do you have to your classmates, your community, your nation, and the world? Do you have a responsibility to look out for their well-being? These questions relate to the idea of a *moral imperative*—something you do because it is the *right thing to do*, regardless of how difficult it is or how many people are opposed to it. This form of internationalism is based on the belief in our common humanity. When acting based on this moral imperative, we are acting in a *humanitarian* way.

Many individuals, nations, and nation-states choose to get involved in international affairs for humanitarian reasons. Such affairs may include natural disasters and political upheavals, such as

- the deaths of hundreds of thousands in the Indian Ocean tsunami in 2004



Figure 11-10

In the aftermath of the tsunami that hit the Indian Ocean region on 26 December 2004, there was an outpouring of assistance from the international community.

¹² From: Rainforest Action Network, http://ran.org/about_ran.

- the displacement of hundreds of thousands from New Orleans in 2005 due to Hurricane Katrina
- the outbreak of violence in Lebanon in 2006, in which tens of thousands of people were evacuated

Are there other similar situations in the world today that call for international involvement?

Responses range from individual generosity in the form of donations and volunteering, to organized governmental and NGO initiatives. *Humanitarianism* does not just mean responding to disasters. Much humanitarian action relates to assisting other nations and nation-states with long-term economic and social development rather than short-term crises. Foreign Affairs and International Trade Canada has said the following regarding Canada's foreign policy in this area:

Humanitarian action is an important component of Canadian foreign policy. It reflects our values and principles, and responds directly to our national interests in promoting peace and security, prosperity and well-being around the world.

*Canada has taken a leadership role in promoting the rights and well-being of conflict- and disaster-affected populations, in developing international standards, practices, norms and treaties. Canada is typically among the first countries to respond to official requests for international aid, providing critical financial and human resources, and in-kind assets to support people in need.*¹³

Peacekeeping and Peacemaking

Peacekeeping is another example of humanitarian involvement in the world. Canada has played a significant role in peacekeeping and peacemaking operations. At the peak of UN peacekeeping in the mid-1990s, Canada—together with other nations—had over 80 000 forces deployed worldwide. Now, international organizations such as the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) and the Organization for African Unity are involved as well as the international courts. Peacekeeping and peacemaking are complex international efforts. However, the role of peacekeepers has become more actively interventionist in military struggles, and questions are being raised about how far international forces should go in attempting to maintain peace.

PAUSE AND REFLECT

To what extent should nation-states be responsible for the well-being of other peoples of the world during times of crisis?

Fast Facts

Peacekeeping is preventing further conflict between parties. The deployment of peacekeepers—both international military and civilian personnel—occurs once a ceasefire has been negotiated and requires the consent of the parties to the conflict. In general, peacekeepers monitor the implementation of the ceasefire and oversee the resolution of the conflict. Peacekeepers may also be asked to assist in other tasks, including promoting security, disarming opponents, repatriating refugees, supporting elections, strengthening the rule of law, protecting the delivery of humanitarian relief, and training local police forces.

Peacemaking is peaceful intervention to stop a conflict or prevent its spread by bringing hostile parties to an agreement. These efforts incorporate diplomatic techniques such as facilitation, mediation, and arbitration. Peacemaking occurs before or during a conflict, with the aim of negotiating a resolution to the conflict.¹⁴

¹³ Foreign Affairs and International Trade Canada, "Humanitarian Affairs," 5 January 2007. http://www.dfait-maeci.gc.ca/foreign_policy/human-rights/ha1-human-en.asp

¹⁴ United Nations Association in Canada, "Myths and Facts—Canada and UN Peacekeeping." <http://www.unac.org/peacekeeping/en/un-peacekeeping/canada-and-un-peacekeeping>.

PAUSE AND REFLECT

To what extent should citizens of Canada support the nation's peacekeeping efforts? To what extent should Canada's involvement in this form of international relations benefit Canada?



Figure 11-11 ▲

Canadian soldiers with the Civil-Military Cooperation (CIMIC) team of Task Force Kabul (TFK) unload desks at the Abdul-Ali-Mustaghni Boys School in Kabul, Afghanistan. The TFK-CIMIC team provides a link between Canadian troops and the Kabul civilian population.

Ideas and Opinions

“ One of the greatest challenges facing the international community today is resolving the debate over the legitimacy of humanitarian intervention. The primary source of controversy is the tension between the international community's commitments to the idea of national sovereignty, on the one hand, and to the notion of universal human rights, on the other.¹⁵ ”

—Victoria J. Barnett, author of *For the Soul of the People: Protestant Protest under Hitler*.

“ In September 2005, at the United Nations World Summit, all Member States formally accepted the responsibility of each State to protect its population from genocide, war crimes, ethnic cleansing and crimes against humanity. At the Summit, world leaders also agreed that when any State fails to meet that responsibility, all States (the “international community”) are responsible for helping to protect peoples threatened with such crimes and that they should first use diplomatic, humanitarian and other peaceful methods. Then, if such methods are inadequate and if national authorities are “manifestly failing” to protect their populations, they should act collectively in a “timely and decisive manner”—through the UN Security Council and in accordance with the Charter of the UN—by using force.

The World Summit Outcome Document further stresses the “need for the General Assembly to continue consideration of the responsibility to protect”.¹⁶ ”

—Lessons from Rwanda: The United Nations and the Prevention of Genocide

Barnett raises an interesting dilemma. If people believe in humanitarian assistance and peacekeeping based on a moral imperative, what do they do if they know that there are atrocities being committed in a country but the country's leaders claim it is an “internal matter”? Do nations have an obligation or a right to intervene in such cases?

Peace and Security

The ability of nations to control their destiny is also affected by the level of security they are able to provide for their citizens. Security alliance organizations aim to provide member nations with greater ability to maintain secure borders.

Figure 11-12 ◀

In Darfur, Sudan, while the government argued that the country was in a civil war and did not want peacemakers involved, countries and organizations debated whether what was happening was in fact genocide, which would have obligated UN peacemakers to intervene.

¹⁵ From: <http://www.religion-online.org/showarticle.asp?title=3114>.

¹⁶ From: <http://www.un.org/preventgenocide/rwanda/responsibility.shtml>



The complexity of modern human security issues—and the need, therefore, for international co-operation—is underscored in the following statement by former UN Secretary-General Kofi Annan in 2004, introducing the United Nations High Level Panel on Threats, Challenges and Change:

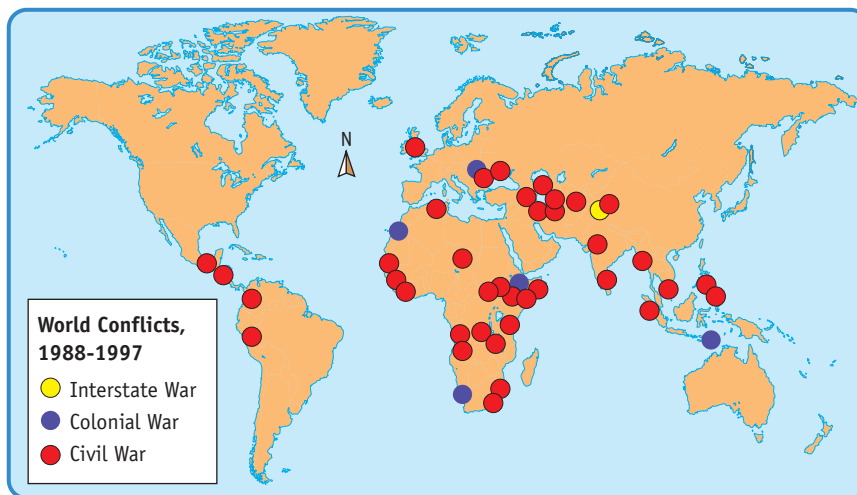
*It is hardly possible to over-state what is at stake, not only for this Organization but for all the peoples of this world, for whose safety this Organization was created. ... If we do not act resolutely, and together, the threats described in the report can overwhelm us. ... No country can afford to deal with today's threats alone, and no threat can be dealt with effectively unless other threats are addressed at the same time.*¹⁷

What were these threats? How should they be dealt with? The Panel determined 101 proposals for dealing with the “greatest security threats in the 21st century” in six areas:

- continued poverty and environmental degradation
- terrorism
- civil war
- conflict between states
- the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction (WMDs)
- organized crime

As seen in the UN’s list of threats to security, even civil conflicts spill over borders as combatants use neighbouring countries as a base for launching attacks and then flee back to those neighbouring countries to seek refuge. Humanitarian efforts are integrally linked to security issues.

The United Nations is one internationalist way for nations to try to ensure security, but nations also often have alliances with neighbouring



¹⁷ Kofi Annan, quoted in “Secretary-General Underscores Urgency of Implementing Reform as He Introduces High-Level Panel’s Report to General Assembly,” Fifty-ninth General Assembly, plenary, 68th meeting. <http://www.un.org/News/Press/docs/2004/ga10314.doc.htm>.

PAUSE AND REFLECT

What arguments might nations put forward to justify intervention or non-intervention in humanitarian crises?

Web Link

To learn about the report of the UN High Level Panel on Threats, Challenges and Change, follow the link on the *Perspectives on Nationalism* website.

Web Link

To find out about other military alliances, follow the links on the *Perspectives on Nationalism* website.

Figure 11-13

How might a decrease in the number of armed conflicts allow nations to pursue their self-interest to a greater extent? Consider the resources and manpower spent on armed conflicts. How do you think a more interdependent world might contribute to a decrease in the number of conflicts? Use the Skill Path in this chapter to analyze this source. **SKILLS**



PAUSE AND REFLECT

What would happen if a country belonged to more than one alliance and members of the two alliances were in conflict?

Fast Facts

International security is not simply a function of military alliances. For example, Canadian First Nations and other Indigenous nations have gone to the UN to seek their help in addressing their own national security interests.

countries or countries of strategic importance. NATO is a military alliance in which member countries—including the US, Canada, most of Western Europe, and parts of Eastern Europe—agree to help defend each other. Whereas it was originally an organization of mutual defence for its members, it has now evolved into an international military alliance designed to engage in measures to ensure general global security. NATO is presently involved in Afghanistan and is considering a role in the Middle East.

Ideas and Opinions

Chief Phil Fontaine, of the Assembly of First Nations in Canada, has worked with the United Nations to establish the Declaration of the Rights of Indigenous Peoples. This declaration has been quite controversial. The following are excerpts from a press conference about the deferral of the Declaration by UN members:

“*The deferral of action on the Declaration was the worst possible outcome ... It showed the true colours of some countries [Australia, Canada, New Zealand, and the United States] that presented themselves as human rights defenders. He [Fontaine] also expressed deep concern with the behaviour of some members of the Human Rights Council, who had pledged to uphold the highest standards of human rights for all. Apparently, that pledge did not include Indigenous peoples ...*

*To several questions about Canada’s position on the issue, Chief Fontaine said “that Canada had been actively and positively engaged in the work on the Declaration over the last two decades, working very hard to secure support for the new instrument from Member States. However, in a recent “about-face,” the country’s new government had informed the Indigenous groups that Canada could not support the Declaration and would vote against it. That was a stain on the country’s reputation.”*¹⁸

How should nations respond when international organizations are unable to address their concerns? Can the failure to address these concerns lead to some of the security threats outlined by the UN?

Economic Stability

Internationalism can also be linked to ensuring economic stability within a nation-state. For example, the Blood Nation of Southern Alberta produces agricultural products that are sold in Japan, creating dozens of jobs in the process. In this case, economic interdependence is a national interest. Among nation-states, economic alliances such as the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) seek to break down barriers, such as tariffs, that restrict trade.

¹⁸ “Press Conference on Declaration of Indigenous Peoples’ Rights,” 12 December 2006. http://www.un.org/News/briefings/docs/2006/061212_Indigenous.doc.htm.

NAFTA—Beneficial or Detrimental?

INVESTIGATION

Something to Think About: To what extent are agreements that promote freer trade beneficial to the citizens of the countries involved?

An Example: The North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) is an economic agreement between the United States, Canada, and Mexico that seeks to improve the economies of the member nations by reducing tariffs and eliminating barriers that protect industries. Some, such as representatives from the WTO, claim that since NAFTA came into effect in January 1994, trade has increased between the three countries, leading to substantial economic benefits. Others, such as members of the Canadian New Democratic Party, claim NAFTA has had a detrimental effect, especially on the poor and middle classes.

A News Story:

White House defends NAFTA in runup to meeting between Bush, Harper, Calderon

Fri Apr 18, 2008

By Beth Gorham, *The Canadian Press*

WASHINGTON—The U.S. administration is looking for ways to counteract a barrage of negative rhetoric about NAFTA from Democrats and persuade Americans the trade deal works, the White House said Friday.

Dan Fisk, senior director for Western Hemisphere affairs, said the three North American leaders will address the issue next week when they meet in New Orleans for their fourth annual trilateral summit.

Both Hillary Clinton and Barack Obama, seeking support from voters who view NAFTA as a job-killer, have threatened to pull out of the free trade pact if it isn't renegotiated to include protections for workers and the environment.

"There's nothing broken—why fix a success?" said Fisk, who noted three-way trade among the United States, Canada and Mexico has more than tripled to \$1 trillion a year since NAFTA came into effect in 1994.

"We want to find ways to, frankly, convince the American people ... that this is an arrangement that's worked for us and it's also worked for our neighbours. It's been a win-win situation." ...

"If we start talking about backing out of NAFTA, what does that do to our credibility overall?" asked Jim Bacchus, a former executive at the World Trade Organization, "If we insulate and isolate ourselves from the rest of the world, we will become less competitive, not more," he told a forum Friday.

Jim Jones, former US ambassador to Mexico, said NAFTA has increased trade and prosperity, while most job losses in the United States in the last 14 years are the result of technological change and greater efficiency. ...

"The harsh truth that Bush, Harper and Calderon won't face is that during 14 years of NAFTA, the citizens of our three countries have experienced growing inequality and stagnating wages," said NDP trade critic Peter Julian.

"In the case of Mexico, the collapse of opportunity has been so severe that out-migration to the U.S. has more than doubled to an all-time high of nearly 500 000 people per year," he said.

"The poor and the middle class have borne the brunt of the damage and dislocation, while the richest few concentrate unprecedented levels of wealth."¹⁹

- 1** Should the freer flow of goods, services, and investment be encouraged? Develop a retrieval chart to show the advantages and disadvantages of membership in economic alliances.
- 2** What criteria would you use to determine if Canada should remain in NAFTA? How would you judge who is benefiting economically and what the social and cultural implications of NAFTA are?
- 3** Canadian critics of NAFTA claim there should be some areas of an economy—such as culture—that are not subject to free trade. Should all areas of an economy be free of restrictive regulations or should some areas be protected?

¹⁹ http://ca.news.yahoo.com/s/capress/080418/national/us_cda_nafta_13

Explore the Issues

- 1 Imagine you met a Brazilian farmer who said to you: “You criticize us for destroying the rainforest and the effect of this on the global environment. Did Canada not get rich by exploiting its resources? Did Canada not destroy some of its environment? Look at the East Coast fisheries, or logging on the West Coast. Most of us will never be as wealthy as the average Canadian—we just want to make a living. Is that so bad?”

How would you respond to these comments? Write a paragraph explaining your position.

- 2 In a small group, select one of the “greatest security threats in the 21st century”, as listed

by the UN. Use geographic sources to locate where this security threat has caused problems. Create a briefing for Foreign Affairs and International Trade Canada that states what Canada should do in response to these security concerns. Use the steps in this chapter’s Skill Path to help you. **SKILLS**

- 3 Create a graph of the top five nation-states that export goods to Canada. Create a second graph of the top five nation-states to which Canada exports goods. On a world map, locate and label these nation-states. Make three observations about our trade with these nation-states and explain what impact this has on Canada’s international involvement.

Motivation against Internationalism

Question for Inquiry

- Why might nations choose not to participate in international affairs?

In the previous section, you examined some reasons why nations choose to get involved in international affairs, such as humanitarian, security, and economic motivations. In this section you will look at reasons why nations choose *not* to involve themselves in international affairs.

Political stability is necessary for a nation to be able to determine its future. However, leaders and nations differ in the extent to which they feel they are affected by political instability elsewhere. The quotations in the following Ideas and Opinions feature show the tension between Cuba’s desire for self-determination manifested through its nationalist and socialist revolution, and American interest in a democratic political system for Cuba. This tension has created instability for Cuba and, to some extent, for the United States as well.

Ideas and Opinions

“ We believe the people of Cuba should be free from tyranny. We believe the future of Cuba is a future of freedom. It’s in our nation’s interest that Cuba be free. It’s in the neighborhood’s interest that Cuba be free. More importantly, it’s in the interest of the Cuban people that they be free from tyranny.²⁰ ”

—US President George W. Bush

The Cuban nation has a long and proud record of struggle for self-determination and defense of its sovereignty. For more than 500 years, Cubans have rejected and defeated colonialism, military interventions and foreign influences ...

Moreover, the policy attempts to negate the Cuban people’s right to self-determination and sovereignty by implying that the US should have a major role in determining Cuba’s future. Cuba’s present and future must be determined by the Cuban people, not by the US.²¹

—Open letter signed by more than 100 prominent Cuban-American scholars, writers, and artists, who formed the Emergency Network of Cuban American Scholars and Artists for Change in US-Cuba Policy

What discrepancy do you see between these two views regarding the American position on Cuba?

American Isolationism During the World Wars

Isolationism is a foreign policy in which a nation-state chooses not to become involved in the affairs of other nations, either militarily or through trade. This term—particularly as it relates to involvement in foreign wars—has been used to describe America’s historical reluctance to become involved in European wars dating as far back as the colonial period. However, commerce, shipping, and the growth of international trade encouraged US engagement internationally.

Even when feeling compelled to respond during the First World War because of German aggression against American ships, the US entered the war reluctantly and, after the war, retreated to its former position of non-involvement. Unlike Canada, it did not join the League of Nations.

As late as 1941, as indicated in the following quotation, the official US position was to avoid involvement internationally:

20 George W. Bush, quoted in “Advancing the Day when Cuba Will Be Free.” www.state.gov/p/wha/rls/rm/37025.htm

21 From: <http://www.granma.cu/ingles/2006/mayo/mier3/posicion.html>.

Fast Facts

After the Cuban Revolution (1956–1959), the Cuban government ordered the seizure of American property in Cuba. The US responded by imposing an embargo, which meant that US businesses could not trade with Cuba. In 1992, with the stated aim of bringing democracy to the Cuban people, the embargo was made law, and today has even greater restrictions.

PAUSE AND REFLECT

To what extent should all nations respect the national sovereignty of other nations? When is it acceptable for one government to try to pressure another government to change its policies?



Figure 11-14 ▲

An Iraqi boy squats by a US soldier on a patrol in the Shiite enclave of Sadr City, in Baghdad, 19 March 2007.

PAUSE AND REFLECT

Why did many nations, including Canada, choose not to become involved in Iraq?

*The first concern of the United States must be its own peace and security ... to avoid being drawn into wars between other nations ... this nation should at all times avoid entangling alliances or involvements with other nations ... in the event of foreign wars this nation should maintain a status of strict neutrality.*²²

This was the case until Japanese naval forces bombed the US base in Pearl Harbor, Hawaii, on 7 December 1941. Germany and Italy then declared war on the United States, and America entered the war. After the war, the US under Roosevelt seemed to change positions. The country played a major role, not only in the reconstruction of Europe but in the creation of the United Nations in 1945. The US continued to play a major role in international affairs during the Cold War (1945–1989) through the intense ideological rivalry with the USSR. The Cold War resulted in the US going to war in Korea (1950–1953) and Vietnam (1956–1975), and in the country’s intense involvement in other areas around the world. It seemed the US had abandoned isolationism. In recent years, however, with the election of more conservative (traditional) politicians, the US again had tended toward isolationism—until 11 September 2001.

International Involvement in the Iraq War

The 11 September 2001 assaults on the World Trade Center and the Pentagon were unprecedented attacks on US soil. Terrorists hijacked four airplanes; they crashed two of them into the Twin Towers and one into the Pentagon. The fourth plane, believed to be targeting the Capitol building in Washington, crashed in a field in Pennsylvania. Nearly 3000 people were killed and many more were injured. The US and its NATO allies, intent on punishing and deterring further terrorism, chose to attack Afghanistan, the nation that had harboured Al Qaeda terrorists. In November 2002, it broadened its “war on terror” to include Iraq, a nation perceived to be a threat to the US and its allies in the region. President Bush had pressed Iraqi leader Saddam Hussein to disarm; his refusal was followed by the invasion and subsequent occupation of the country.

It was later determined that no weapons of mass destruction existed in Iraq, but at the time the UN joined with the US to search for and destroy these suspected weapons. While Canada supported the US through NATO by dispatching troops to fight in Afghanistan, it did not support the incursion in Iraq, nor did many others, including Germany, France, and Russia. Many nations felt that the situation in Iraq could and should have been handled by the UN. Why was involvement deemed necessary in one case, but not the other?

²² Cordell Hull, “Statement on Peace and Neutrality by the Secretary of State,” July 1939. <http://www.mtholyoke.edu/acad/intrel/WorldWar2/fdr4.htm>.

The following is an excerpt from a speech that Prime Minister Jean Chrétien gave to the House of Commons on 8 April 2003:

Canada took a principled stand against participating in military intervention in Iraq. From the beginning our position has been clear: to work through the United Nations to achieve the goals we share with our friends and allies; disarming Saddam Hussein; strengthening the international rule of law and human rights; and working towards enduring peace in the region ...

We argued that a multilateral approach through the United Nations was key to enhancing the international legitimacy of military action and would make it easier after the war was over.

We applied those principles in deciding not to join the coalition when the war began. We sought a new resolution in the Security Council.²³

Do you agree with Prime Minister Chrétien that “a multilateral approach through the UN was key to enhancing the international legitimacy of military action”?

Rwanda Revisited: The Role of the International Community

There were definite links between ultranationalism and the genocide in Rwanda, in which hundreds of thousands of people were killed over a period of 100 days in 1994. The lack of response from the UN in the form of intervention has since been roundly condemned. Had the UN Security Council acknowledged that what was happening was genocide, it would have been legally obliged to act. Despite growing evidence that what was occurring was a genocide, most countries—including France, Belgium, and the United States—declined to intervene, and the UN peacekeeping force United Nations Assistance Mission in Rwanda (UNAMIR) was not given a mandate to intervene or use force. Consequently, it could only stand by helplessly and watch.

Is it possible to reconcile the US response to Iraq with its response to Rwanda? Why was invasion necessary in one country but not involvement in the other country?



Figure 11-15 ▲

Refugees cross the Rwandan-Tanzanian border at Rusumo, 17 December 1996. Hundreds of thousands of Rwandan refugees returned to their country after more than two-and-a-half years in exile in northwestern Tanzania.



PAUSE AND REFLECT

Should nations participate with international organizations to stop civil wars and crimes against humanity?

²³ Jean Chrétien, speaking in the 37th Parliament, 2nd session, 8 April 2003. <http://www2.parl.gc.ca/HousePublications/Publication.aspx?pub=Hansard&doc=86&Language=E&Mode=1&Parl=37&Ses=2>.



Genocide

According to UNAMIR commander Canadian General Roméo Dallaire, in his book *Shake Hands With The Devil*:

Let there be no doubt: the Rwandan genocide was the ultimate responsibility of those Rwandans who planned, ordered, supervised and eventually conducted it. Their extremism was the seemingly indestructible and ugly harvest of years of power struggles and insecurity that had been deftly played on by their former colonial rulers ... Next in line when it comes to responsibility are France, which moved in too late and ended up protecting the génocidaires [those who perpetrated the genocide] and permanently destabilizing the region, and the US government, which actively worked against an effective UNAMIR and only got involved to aid the same Hutu refugee population and the génocidaires, leaving the genocide survivors to flounder and suffer. The failings of the UN and Belgium were not in the same league.²⁴

The following excerpts from *Frontline: The Triumph of Evil: 100 Days of Slaughter* recognize the failure of the international community to aid Rwanda.

On 25 March 1998, in Kigali, Rwanda, US President Bill Clinton apologized to the survivors of the genocide:

The international community, together with nations in Africa, must bear its share of responsibility for this tragedy, as well. We did not act quickly enough after the killing began. We should not have allowed the refugee camps to become safe

havens for the killers. We did not immediately call these crimes by their rightful name: genocide. We cannot change the past. But we can and must do everything in our power to help you build a future without fear, and full of hope.²⁵

On 7 May 1998, also in Kigali, UN Secretary-General Kofi Annan apologized to the parliament of Rwanda:

The world must deeply repent this failure. Rwanda's tragedy was the world's tragedy. All of us who cared about Rwanda, all of us who witnessed its suffering, fervently wish that we could have prevented the genocide. Looking back now, we see the signs which then were not recognized. Now we know that what we did was not nearly enough—not enough to save Rwanda from itself, not enough to honor the ideals for which the United Nations exists. We will not deny that, in their greatest hour of need, the world failed the people of Rwanda.²⁶

In December 1998, a French parliamentary commission concluded that most of the blame for the genocide lay with the international community, especially the UN and the US, although France was said to have made “errors of judgment.” Then, in March 1999, the International Federation for Human Rights and the US-based Human Rights Watch released a report—*Leave None to Tell the Story*—about the genocide, and criticized the UN, the US, France, and Belgium for knowing about plans for the killings but not taking action to prevent them.

- 1 Is it realistic to expect the international community to react to instances of governments abusing segments of their populations? Should the UN have a permanent police force that could quickly respond to humanitarian crises? In the absence of an international police force, should individual nations respond to events in which international laws are violated? Why would some nations object to this?
- 2 Conduct research on the Darfur crisis in Sudan to compare the reaction of the international community to this crisis to its reaction to the genocide in Rwanda. Develop a chart of similarities and differences with the Rwandan genocide, and present your findings in a comparative essay.

24 Roméo Dallaire, *Shake Hands With the Devil: The Failure of Humanity in Rwanda* (Toronto: Random House Canada, 2003), p. 515.

25 Bill Clinton, quoted in *Frontline, The Triumph of Evil*, “100 Days of Slaughter: A Chronology of US/UN Actions.” <http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/pages/frontline/shows/evil/etc/slaughter.html>.

26 Kofi Annan, quoted in *Frontline, The Triumph of Evil*, “100 Days of Slaughter: A Chronology of US/UN Actions.” <http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/pages/frontline/shows/evil/etc/slaughter.html>.

Explore the Issues

- 1 Conduct a horseshoe debate on the issue: To what extent should Canada have become involved in the efforts to make peace in Afghanistan?
- 2 Select any current international issue (humanitarian aid, war, peacekeeping, medical support, and so on) and, in a small group, establish criteria with which you will investigate the advisability of Canadian involvement.

Reflect and Analyze

As shown in this chapter, there are a variety of different understandings of *internationalism*. These different understandings help explain why and how nations involve themselves in the international community. Based on this exploration of internationalism, you should be able to address the Chapter Issue: *To what extent should nations and nation-states be involved international affairs?*

Respond to Ideas

- 1 Research one of the civil wars in the world today. Some specific examples are the Congo (Zaire), Colombia, Algeria, Somalia, India (Kashmir), Côte d'Ivoire, and Chechnya. Try to determine the causes of the struggle. Decide if the international community should become involved.

Respond to Issues

- 2 Make a list of current terrorist threats. Determine what grievances the organizations have, and if their grievances are nation-state-based or global. On a world map, show where the activities of

these organizations are occurring and summarize the terrorist acts they have committed, their demands, and the concerns this presents for international security. Determine the actions the international community should take to respond to these threats. Are there alternatives to military action in these cases? **SKILLS**

Recognize Relationships between Concepts, Issues, and Citizenship

- 3 To promote economic self-determination, nations use tariffs, or taxes on imports, to ensure domestic industries can exist. Complete one of the following activities.
 - Develop a political cartoon that expresses your view on the role of protecting domestic markets.
 - Develop a cause-and-effect chart that shows the consequences—good or bad—of pursuing national interests by establishing tariffs.
- 4 Conduct a horseshoe debate on the issue: To what extent should Canada seek greater involvement in international affairs?