

RECOMMENDATIONS ON NON-MILITARY ASPECTS OF THE CANADIAN MISSION IN AFGHANISTAN POST-2011

Special Committee on the Canadian Mission in Afghanistan

Gary Breitkreuz, MP Chair

MARCH 2011
40th PARLIAMENT, 3rd SESSION

Published under the authority of the Speaker of the House of Commons

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THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE ON THE CANADIAN MISSION IN AFGHANISTAN

has the honour to present its

THIRD REPORT

Pursuant to the Order of Reference of Wednesday, March 3, 2010, the Committee has studied the Canadian mission in Afghanistan and has agreed to report the following:

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RECOMMENDATIONS ON NON-MILITARY ASPECTS OF THE CANADIAN MISSION IN AFGHANISTAN POST-2011

INTRODUCTION

In June 2010, following a fact-finding visit to Afghanistan, the Special Committee on the Canadian Mission in Afghanistan (hereafter the Committee) presented a report to the House of Commons. The report recommended that:

[T]he Parliament and government of Canada enter into an intensive and constructive discussion as soon as possible about Canada's work in Afghanistan and the region for the post July 2011 period. In particular, the Committee recommends that the focus of this discussion should continue to be on how to strengthen the ability of the Afghan government to provide basic services to its people: security, rule of law, health, social services and education.

The report went on to say that "the end of the combat mission...in 2011 should by no means be seen as the end of the engagement by Canada and Canadians. We have come too far, and sacrificed too much to abandon the people of Afghanistan. A final decision on this question should be reached before the end of 2010."

As the government had not announced any plans for the post-2011 mission by the fall of 2010, the Committee decided to explore recommendations pertaining to non-military options for the future of Canada's engagement in Afghanistan.

THE MULTILATERAL FRAMEWORK

Before discussing the specifics of the Canadian role in Afghanistan, it is important to underline that Canada's mission is being conducted within a UN-sanctioned, NATO-led multilateral framework that has included elements of security, governance and economic and social development, all three of which involve non-military activity. These were outlined by the Afghan government as follows in the Afghanistan National Development Strategy (ANDS) of 2008:

- **Security**: Achieve nationwide stabilization, strengthen law enforcement, and improve personal security for every Afghan;
- Governance, the rule of law and human rights: Strengthen democratic practice and institutions, human rights, the rule of law, delivery of public services and government accountability;

The Committee, *Report on a Trip to Afghanistan*, First Report, 40th Parliament, 3rd Session, June 17, 2010, http://www2.parl.gc.ca/HousePublications/Publication.aspx?DocId=4627845&Language=E&Mode=1&Parl=40&Ses=3.

• **Economic and Social Development**: Reduce poverty, ensure sustainable development through a private-sector led market economy, improve human development indicators, and make significant progress towards the Millennium Development Goals.

International objectives in Afghanistan have evolved over the years, and—particularly in the case of governance and development—have been outlined and shaped by such undertakings as the Afghanistan Compact (2006), the ANDS (2008), the Paris Conference (2008), the London Conference (2010) and the Kabul Conference (2010). In addition, the future contours of NATO's engagement with Afghanistan were outlined at the Alliance's Summit Meeting of Heads of State and Government in Lisbon from November 19-20th.

THE CANADIAN MISSION POST-2011

On November 16, 2010, the outline of Canada's post-2011 mission in Afghanistan was announced by the Ministers of National Defence, Foreign Affairs and International Cooperation. According to the government, the objective of the mission would remain the same: "to help build a more secure, stable and self-sufficient Afghanistan that is no longer a safe haven for terrorists." Canada's post-2011 mission will be centered on Kabul and will focus on four key areas:

- Investing in the future of Afghan children and youth through development programming in education and health;
- Advancing security, the rule of law and human rights, including through the provision of up to 950 trainers for Afghan security forces;
- Promoting regional diplomacy; and
- Helping deliver humanitarian assistance.²

In terms of development, Minister Oda stated that Canada is committing approximately \$300 million in development assistance for the next three years.³ Within that envelope, Canada will provide up to \$18 million annually in humanitarian aid. After 2011, Afghanistan will remain one of the Canadian International Development Agency's (CIDA) top five development assistance recipients.⁴ Moreover, the Committee was later told by CIDA officials that as Afghanistan has been identified as one of the ten priority countries

Government of Canada, "Canada's New Role in Afghanistan—2011 to 2014," *Canada's Engagement in Afghanistan*, http://www.afghanistan.gc.ca/canada-afghanistan/2011-2014.aspx?lang=en.

Government of Canada, "Minister Oda Talking Points on Canada's New Role in Afghanistan," Canada's Engagement in Afghanistan, http://www.afghanistan.gc.ca/canada-afghanistan/speeches-discours/2010/2010 11 16a.aspx.

⁴ Ibid.

for Canada's G8 initiative on maternal, newborn, and child health, the country will receive additional funding of approximately \$75 million over five years.

TESTIMONY BEFORE THE COMMITTEE

While some decisions remain to be taken and details of Canada's post-2011 plans for Afghanistan have yet to be clarified, the Committee received further information through testimony from government officials, including the Privy Council Office (PCO) and CIDA. The Vice-President of the agency's Afghanistan-Pakistan Task Force, Françoise Ducros, provided the Committee with an overview of Afghanistan's development challenges, including those of food insecurity, illiteracy—for example, only 4.5% overall and 1.5% of women in Kandahar are literate—income levels, gender issues and health. Overall, she told the Committee that:

I think we have achieved great ends in a country that had virtually nothing and was seized with 30 years of war. Where that happens, it would be disingenuous of me not to point out that all of the human development indicators are still very low for Afghanistan, from literacy rates to health care indicators, so there's a lot to do.⁵

More specifically, Ms. Ducros updated members on the status of the three Canadian signature projects in Kandahar province. She underlined that they had been designed to be completed in 2011, to be sustainable, and eventually turned over to Afghans.⁶

Post-2011, Ms. Ducros told the Committee that CIDA will be working on education, maternal, newborn and child health, humanitarian issues, and, in conjunction with the Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade (DFAIT), human rights. She also confirmed that CIDA personnel will be based in Kabul, but added that Canada's development assistance to the country "will be national in scope." Ms. Ducros explained that Canada's assistance strategy for Afghanistan has been developed within the multilateral framework outlined above, and in partnership with the Government of Afghanistan and Afghan and Canadian civil society. She noted that it "directly reflects Afghan needs and priorities" and told the Committee that:

Since the London and Kabul conferences held last year, the Government of Afghanistan has established thematic clusters and national priority programs that have allowed the international community to focus its efforts on a targeted set of reconstruction and development priorities. Canada will continue to look for opportunities to support the development of the clusters and national priority programs, which are essential to enhancing the Government of Afghanistan's capacity, accountability, and ownership.⁸

7 Ibid.

8 Ibid.

⁵ Evidence, Meeting No. 23, February 8, 2011.

⁶ lbid.

For its part, a key focus of DFAIT's work post-2011 will be the promotion of regional diplomacy. The Deputy Minister of the PCO's Afghanistan Taskforce, Ms. Greta Bossenmaier, stated that this objective "really builds on a lot of the work that's been done, both in Kabul, in Kandahar, and also internationally" noting that Canada has supported the Dubai process aimed at increasing border cooperation between Afghanistan and Pakistan. In February, Ms. Ducros of CIDA explained to the Committee that while DFAIT will be the lead government department on issues of governance and human rights, "CIDA will continue to build on the work it has been doing on human rights, basically through the Afghanistan Independent Human Rights Commission and other such initiatives." 10

In addition to testimony from Canadian government officials, the Committee heard from a range of other witnesses both during its visit to Afghanistan in mid-2010, and in recent testimony. Some of the latter addressed specific non-military roles that Canada could focus on moving forward.

On October 20, 2010, the Committee heard from His Excellency Jawed Ludin, Ambassador of Afghanistan in Canada. Ambassador Ludin suggested that: "On the civilian side, apart from the investment in the building of democratic institutions—the civil society and the rule of law—we look to engaging Canada's private sector in investing in the enormous wealth in our nation and in our geography that needs to be unlocked." He added that he had been in contact with some Canadian private sector mining companies.

Mid-2010 had seen significant developments related to Afghanistan's mineral potential, including in particular the release of information from the United States Geological Survey. Canadian geologist and businessman Robert Schafer told the Committee of his company's experience in 2006-2007 evaluating and preparing a bid to develop a large copper project in Afghanistan. He underlined both the significant challenges to mining in that country, as well as the potential economic and other benefits. In his words: "We viewed our efforts there as the beginning of a country-building effort. A well-run mining operation in Afghanistan could form the foundation stone from which the first non-conflict, non-drug-related economy could be based in that country, and it could grow and spread across the country for many decades to come." 12

Officials from Natural Resources Canada explained that Afghanistan has requested Canadian assistance with basic chemical analysis and mineral exploration equipment, as well as training and scholarship support. With respect to broader policies and institutions needed to support Afghanistan's capacity in this area, they encourage Afghanistan "to make better use of the dialogue that exists already, and to take advantage of the

⁹ Evidence, Meeting No. 18, November 24, 2010.

¹⁰ Evidence, Meeting No. 23, February 8, 2011.

¹¹ Evidence, Meeting No. 14, October 20, 2010.

¹² Evidence, Meeting No. 24, February 15, 2011.

intergovernmental forum on mining and minerals, for example." 13 This and other multilateral fora deal with the gamut of relevant governance, regulatory and stewardship issues.

During his testimony, Ambassador Ludin also mentioned he would like to see more Canadian help in training the National Directorate of Security (NDS). Canadian assistance in counter-improvised explosive device (C-IED) training for the Afghan National Police (ANP) and other Afghan institutions was mentioned as well.¹⁴

Similarly, two Canadian firms told the Committee that the Canadian private sector industry could indeed play a role in future Afghan development, in such areas as training the Afghan National Army (ANA) and ANP in C-IED methods, and delivering training to the NDS. 15

For its part, CARE Canada argued that Canada should increasingly champion the rights of women in Afghanistan, particularly in the context of ongoing reconciliation and reintegration.¹⁶

Finally, the Canadian Council of Churches emphasized the need to support "participatory reconciliation programs and responsive governance at the district and local level." They also argued for a "diplomatic surge" in order to help end the conflict in Afghanistan, and the appointment of a Special Envoy to coordinate Canadian government activity in the region.¹⁷

While there is a difference of opinion within the Committee on military aspects of the new Canadian mission in Afghanistan post-July 2011, the Committee wishes to offer its opinions and recommendations on non-military options.

RECOMMENDATIONS

1. The Committee recommends that the Government of Canada encourage Canadian and Afghan civilian industry to contribute to long-term capacity building by offering programs, notably in the areas of training, security, governance, health care, education and economic development.

¹³ lbid.

^{14.} Evidence, Meeting No. 14, October 20, 2010.

Evidence, Meeting No. 19, December 1, 2010. 15.

^{16.} Evidence, Meeting No. 14, October 20, 2010.

Evidence, Meeting No. 17, November 17, 2010. See also, The Canadian Council of Churches, Canada's 17. Role in Afghanistan, December 10, 2009. This document was attached to a letter sent from the President of the Canadian Council of Churches to the Prime Minister, on December 10, 2009. The document is available at http://www.councilofchurches.ca/documents/social_justice/afghanistan/AfghanistanBrief.pdf.

- 2. The Committee recommends that the Government of Canada ensure that taxpayers' money is not wasted through corruption and that there are strict controls put in place over monies allocated directly to Afghan organizations. The government should also implement a mechanism to evaluate this process.
- 3. The Committee recommends that the Government of Canada ensure that its development support for Kandahar Province does not end after July 2011. The government should still support on-going projects in Kandahar province to protect Canada's legacy. As well, the government should ensure that its development aid is distributed as evenly as possible across Afghanistan and not only focused on Kabul, post-July 2011.
- 4. The Committee recommends that the Government of Canada should remain committed to the Dubai Process, and remain aware that the border relation between Afghanistan and Pakistan is crucial to the security and peace of the region.
- 5. The Committee urges the Government of Canada to allocate additional resources for its work on development and diplomacy, focusing on anti-corruption efforts, support for health and education, gender equality and political reconciliation in Afghanistan.
- 6. The Committee urges the Government of Canada to enhance its efforts to ensure a single whole-of-government approach to the region, and also ensure a clear mandate to engage directly with NATO, the UN and the governments of Pakistan and Afghanistan in ongoing efforts to resolve the conflict in the region. This approach could include the appointment of individuals as necessary to achieve the objectives of coordination and mediation.
- 7. The Committee recommends that the Government of Canada continue to provide substantial financial support to the Afghanistan Independent Human Rights Commission and encourage a special focus on ending torture and abusive treatment in Afghan institutions.
- 8. The Committee recommends that the Government of Canada provide financial and other support to the National Solidarity Program or like programs that engage local

- communities in determining the needs for their community and assist in the delivery of such projects.
- The Committee recommends that the Government of Canada assist Afghanistan in the development of programs to provide skilled trades and apprenticeship programs to elevate the job skills and employment prospects of Afghans.
- 10. The Committee recommends that the Government of Canada develop a program to enable and support Afghan Canadians with skills and knowledge to work in Afghanistan to assist in technical, educational or business development roles and provide skills transfer or technical assistance for defined periods.
- 11. The Committee recommends that given that literacy is the first step in acquiring the basic skills and knowledge to build an educated society, the Government of Canada should continue to provide significant financial and program support for literacy programs in Afghanistan. Such programs should be developed in partnership with the people of Afghanistan and their civil society organizations, with a particular emphasis on literacy training for women and training women literacy teachers.
- 12. The Committee recommends that the Government of Canada provide support and assistance to the Afghanistan Ministry of Women's Affairs or programs identified by them.
- 13. The Committee recommends that the Government of Canada's program for maternal and child heath include a significant component of training for women health care providers, and work to raise awareness among men of issues related to maternal and child health.
- 14. The Committee recommends that the Government of Canada provide assistance in enabling good and effective local governance development.
- 15. The Committee recommends that the Government of Canada support efforts to instill and institutionalize the rule of law by financial and other support within the justice system at the judicial and prosecutorial level including seeking an increase in the level of awareness of women's

- rights, and assist in the development of technical and administrative systems and training.
- 16. The Committee recommends that the Government of Canada contribute to the Afghan peace processes by supporting efforts that promote an Afghan grassroots approach.
- 17. The Committee recommends that the Government of Canada recognize that significant progress can be made by working with women and women's groups in Afghanistan and support such efforts at the local, regional, national and international level.
- 18. The Committee recommends that the Government of Canada make a commitment to provide long-term support for nation building in Afghanistan through continued international development aid to honour the sacrifice and contribution that the Canadian people and soldiers have made to date.
- 19. The Committee recommends that the Government of Canada provide support for the Afghan prison system, in accordance with Canada's and Afghanistan's commitments under the Geneva Conventions and a clear obligation to ensure an abuse-free environment in Afghan prisons. The assistance of the Correctional Service of Canada would be essential in this regard.
- 20. The Committee recommends that given that a wellestablished and competent public service is vital to the functioning of a democracy, the Government of Canada send a contingent of public servants to support the Afghan public service, under the auspices of the Public Service Commission.
- 21. The Committee recommends that the Government of Canada use Canada's expertise in the areas of geology, engineering, welding, the electrical trades, and water management to provide assistance to the Afghan people in the building of a sustainable mining industry.

APPENDIX A LIST OF WITNESSES

| Organizations and Individuals | Date | Meeting |
|---|------------|---------|
| CARE Canada | 2010/10/20 | 14 |
| Kieran Green, Communications Manager | | |
| Jennifer Rowell, Policy and Advocacy Coordinator | | |
| Embassy of the Islamic Republic of Afghanistan | | |
| Jawed Ludin, Ambassador of the Islamic Republic of Afghanistan to Canada | | |
| Department of National Defence | 2010/10/27 | 15 |
| Walter J. Natynczyk, Chief of the Defence Staff | | |
| House of Commons | | |
| Lawrence Cannon, Minister of Foreign Affairs | | |
| Peter Gordon MacKay, Minister of National Defence | | |
| Canadian Council of Churches | 2010/11/17 | 17 |
| Mike Hogeterp, Vice-Chair, Commission on Justice and Peace | | |
| John Siebert, Executive Director, Project Ploughshares | | |
| Canadian International Development Agency | 2010/11/24 | 18 |
| Françoise Ducros, Vice-President, Afghanistan Task Force | | |
| Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade | | |
| Gordon Venner, Assistant Deputy Minister, Afghanistan, Middle East and Maghreb | | |
| Department of National Defence | | |
| Robert Davidson, Director of Staff, Strategic Joint Staff | | |
| Jill Sinclair, Assistant Deputy Minister, Policy | | |
| Privy Council Office | | |
| Greta Bossenmaier, Deputy Minister, Afghanistan Task Force | | |
| Allen Vanguard Corporation | 2010/12/01 | 19 |
| David Luxton, President and Chief Executive Officer | | |
| IPA Group | | |
| John Inns, Principal | | |
| Geoff Poapst, Principal | | |
| | | |

| Date | Meeting |
|------------|------------|
| 2011/02/08 | 23 |
| | |
| | |
| | |
| 2011/02/15 | 24 |
| | |
| | |
| | |
| | |
| | |
| | 2011/02/08 |

APPENDIX B LIST OF BRIEFS

Organizations and individuals

Allen Vanguard Corporation

Canadian Council of Churches

CARE Canada

REQUEST FOR GOVERNMENT RESPONSE

Pursuant to Standing Order 109, the Committee requests that the government table a comprehensive response to this Report.

A copy of the relevant Minutes of Proceedings (<u>Meetings Nos. 14, 15, 17 to 21, 23 to 26</u>) is tabled.

Respectfully submitted,

Gary Breitkreuz, MP Chair

RECOMMENDATIONS ON NON-MILITARY ASPECTS OF THE CANADIAN MISSION IN AFGHANISTAN POST-2011

Bloc Québécois Recommendations

The Bloc Québécois invested a great deal of effort to ensure that this report reflects its vision for Afghanistan.

While we agree with the general thrust of the recommendations, we must make note of the issues that we deem important that were rejected by the Committee.

MINISTERS' ABSENCES

The Bloc Québécois deplores the fact that the ministers responsible chose not to appear before the Committee to explain Canada's new position on Afghanistan.

A motion was adopted unanimously in Committee, but the ministers claimed they were unavailable to appear. We believe that this conduct is disgraceful.

NON-MILITARY RECOMMENDATIONS

Given the government's new position on the new mission and mandate for the Canadian Forces in Afghanistan, the Bloc Québécois agreed for the recommendations to address the non-military aspects of this mission. Of course, we reserve the right to criticize the military aspects of the mission in other forums and by other means.

CIDA

The Bloc Québécois is very disappointed that the Committee refused to object to CIDA's cuts to funding for Afghanistan.

At a time when we must pursue our efforts that have already began in order to ensure that development thrives, CIDA is capping its total budgets and reducing its funding for Afghanistan by more than half.

Canada had announced that it would contribute \$676 million to Afghanistan from 2008 to 2011, which is just over \$225 million a year. However, when the government announced that Canada's military presence in Afghanistan would continue, it also announced that it would contribute \$300 million in development aid from 2011 to 2014, which is \$100 million a year.

The Bloc Québécois called for CIDA to re-establish funding to 2009 levels but, unfortunately, the Committee disagreed.

MEETING WITH NEIGHBOURING COUNTRIES

In Recommendation 4 of the report, the Bloc Québécois believes that it is important to remain aware that the border relation between Afghanistan and Pakistan is crucial, as is the Dubai Process.

The Bloc Québécois also tried to convince the Committee to hold a meeting with neighbouring countries. Each country would thus have an opportunity to contribute to a solution but, unfortunately, the Committee refused to support our initiative.

PRISON SYSTEM AND RISK OF TORTURE

The Bloc Québécois would like to add "given the risk of torture in Afghan prisons" to Recommendation 19 concerning support for the Afghan prison system.

The Bloc Québécois believes that the lead-in to this recommendation justifies an offer to provide support for the prison system. Everyone agrees that the risk of torture is omnipresent in Afghan prisons.

Furthermore, in Recommendation 7, the Committee agreed to put a special focus on ending torture and abusive treatment in Afghan institutions to justify providing substantial financial support to the Afghanistan Independent Human Rights Commission.