The Canadian Department of Peace:

History and Potential

by

Victor David Kliewer

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ABSTRACT

This thesis examines the possibility of establishing a Department of Peace (DOP) as a Department of the Government of Canada. The topic has been introduced in Parliament twice— in 2009 as Bill C-447 and in 2011 as Bill C-373; neither Bill received any further action beyond the First Reading.

The introduction of the bills could only happen on the basis of significant support among Canadians. At present, in 2019, efforts to reintroduce the DOP into the Government, although somewhat muted, continue; and the concern for peace—including all of its diverse aspects, both within Canada and around the world—remains as urgent as ever.

The thesis, based on relevant literature and oral interviews, evaluates the establishment of a DOP in the context of the Canadian peace tradition as well as other global peace developments. It concludes that a DOP has great potential to move the peace agenda in Canada forward but that, in view of the priorities of the current government and the general mood in Canadian society, it is not realistic to expect a DOP to be implemented at present. The recent appointment of the Women, Peace and Security Ambassador in December 2018 represents a step in this direction, but a fully structured DOP would provide a more significant framework for the advancement of peace, defined in the preamble of Bill C-373 as "not simply the absence of active hostilities but rather a state of non-violence, harmony, and amity."

Someday,
after harnessing the ether, the winds, the tides, and gravitation,
we shall harness for God the energies of love;
and then,
for the second time in the history of the world,
[we] will have discovered fire.

— *Pierre Teilhard de Chardin (1936)*

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ABBREVIATIONS

ABG   Autonomous Bougainville Government

ADR   Alternative Dispute Resolution

ARB   Autonomous Region of Bougainville

BPA   Bougainville Peace Agreement

CDPI   Canadian Department of Peace Initiative, later renamed CPI

CGUC   Conrad Grebel University College, Waterloo

CIDA   Canadian International Development Agency (1968-2013)

CMU   Canadian Mennonite University, Winnipeg

CO   Conscientious Objector

CPA   Comprehensive Peace Accord (Nepal)

CPC   Canadian Peace Congress

CPI   Canadian Peace Initiative, organization sponsoring the DOP

CPRA   Canadian Peace Research Association

CPSC   Civilian Peace Service Canada

CRU   Conflict Resolution Unit (Ireland)

DFAIT   Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade (1995-2013)

DFATD   Department of Foreign Affairs, Trade and Development (= Global Affairs

              Canada, established 2013)

DND   Department of National Defense

DOP   [Canadian] Department of Peace

FAO   Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations

FOR   Fellowship of Reconciliation

GAMIP	Global Alliance for Ministries and Infrastructures of Peace
GPI	Global Peace Index
IEP	Institute for Economics and Peace
INGO	International Non-Governmental Organization
IPRA	International Peace Research Association
JMS	*Journal of Mennonite Studies*
MCC	Mennonite Central Committee
MNURP	Ministry of National Unity, Reconciliation and Peace (Solomon Islands)
MOPR	Ministry of Peace and Reconstruction (Nepal)
MP	Member of Parliament
MSC	Menno Simons College, Winnipeg
NDP	New Democratic Party
NFZ/NWFZ	Nuclear Free Zone/Nuclear Weapons Free Zone
NGO	Non-Governmental Organization
NPTF	National Peace Trust Fund (Nepal)
OSCE	Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe
PACS-Can	Peace and Conflict Studies Association of Canada
PRIF	Peace Research Institute Frankfurt
PRIO	Peace Research Institute Oslo
SCM	Student Christian Movement
SIPRI	Stockholm International Peace Research Institute
TPA	Townsville (Australia) Peace Agreement (Solomon Islands)
UDRH	Universal Declaration of Human Rights

UK   United Kingdom

UN   United Nations

UNESCO   United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization

UNICEF   United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund

UNRRA   United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration

US/USA   United States of America

USIP   United States Institute of Peace

WLU   Wilfrid Laurier University

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The seminal idea which developed into the present thesis first came to my attention in 2017, when two members of Conscience Canada, Ernie Wiens and Eric Unger, gave a report of their activities and mentioned the initiative to establish a Department of Peace in the Canadian government. I was intrigued. Thanks, Eric and Ernie, for the initial spark that has led to this major research project and has opened significant new insights for me!

Further, I want to express my sincere appreciation to several faculty members associated with the Peace and Conflict Studies program, notably my advisor, Neil Funk Unrau, and the members of my advisory committee, Sean Byrne and Royden Loewen. All have at various times expressed their support for this undertaking and provided valuable direction and encouragement. I have benefited greatly from your knowledge, insight, and encouragement!

I also want to thank the more than twenty academicians, politicians, and other peace practitioners who were willing to be interviewed, forthcoming with their insights, convictions, and questions, and generous with their time and counsel. The process of organizing the interviews was a new one for me and one which I initially approached with some hesitation; however, the responses I received were unfailingly positive, courteous, and encouraging—and regularly opened new vistas for me which I had not anticipated. Thanks to all of you the interviewing experience developed into a rich learning experience, not only for the content of our conversations but also for the process itself.

Finally, I am again indebted to my wife, Waltraud, for giving me the freedom to work on this research project and for our challenging conversations along the way!

INTRODUCTION

My personal story is that of a [Christian] believer, a peacemaker and mediator,
a sociologist, a teacher, and always a learner.
—John Paul Lederach[1]

The Focus of the Thesis

On September 30, 2009 Bill Siksay, the New Democratic Party (NDP) Member of Parliament

(MP) for Burnaby—Douglas (British Columbia), rose in the Canadian House of Commons[2] and

"moved for leave to introduce Bill C-447, An Act to Establish the Department of Peace" as an

integral department of the Federal Government of Canada.[3] The motion was seconded by Jim

Karygiannis, the Liberal MP for Scarborough—Agincourt (Ontario) and passed the required First

Reading; however, it did not receive further action and accordingly died on the order paper.

On November 30, 2011 Bill C-373, essentially identical to Bill C-447, was introduced in

the House of Commons by Alex Atamanenko, the NDP Member of Parliament for British

Columbia Southern Interior; it was again seconded by Jim Karygiannis as well as by Elizabeth

May, leader of the Green Party and MP for Saanich—Gulf Islands (British Columbia).[4] Once

again, the bill passed First Reading but received no further action.[5]

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[1]John Paul Lederach (2014), *Reconcile: Conflict Transformation for Ordinary Christians* (Harrisonburg VA and Kitchener ON: Herald Press), 15.

[2]As a rule, the use of upper and lower case related to parliamentary terms (e.g., Parliament, Bill, Motion) follows the guidelines of Public Works and Government Services; see https://www.btb.termiumplus.gc.ca/tcdnstyl-chap?lang=eng&lettr=chapsect4&info0=4 (accessed November 28, 2018).

[3]The speech is found at https://openparliament.ca/bills/40-3/C-447 (accessed December 9, 2017).

[4]The text of Bill C-373, as well as the text of Bill C-447 and additional related information, is available on the website of the Canadian Peace Initiative (CPI), the primary organization promoting the Department of Peace (DOP); the bills are variously labeled "An Act to Establish the Department of Peace" and "Department of Peace Act." See Appendix A and also https://canadianpeaceinitiative.ca (accessed October 23, 2018).

[5]See https://canadianpeaceinitiative.ca (accessed December 9, 2017).

The introduction of the bills did not occur in a vacuum but could only be brought to Parliament on the basis of significant support among Canadians. Indeed, the Canadian peace movement has been broad and deep, with roots that antedate the origins of Canada itself.[6] At present, in 2019, the efforts to reintroduce the peace portfolio into the government, although somewhat muted, continue; and the overall concerns for peace—including all of its diverse facets, both domestically within Canada and internationally—remain as urgent as ever.

The present thesis evaluates the significance and the feasibility of establishing a Department of Peace (DOP) as an integral department of the Federal Government of Canada. This evaluation is done in the historical context of the Canadian peace movement, as well as in consideration of similar movements in other countries and the interconnectedness of global efforts towards finding non-violent resolutions of conflicts and promoting peace.[7]

A Personal Perspective

My own interest in peace studies during the past half century has been influenced and shaped, first, by my background in the Mennonite Church—one of the "historic peace churches."[8] Based on the teaching and model of Jesus, the peace orientation has long been a central tenet of all Mennonite confessions of faith.[9] This orientation has been the context of my childhood and

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[6]Thomas P. Socknat (1987), *Witness Against War: Pacifism in Canada, 1900-1045* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press), 13.

[7]The central concept of "peace," including its negative and positive aspects, is discussed in Chapter 1.

[8]The term "historic peace churches" was first used in 1935 with specific reference to the Mennonites, the Friends (Quakers) and the Church of the Brethren. See *Global Anabaptist Mennonite Encyclopedia Online (GAMEO)*, s.v. "Historic Peace Churches"; https://gameo.org/index.php?title=Historic_Peace_Churches (accessed July 23, 2018).

[9]See, for example, the 1995 *Confession of Faith in a Mennonite Perspective* (Scottdale PA and Waterloo ON: Herald Press). The commentary on Article 22, "Peace, Justice, and Nonresistance," notes that "peace and justice are not optional teachings [of the Bible], counsel that Christians can take or leave. They belong to the heart of

youth experience, and it is one which I have come to appreciate deeply. Needless to say, even in the Mennonite Church conflicts have not always been easy to resolve in peaceful ways.[10] Having been involved in some of these difficult situations and having observed others has not changed my basic orientation but has motivated me to seek better understandings and practical skills like mediation and conflict resolution/transformation. Academically, I have immersed myself in the disciplines of history, religious/theological studies, and, particularly in the last several years, in peace studies—broadening out and undergirding my earlier interest and continuing convictions.

I have found the historical and theoretical work of several scholars in the field of peace and conflict studies particularly enriching, including Peter Brock,[11] Johan Galtung,[12] and John Paul Lederach.[13] Peter Brock was an extraordinarily productive scholar and author, whose publications include studies of early pacifist movements like the Anabaptists of the sixteenth century as well as the contributions of the Quakers, Gandhi, and numerous others in Europe, North America, and Asia.[14] His last major project was a three-volume synthesis of worldwide

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the gospel message. . . . In continuity with previous Mennonite confessions of faith, we affirm that nonparticipation in warfare involves conscientious objection to military service and a nonresistant response to violence" (83).

[10]Lisa Schirch, affiliated with the Center for Justice and Peacebuilding at Eastern Mennonite University, notes that "one of the most striking elements of Mennonite peacebuilding is a vast disparity between being able to help others through conflict yet being relatively unable to transform major and minor differences and conflicts within the church." ("Eight Ways to Strengthen Mennonite Peacebuilding," *Conrad Grebel Review* Vol. 35:3 [Fall 2017], 362.)

[11]Peter Brock (1920-2006) taught at various universities, ending his lengthy teaching career as Professor Emeritus of History, the University of Toronto. Following the completion of two doctorates, one at the Jagellonian University in Cracow and the other at Oxford, Brock first immersed himself into Polish and East European history and then particularly into the history and development of pacifism around the world.

[12]Johan Galtung's work is discussed in Chapter 1.

[13]John Paul Lederach's work is discussed in Chapter 1.

[14]See, for example, Brock's *The Political and Social Doctrines of the Unity of Brethren in the Fifteenth and Early Sixteenth Centuries* (1957), *Pacifism in the United States: From the Colonial Era to the First World War* (1968), *Pacifism in Europe to 1914* (1972), *The Mahatma and Mother India* (1983), *Studies in Peace History* (1991), and *Pacifism Since 1914: An Annotated Reading List* (3rd ed., 2000); Brock also published in collaboration

pacifism and war resistance from the Middle Ages to World War I,[15] although he continued to write until his death at the age of 86 years.[16] "No other ideology," Oxford political scientist Martin Ceadel has written, "owes more to one academic than pacifism owes Peter Brock. That the scope and richness of this historical tradition can now be recognized is largely the result of Brock's sympathetic and dedicated scholarship, which was begun when pacifism was an unfashionable subject."[17] And historian Harvey L. Dyck has written, "What elevated Peter Brock from the ranks of a fine historian and placed him among the handful of the truly outstanding, was his central role as a historian of worldwide pacifism."[18]

I have also been impressed by the vision of Arthur V. Mauro, Winnipeg philanthropist and former chancellor of the University of Manitoba, for Winnipeg and particularly the University of Manitoba to become a significant center for the promotion of human rights, social justice, peacebuilding, and global citizenship. As Mauro said in an address in 2017, "This city [Winnipeg], to me, represents the best that people can do when good people come together with good will and seek solutions. Over the years we have proven that reconciliation is better than

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with other scholars, for example, *Pacifism in the Twentieth Century* with Nigel Young (1999) and *Challenge to Mars: Essays on Pacifism from 1918 to 1945* with Thomas P. Socknat (1999).

[15]The trilogy includes *The Quaker Peace Testimony 1660 to 1914* (York: Sessions Book Trust, 1990), *Freedom from Violence: Sectarian Nonresistance from the Middle Ages to the Great War* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1991), and *Freedom from War: Nonsectarian Pacifism 1814-1914* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1991).

[16]Brock's last publication was entitled *Against the Draft: Essays on Conscientious Objection from the Radical Reformation to the Second World War* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2006).

[17]Martin Ceadel (1996), "Ten Distinctions for Peace Historians." *The Pacifist Impulse in Historical Perspective*," ed. Harvey L. Dyck (Toronto: University of Toronto Press), 17.

[18]Harvey L. Dyck, "In Memoriam," https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/00085006.2007.11092426?journalCode=rcsp20 (accessed August 8, 2018).

discord, that diversity is a positive in society. . . . Education and research are fundamental if we are to carry on what this city has become."[19]

Outline of the Thesis

The body of this thesis consists of four chapters. Following the introduction, the first chapter reviews peace studies as a discipline; special attention is directed to related aspects of the work of two significant peace theoreticians, Johan Galtung and John Paul Lederach. In the second chapter research methods and procedures are reviewed, and the two methods of qualitative research used in this thesis—documentary analysis and oral interviews—are introduced. In chapter three the broader context of the initiative to establish a DOP in the Federal Government of Canada is reviewed, including the larger Canadian peace tradition and related activities in other countries; the chapter includes several countries which have introduced departments or ministries of peace, as well as others that have followed different approaches in addressing their peace agendas. Chapter four gets to the heart of the thesis, with a close examination of Bill C-373—the second bill introduced in Parliament to establish a DOP in the Canadian government —and then a compilation of the responses to the interviews which were conducted in researching this thesis; the chapter concludes with a summary of the findings. In the concluding chapter the key findings are reiterated and topics of further potential research are noted; the chapter ends with some reflections on the experience of the research project itself.

Conclusion

This thesis is the result of numerous contributing factors, including my own long-standing interest in the broad subject of peace and peacebuilding and the inspiration of other significant

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[19]The address was given on December 8, 2017 and is available at https://vimeo.com/246505470 (accessed December 23, 2018).

thinkers and activists. A more specific factor has been the impressive vision of the members of the Canadian Peace Initiative (CPI) to establish a Canadian DOP—a vision whose context is the larger Canadian and, indeed, the larger global peace tradition. The thesis considers these larger contexts before reviewing the more specific investigative processes and findings related to the DOP. It begins, in the following chapter, with a consideration of peace and conflict studies as a discipline.

CHAPTER 1

THEORETICAL CONSIDERATIONS

Bringing about sustainable peace is a long-term effort.
—Jody Williams[20]

Introduction

In this chapter the development of peace and conflict studies as an academic discipline is

reviewed. This development can be identified as a series of "waves" which occurred as the

discipline matured over the past half century. Significant pioneering thinkers include, among

others, Johan Galtung and John Paul Lederach. It is noteworthy that the *Canadian* peace

movement and the literature related to it is a relatively small component of the much larger

international discipline but at the same time integrally interrelated with it.

Peace and Conflict Studies as a Discipline

The interdisciplinary subject of peace and conflict studies—which, as political scientist Thomas

Boudreau has written, addresses "among the most complex phenomena in the social world"[21]—

has emerged in the past half-century with roots in a variety of different academic fields, such as

history, sociology, political science, religious studies, and others.[22] In their article "Conflict

analysis and resolution as a multidiscipline," Sean Byrne and Jessica Senehi outline the

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[20]Nobel laureate Jody Williams, "Women Supporting Women in the Pursuit of Peace," The 2018 Sol Kanee Lecture on Peace and Justice, Canadian Museum for Human Rights, Winnipeg, October 25, 2018.

[21]Thomas E. Boudreau (2009), "Human agonistes: Interdisciplinary inquiry into ontological agency and human conflict," *Handbook of Conflict Analysis and Resolution*, ed. Dennis J. D. Sandole, *et al.* (London: Routledge, 131.

[22]James A. Schellenberg (1996), *Conflict Resolution: Theory, Research, and Practice.* New York: State University of New York, 7.

development of conflict analysis and resolution as well as peace studies in four "waves." [23] The

first of these waves, not unrelated to the countercultural revolution of the 1960s, included the

anti-war and civil rights movements in the United States, a new focus on Indigenous rights, the

women's movement, and global anti-nuclear campaigns.[24] It was also the time when new ways

of analyzing and addressing conflicts were sought in Alternative Dispute Resolution (ADR), the

International Peace Research Association (IPRA) was founded, and the first School of Peace

Studies was established in England at the University of Bradford (1973).

The gradual shift toward professionalization of peace and conflict studies represented a

second wave. Various organizations that focused on different types of conflict were established

—such as the Association of Family Mediators and later the Association for Conflict Resolution

(2001); universities also began to offer ADR programs in the early 1980s. The third wave

emerged with the growing understanding of basic human needs and the relationships between

micro-conflicts on the interpersonal level and the existing injustices of social structures. Further

peace and conflict studies programs were established at universities—like the Centre for Conflict

Resolution (today the School for Conflict Analysis and Resolution) at George Mason University

in Virginia (1981)—or as independent organizations—such as the Canadian Institute for Conflict

Resolution (1988)[25] and the Canadian Institute for International Peace and Security (1983).[26]

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[23]Sean Byrne and Jessica Senehi (2009), "Conflict analysis and resolution as a multidiscipline: A work in Progress," *Handbook of Conflict Analysis and Resolution*, ed. Dennis J. D. Sandole, *et al.* (London: Routledge), 4. The authors describe the four "waves" in greater depth than in this thesis, 4-5.

[24]In a 2016 interview, Ingrid Eide, the first wife of Johan Galtung and a founding member of PRIO in the late 1950s, recalls the difficult time after World War II when the Cold War was at its height and the development of any "peace studies" was considered counterculture or communist-inspired: it is an excellent reminder of the significance of the prevailing social and political environment which was so different from the present. See https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=8u6vLKlmTWA (accessed April 12, 2018).

[25] https://www.cicr-icrc.ca/en/about/history.html (accessed November 28, 2018).

[26] http://mje.mcgill.ca/article/viewFile/7756/5685 (accessed November 29, 2018).

The fourth wave, finally, came with the development of conflict transformation and peace and conflict studies programs in the US and other European countries, as well as Canada—such as the Arthur V. Mauro Centre for Peace and Justice at St. Paul's College, the University of Manitoba (2005), which offered the first Doctoral program in Canada and also a Master's program in cooperation with the University of Winnipeg.[27] Further developments that could be seen as part of the fourth wave are the introduction of conflict transformation studies established at Eastern Mennonite University and Canadian Mennonite University—studies that focus on the transformation of conflicted relationships, systems, and structures[28]—as well as the national program of accreditation of mediators and other "peace professionals" being developed by Civilian Peace Service Canada (CPSC) since 2013.[29] Another emerging discipline within peace studies since about 2000 is religious peacebuilding.[30] The current wave focuses on critical and emancipatory peacebuilding which puts the local actors at the centre of any peacebuilding process yet integrates this with the international perspective, proposing the hybridization of external and internal peacebuilding actors in a social justice framework.[31]

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[27]http://umanitoba.ca/mauro_centre/ (accessed April 12, 2018).

[28]See the websites of the schools at https://emu.edu/peacebuilding/ and https://www.cmu.ca/academics. php?s=pacts (accessed January 12, 2019).

[29]See the CPSC website at http://civilianpeaceservice.ca/ (accessed November 11, 2018).

[30]Katrien Hertog (2010), *The Complex Reality of Religious Peacebuilding: Conceptual Contributions and Critical Analysis.* (Toronto: Lexington Books), 1. Also see Cynthia Sampson (1997), "Religion and Peacebuilding" in *Peacemaking in International Conflict: Methods and Techniques*, ed. I. William Zartman and J. Lewis Rasmussen (Washington: United States Institute of Peace Press), 273-316.

[31] Thania Paffenholz (2015), "Unpacking the local turn in peacebuilding: A critical assessment," *Third World Quarterly* 36(2):105-128; Roger Mac Ginty (2011), *International Peacebuilding and Local Resistance: Hybrid Forms of Peace.* Basingstoke, UK: Palgrave Macmillan; Roger Mac Ginty (2008), *No War, No Peace: The Rejuvenation of Stalled Peace Processes and Peace Accords.* Basingstoke, UK: Palgrave Macmillan; Alpsam Özerdem (2014), *Local Ownership in International Peacebuilding.* Abingdon, UK: Routledge; Richmond, O. P. (2011), *A Post Liberal Peace*. Abingdon, UK: Routledge.

Defining Peace: Johan Galtung

As already indicated, two scholars who have particularly stimulated my thinking in the area of peace and conflict studies are Johan Galtung and John Paul Lederach. Johan Galtung is an octogenarian Norwegian sociologist, an outstanding pioneer in the area of peace studies. In the course of over sixty years he has and continues to mediate countless major conflicts around the globe and has done significant groundbreaking thinking and extensive writing in the area of peace and conflict studies.[32]

In the context of this thesis, Johan Galtung's analysis of "violence" and "peace" has been helpful. Considering "violence," Galtung distinguishes between "direct violence" (behavior that threatens life and/or diminishes one's capacity to meet basic human needs, such as killing, maiming, or bullying), "structural violence" (social or political structures that restrict access to opportunities, goods, and services that enable the fulfillment of basic human needs, such as suffrage, education, or health care), and "cultural violence" (harmful cultural or religious values and attitudes, for example, the assumed inferiority of certain races).[33] Diagramming these components of violence as a "violence triangle"—which shows only direct violence like the tip of a much larger submersed iceberg—Galtung sees them as interrelated and all needing to be taken into account in addressing the topic of violence.

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[32]Johan Galtung (1930-), still very active at the age of eighty-nine, has been called the "father of peace studies." In 1959 he founded the International Peace Research Institute Oslo (PRIO), and in 1964 the *Journal of Peace Research*. In the interest of continued innovative research and practical conflict resolution, he founded Transcend International in 1993, a worldwide network of some 500 peace researchers, teachers, and mediators. A highly respected consultant to governments, private organizations, and the UN, Galtung has been awarded thirteen honorary doctorates and the alternative Nobel Prize for his contributions to the theoretical and practical furtherance of peace in the world. See https://www.galtung-institut.de/en/home/johan-galtung (accessed February 2, 2018).

[33]Johan Galtung (1969), "Violence, Peace and Peace Research," *Journal of Peace Research.* 6:167–191, http://www.jstor.org/stable/422690 (accessed December 13, 2017). Also see "Johan Galtung: Direct, structural, and cultural forms of violence and peace," Harvard Divinity School, https://rlp.hds.harvard.edu/typologies-violence-and-peace (accessed March 14, 2018).

In defining "peace," Galtung begins with traditional interpretations of "peace" as representing equilibrium and stability, either internally ("being at peace with oneself") or externally ("living in peace with one's neighbours"). He adds the understanding of peace as the "absence of organized collective violence" between groups or nations, and this leads to his distinction between "negative" and "positive" peace.[34] "Negative peace" refers to the absence of direct violence or destructive conflict; this could be as simple as an agreement between two individuals to stop fighting or as complex as a formal armistice between warring nations.[35] "Positive peace," on the other hand, refers not so much to the absence of direct and indirect violence as to the presence of social justice, harmonious relationships, and constructive activities, such as careful listening in an effort to understand an "enemy," coming to an agreement on the legitimacy of both perspectives, and then working at creative solutions that will be acceptable to both parties—be this the restoration of a broken relationship between individuals, the resolution of a conflict, or the development of social systems that serve the needs of an entire population.[36] In his *Theories of Peace* Galtung lists ten characteristics of "positive peace": cooperation, freedom from fear, freedom from want, economic growth and development, absence of exploitation, equality, justice, freedom of action, pluralism, and dynamism.[37]

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[34]https://www.transcend.org/files/Galtung_Book_unpub_Theories_of_ Peace_-_A_Synthetic_Approach_ to_Peace_Thinking_1967.pdf (accessed February 16, 2018). Also see "Johan Galtung defines 'positive peace'," http://www.envisionpeacemuseum.org/ and Johan Galtung (1969), "Violence, Peace, and Peace Research," *Journal of Peace Research.* Vol. 6:3, 183 (accessed December 13, 2017).

[35]See the article "Negative versus Positive Peace," http://www.irenees.net/bdf_fiche-notions-186_en.html (accessed December 14, 2017).

[36]Ibid.

[37]Johan Galtung (1967), *Theories of Peace:* A Synthetic Approach to Peace Thinking (Oslo: International Peace Research Institute), 14, at https://www.transcend.org/files/Galtung_Book_unpub_Theories_of_Peace_ - _A_Synthetic_Approach_to_Peace_Thinking_1967.pdf, p. 14 (accessed February 16, 2018).

Galtung—who also has an advanced degree in mathematics—actually developed a mathematical formula to define "peace."[38]

Related to this thesis, Galtung's broad definitions are basic to the understanding of peace; they are also fundamental for outlining the mandate of a DOP. The focus of the Department of National Defense (DND) is also on peace and peacekeeping, but here "peace" has primarily been defined in the sense of Galtung's "negative" peace, i.e., the absence of war.[39] In contrast, the focus of the DOP—although the "negative" component would also need to remain part of its mandate—would primarily be directed toward programs of "positive" peace.

Transforming Conflict: John Paul Lederach

The second scholar who has been deeply involved in conflict resolution—"conflict transformation," to use his preferred term[40]—and peacebuilding and whose theoretical work has been very helpful for this thesis is John Paul Lederach. Lederach, an American sociologist who has spent a lifetime working in the practice and theory of conflict resolution was most recently professor at the University of Notre Dame prior to his retirement and being named Professor Emeritus of International Peacebuilding.[41] As Walter A. Wright has observed, "Lederach is an

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[38]The formula is: Peace = (Empathy x Equity)/ (Trauma x Conflict). In this formulation, "Empathy x Equity" represent "positive" peace, and "Trauma x Conflict" represent "negative" peace. Johan Galtung (2012), "How do you define positive Peace?" *https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=RYFn_hSF3wQ* (accessed February 2, 2018).

[39]See, for example, the Department of National Defence and the Canadian Armed Forces 2017-18 Departmental Plan, "Raison d'être," 9; http://www.forces.gc.ca/assets/FORCES_ Internet/docs/en/dp-2017-18-_-final_eng.pdf (accessed February 16, 2018).

[40]See, for example, John Paul Lederach (1995), *Preparing for Peace: Conflict Transformation Across Cultures* (Syracuse NY: Syracuse University Press), 17.

[41]John Paul Lederach (1955-) was active in the Mennonite Central Committee, including the new position of Director of the International Conciliation Service from 1975-1996. From 1990 he was Professor of Conflict Studies and Sociology at Eastern Mennonite University, where he founded the Conflict Transformation Program and the Institute for Peacebuilding. Since 2001 he taught at the University of Notre Dame and continued to be involved in active conflict transformation work. Lederach, whose theoretical work has emerged from his practical

outstanding representative of a religious group—the Mennonites—committed to enhancing the

prospects for peace in the world. . . . Lederach, like his Mennonite colleagues, possesses many of

the characteristics necessary for his life's work: humility, dedication, patience, generosity, trust

in others, . . . appreciation of complexity, willingness to experiment, and identification with the

poor and oppressed."[42]

Lederach has developed several interrelated concepts for conflict resolution that hold

potential for a DOP. One is his "elicitive model"—which he proposes in contrast to the

"prescriptive model."[43] The elicitive approach to dealing with a conflict focuses on getting to

know and truly understand the background convictions and concerns of the conflicted parties

themselves, as well as their suggestions for how to resolve the problem(s) at hand—in contrast to

bringing preconceived notions and models of conflict resolution and "prescribing" them, usually

before fully understanding the problem(s) and underlying concerns.[44] This approach will require

the use of carefully chosen questions and attentive listening—and then taking into account what

the basic concerns are in helping participants in a conflicted situation find an acceptable

resolution.[45] While the elicitive method will be useful in any conflicted situation—conflicted

parties will always have differing perspectives on the issues at hand—it will be particularly

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peacebuilding experiences in many countries, has been called "one of the field's most insightful theorists and practitioners" (former US president Jimmy Carter). See https://www.mediate.com/articles/wrightw2.cfm (accessed February 16, 2018).

[42] https://www.mediate.com/articles/wrightW2.cfm (accessed October 21, 2018).

[43] This model is especially developed in *Preparing for Peace*, notably in Chapters 6 and 7.

[44] Ibid., 58.

[45] Lederach suggests a five-step approach for the elicitive model: discovery of the issues, naming the issues explicitly, evaluating the significance and value of the issues, adapting the further process on the basis of the new insights, and finally applying the learnings to the conflict. The steps are spelled out in detail in *Preparing for Peace*, 58-62.

valuable when the conflict involves parties of different cultural backgrounds, as suggested by the subtitle of the book, *Conflict Transformation Across Cultures*.

Related to the work of a DOP, be this in the international or the domestic Canadian context, the elicitive model is a fundamentally important approach in addressing any conflict. The prescriptive model has clearly not been adequate in the past: while it may possibly be useful for enforcing a negative peace, it does not truly address—does not "transform"—the basic underlying problems. For example, a major domestic Canadian conflict which would benefit from the elicitive approach is the ongoing tension between Indigenous and "settler" Canadians which continues to surface and resurface in various ways.

A second model that Lederach has developed is his "conceptual framework for peacebuilding," which he diagrams as a three-tiered triangle.[46] The central concept is not unrelated to the "elicitive model": any peacebuilding efforts cannot be the responsibility of only a few political or military leaders—and cannot be only the "negative" peace that Galtung refers to—but need to include the concerns and aspirations of all segments of the affected populations. To illustrate his approach, Lederach locates the elite leaders—typically a small but influential number—in the top tier of the triangle and the "grassroots" leaders and population—usually a much larger number—in the bottom tier; in the middle tier he lists the "middle-range" leaders, respected elders or professional or community leaders who have access to both the upper and the lower level participants.

Related to the development of a DOP, Lederach's "top-tier" leaders would of course be involved, inasmuch as the DOP would be a part of the highest level of government. However, even in the process of seeking to establish a DOP it has been the active support by members of

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[46]John Paul Lederach (1997), *Building Peace: Sustainable Reconciliation in Divided Societies* (Washington: United States Institute of Peace Press), especially in chapter 4.

all levels of Canadian society which has given the CPI the momentum it has developed.—And the actual work of the DOP, if it is to be effective, would need to involve people at many levels of society—within Canada and potentially in the international framework as well; in this sense the three-tiered approach to genuine peacebuilding would be an essential component of the DOP.

Lederach develops a third model for peacebuilding which he calls the "expanded framework for peacebuilding."[47] He describes it as "a set of ideas and analytical lenses" that can be helpful in understanding a situation and how various components of peacebuilding interact with each other. The focus of Lederach's work is on understanding specific conflicts and planning appropriate peacebuilding responses, but the model can also be applied to the proposal for a DOP on several levels: one is the establishment of the department itself in the larger context of the Canadian peace movement, the other is the approach to the work of the DOP in resolving or transforming conflicts.

Lederach's "conceptual framework" can be briefly described as follows. Using the model of three sets of "nested circles,"[48] he explores how to understand and address a specific conflict in its larger context. As he writes, "we need to take into consideration both the immediate, 'micro-issues' in the conflict and the broader, more systemic concerns."[49] The first set consists of four concentric circles. The first—the smallest—circle relates to the immediate issue at hand; the second circle points to the larger context of the issue; the third expands the context even further to a "subsystem"; and the fourth, finally, provides the largest context for the issue in a "system."

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[47]The "expanded framework for peacebuilding" is outlined in several of Lederach's books, developing in several stages: he begins with an "integrated framework" in *Building Peace* (1997), especially in chapter 6, and then adds to this to form the "expanded framework," Lederach (2005), *The Moral Imagination: The Art and Soul of Building Peace* (Oxford: Oxford University Press), especially in chapter 12; the framework is diagrammed in "Doodle Six," *The Moral Imagination*, 144; see the "expanded framework for peacebuilding" in Figure 1.

[48]Lederach (1997), 55.

[49]Ibid.

For example, a specific confrontation between two children (the first circle) can be a reflection of a racist attitude of their families or even the larger society in general (the larger circles).

Lederach suggests a second set of "nested circles," again moving from the immediate situation to the larger context. This time, however, the perspective is in relation to time, i.e., from a specific situation in the present to potential future developments—which could be as long as a lifetime or even longer. One can think, for example, of the revenge killings in certain cultures which may continue over generations. As Lederach notes, "The point of this frame is quite simple: if we do not know where we are going it is difficult to get there. This time frame provides us with a horizon for our journey."[50]

Lederach introduces yet a third set of "nested circles"—this time with reference to the context of history.[51] As in the previous sets, the framework begins with the immediate events and then explores the increasingly expanded historical framework: this may extend to the "lived experience" of the involved persons but then extend even further to "remembered history" with its major—often traumatic—memory markers and finally to what Lederach calls "narrative" that expands the time horizon to "time immemorial."[52]

Then Lederach combines all three sets of nested circles into one model which he calls the "expanded framework for peacebuilding" (Figure 1).[53] With this framework it is now possible to situate a specific crisis in its larger social context, to understand it more fully in historical perspective, and to address it in a more comprehensive

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[50]Ibid., 77.

[51]Lederach (2005), 141.

[52]Ibid., 143.

[53]Ibid., 144.
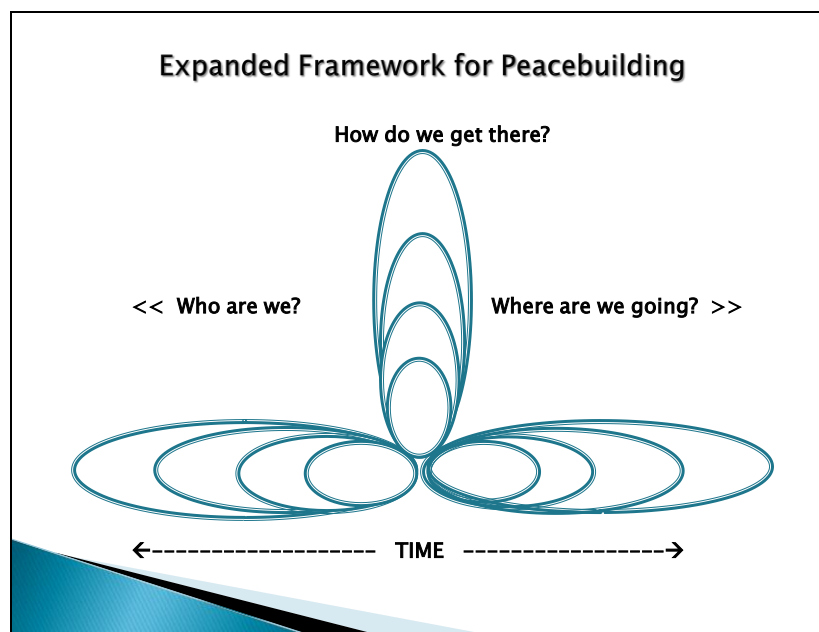
Figure 1. "Expanded framework for peacebuilding,"
Source: Based on John Paul Lederach, *The Moral Imagination* (2005), 144.

manner—to "transform" it—with the long-term future as the ultimate goal. As Lederach points out, the past cannot be undone and the future cannot be guaranteed to turn out as hoped for; however, it is possible to live creatively between memory and potentiality—without being bound by the past and knowing that there is always risk involved in facing the future.[54]

In relation to a DOP, Lederach's "framework" is useful to understand the DOP in its larger governmental, societal, and even global contexts, within the historical development of the Canadian peace movement, and in view of the potential it has to promote peace in Canada and around the world. And the actual work of the DOP, once established, would of course benefit very directly from Lederach's model in addressing conflict and peacebuilding efforts within Canada and globally.

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[54]Ibid., 149.

Related Literature

The Department of Peace

Scholarly literature dealing specifically with the DOP is very limited. The most immediately

relevant material is found on the website of the primary organization promoting the DOP, the

Canadian Peace Initiative (CPI).[55] The site includes such categories as "Learn about the

Initiative," "Get Involved," and "Follow News and Successes." There are also various other

related articles on the CPI site, such as a 2016 address by the Dalai Lama, as well as an "e-

petition" to support the formation of the DOP[56] and the article "Here's why Canada needs a

Department of Peace" which was published in the *Ottawa Citizen* on April 11, 2017 and posted

on the CPI website.[57] It was written by Saul Arbess, co-founder and a director of the CPI, and

Ben Hoffman, former director of the Conflict Resolution Program at the Carter Center.

Referencing the earlier announcement by American President Donald Trump concerning the

retaliatory strike of American forces against Syria, the article responds to the President's

assertion of the international arms race, including nuclear weapons, and the reduction of

American support for the peacekeeping efforts of the United Nations. In view of these ominous

signals, the authors reaffirm the increasing urgency of establishing the DOP, not only as a

significant entity in itself but also to influence the overall discussion and policy-making of the

Canadian government: "The central thrust of the bill is to change the nature of debate and

decision-making in cabinet, so that nonviolent options are always considered in matters of peace

and security at home and abroad."[58] The article explicates the purpose of the DOP in some detail,

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[55]See http://canadianpeaceinitiative.ca (accessed January 23, 2018).

[56]Ibid.

[57]http://canadianpeaceinitiative.ca/news (accessed January 24, 2018).

[58]Ibid.

concluding with the challenge, "This may be the last generation to achieve a sustainable peace and will require a much more vigorous effort by Canada in concert with like-minded nations, to build it."[59] Another article with similar themes appeared in 2016 in *Common Ground*, entitled "Let's mark Canada's 150th birthday by establishing a Department of Peace."[60]

Beyond the website of the CPI, little has been said or written about the topic of a governmental Department of Peace. One notable exception is a parliamentary address given much earlier, on March 26, 1928, by Agnes Campbell Macphail. In this speech Macphail, a social reformer and MP from 1921 to 1940, made the motion to establish "a governmental department for International Peace in Canada [*sic*]."[61] She raised such considerations as the enormous cost of carrying on a futile war—that is, the First World War—the need for new and constructive methods of resolving conflicts, and the challenge to develop loyalties that transcend a national citizenship. Macphail envisioned a department of peace with two overall areas of responsibility: one to address issues of peace and conflict within Canada and the other to develop friendly relations with and better understandings of other nations and cultures. She encouraged cooperation with organizations like the League of Nations and the promotion of peace in schools, churches, clubs (like the recently established Rotary Club[62]), and labour organizations. Quite specifically, Macphail suggested that just as a military college existed to train young men [*sic*] to

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[59]Ibid.

[60]http://commonground.ca/establish-a-department-of-peace-on-canadas-150th-anniversary (accessed January 24, 2018).

[61]Macphail's complete address is recorded in the House of Commons Debates Hansard http://vitacollections.ca/southgreymuseum/24786/data?dis=ex

[62]The Rotarians' "Four-Way Test of the things we think, say or do," which continues to resonate well with the search for reconciliation and peace, consists of the following questions: 1. Is it the truth? 2. Is it fair to all concerned? 3. Will it build goodwill and better friendships? 4. Will it be beneficial to all concerned? See http://thefourwaytest.com/history-of-the-four-way-test (accessed April 12, 2018).

become warriors, why should the government not establish a college to train young men in the

ways of peace? She concluded her address with the ominous premonition:

> In closing I would ask the government not to consider the matter [of establishing a
> department of peace] lightly, because it is not a trivial subject; it . . . is the most important
> subject facing mankind to-day. If we do not find some new way there is nothing surer
> than that, if we keep on for another twenty-five years as we have been going since 1918,
> we shall have another war whether we like it or not. Nothing can prevent it if we keep
> preparing for war.[63]

The Hansard record tersely notes that debate was ended "by the 11 o'clock rule" and that the

motion was withdrawn;[64] no further mention is made of Macphail's speech or the topic.

If the more generic topic of departments or ministries of peace is considered, much

literature is available.[65] Departments or ministries of peace—in varying configurations—have

been established in several other countries: the Solomon Islands,[66] Nepal,[67] the Autonomous

Region of Bougainville/Papua New Guinea,[68] and Costa Rica.[69] The literature on the first three

of these is very limited, but there is a good deal of information on Costa Rica and its Ministry of

Justice and Peace. Numerous other peace-related topics include such diverse headings as "Local

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[63]See n. 58.

[64]http://parl.canadiana.ca/ (accessed January 31, 2018). The "11 o'clock rule" appears to refer to the
accepted parliamentary protocol—inherited from the British parliament—of breaking for dinner at 11 a.m.

[65]For example, a cursory check of "Department of Peace" in the Internet reveals 251 million contacts; of
course there is duplication and there are irrelevant sites, however, the number is staggering nevertheless (accessed
July 24, 2018).

[66]http://www.unpbf.org/countries/solomon-islands (accessed April 12, 2018).

[67]http://www.peace.gov.np (accessed April 12, 2018).

[68]http://www.pg.undp.org/content/papua_new_guinea/en/home (accessed February 3, 2018).

[69]http://www.yesmagazine.org/peace-justice/costa-rica-creates-department-of-peace (accessed April 12,
2018).

Peace Committees," "Zones of Peace,"[70]and—in more bizarre ways—George Orwell's "Ministry

of Peace" whose focus is war[71] and a line of women's clothing called "Department of Peace."[72]

General Canadian Peace Literature

The literature on the broader Canadian context of the DOP, i.e., the peace movement in

Canada, is much more limited than the American or international peace literature. One

significant publication has been the journal *Peace Research: The Canadian Journal of Peace*

and Conflict Studies, published twice a year since 1969. It is billed as "Canada's oldest and

primary scholarly journal in its area" and includes articles on a broad range of Canadian and

international issues related to conflict, violence, poverty, just peace and human well-being.[73] The

more popular *Peace Magazine* has been published quarterly since 1985.[74] Other journals appear

at various intervals and in varying formats. For example, *Journal of Mennonite Studies (JMS)*

has been published annually by the Chair in Mennonite Studies of the University of Winnipeg

since 1982. While the overall focus of *JMS* is on Mennonites and related themes, the topics of

peace and human rights—significant topics for Mennonites—regularly appear. Many of the

issues focus on conferences hosted by the Chair, such as the 2007 issue in which the major

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[70]See, for example, Landon Hancock and Christopher Mitchell (2007), *Zones of Peace* (Hartford CT: Kumarian Press) which "provides a long overdue comprehensive account of the many significant efforts to create zones of peace during and after armed conflict." Also see https://www.peaceportal.org/web/i4p/local-peace-committees and the interview with Landon Hancock, "Local zones of peace: communities withdrawing from conflict," https://www.peaceinsight.org/blog/2013/01/zones-of-peace-landon-e-hancock (accessed April 5, 2018).

[71]George Orwell, *1984*; see https://www.goodreads.com/quotes/60071-the-ministry-of-peace-concerns-itself-with-war-the-ministry (accessed July 24, 2018).

[72]https://www.thredup.com/products/women/department-of-peace (accessed July 24, 2018).

[73]*Peace Research* was started in 1969 as the newsletter of the Canadian Peace Research Institute (CPRI), founded in Toronto in 1961with the purpose of conducting research on the causes of war and requirements for a world without war, and closed about 1981. *Peace Research* was also the publication of the Canadian Peace Research and Education Association (CPREA) from 1966-2004. Since 2007 it has been published in Winnipeg by Menno Simons College. See https://www.peaceresearch.ca.

[74]See www.peacemagazine.org.

addresses of the 2006 conference on "War and the Conscientious Objector" were published;[75] articles in this issue included, among others, Thomas Socknat's "Conscientious Objectors in the Context of Canadian Peace Movements," David Schroeder's "Theological Reflections of a CO: Changing Peace Theology since World War II," and Sam Steiner's "Alternative Service or Alternative Resistance? A Vietnam War Draft Resister in Canada." Similarly, the 2014 issue of *JMS* focused on presentations given at the "Mennonites and Human Rights" conference held in 2012.[76]

Another journal, *The Conrad Grebel Review*, has been published by Conrad Grebel University College in Waterloo, Ontario, three times a year since 1982 and frequently deals with peace-related themes. To illustrate, the issue of Spring 2014 focused on "Teaching Peace Studies" with six articles addressing different aspects of the topic.[77]

Other publications include the newsletters and bulletins of various organizations, which in recent years have mostly been on Internet websites. Examples are the Peace Bulletin of PACS-Can[78]—not to be confused with the bi-weekly PACS Newsletter of Conrad Grebel University College.

A limited number of monographs relate to specific topics of war and peace in Canadian perspective. In 1983, for example, Ernie Regehr and Simon Rosenblum wrote *Canada and the Nuclear Arms* Race[79] and more recently Regehr published *Disarming Conflict: Why Peace*

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[75]*Journal of Mennonite Studies* 25 (2007), http://jms.uwinnipeg.ca.

[76]*Journal of Mennonite Studies* 32 (2014), http://jms.uwinnipeg.ca.

[77]*The Conrad Grebel Review* 32:2 (Spring 2014); also see https://uwaterloo.ca/grebel/publications/conrad-grebel-review.

[78]https://pacscan.ca/en/home/ (accessed October 15, 2018).

[79]Ernie Regehr and Simon Rosenblum (1983), *Canada and the Nuclear Arms* Race (Toronto: James Lorimer).

Cannot Be Won on the Battlefield.[80] There is also a small but significant assortment of multi-author collections of essays, such as Peter Brock and Thomas Socknat's *Challenge to Mars: Essays on Pacifism from 1918 to 1944*[81] and Harvey L. Dyck's *The Pacifist Impulse in Historical Perspective*.[82] Another publication is *Armies of Peace: Canada and the UNRRA Years*, by Susan Armstrong-Reid and David Murray;[83] the authors document the history of the Canadian involvement in the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration from 1943-1947 as well as the effect of this experience on the later Canadian involvement in international affairs.

It is noteworthy that the Canadian peace literature, not unlike the Canadian peace movement itself, is intertwined with international topics, notably those of the United States. A significant publication is Peter Brock and Nigel Young's *Pacifism in the Twentieth Century* which provides an excellent survey of twentieth century developments in peace movements around the world;[84] while the book is organized thematically (e.g., Varieties of Pacifism at the Outset of the Twentieth Century, World War I, Ghandi as a Pacifist, the Cold War Years, the Historic Peace Churches since 1945) and there is no chapter dealing with Canada specifically, there are numerous references to Canadian peace developments throughout.

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[80]Ernie Regehr (2015), *Disarming Conflict: Why Peace Cannot Be Won on the Battlefield* (Toronto: Between the Lines).

[81]Peter Brock and Thomas Socknat (1999), *Challenge to Mars: Essays on Pacifism from 1918 to 1945* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press).

[82]Harvey L. Dyck, ed. (1996), *The Pacifist Impulse in Historical Perspective* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press).

[83] Susan Armstrong-Reid and David Murray (2008), *Armies of Peace: Canada and the UNRRA Years* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press).

[84]Peter Brock and Nigel Young (1999), *Pacifism in the Twentieth Century* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press).

Major international publishing efforts have produced several "peace encyclopedias," such

as the *Encyclopedia of Violence, Peace and Conflict* (2nd edition published in 2008)[85] and the

four-volume *Oxford International Encyclopedia of Peace* (published in 2010).[86] These include

articles about the Canadian peace movement, although their overall focus is again not

particularly on Canada. Short articles can also be found in other encyclopedias, such as Thomas

Socknat's article "Pacifism" and Douglas Roche's "Peace Movement in Canada," both in *The*

Canadian Encyclopedia.[87]

Still in the international context, there are numerous journals addressing various topics

related to peace. For example, the Canadian Peace Research Association lists over a hundred

journal titles—but only two or three are specifically Canadian.[88] This is echoed in the list of

journals related to peace and conflict studies which is published by the Mauro Centre at the

University of Manitoba.[89]

The first half-century of the Canadian peace movement has been fairly well documented,

notably by Thomas Socknat in his book *Witness Against War: Pacifism in Canada, 1900-1945*.[90]

However, there has not been any similar comprehensive overview of the movement of the last

half of the twentieth century. One multi-author publication is *Worth Fighting For: Canada's*

Tradition of War Resistance from 1812 to the War on Terror, edited by Lara Campbell, Michael

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[85] *Encyclopedia of Violence, Peace and Conflict*, 2nd ed. (2008), (Cambridge MS: Academic Press).

[86] *Oxford International Encyclopedia of Peace* (2010), (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press).

[87] *The Canadian Encyclopedia online*, s.v. "Pacifism" and "Peace Movement in Canada," https://www.thecanadianencyclopedia.ca/en (accessed February 19, 2018).

[88] https://cpra-arcp.weebly.com/journals-related-to-peace-and-conflict.html (accessed November 12, 2018).

[89] https://umanitoba.ca/colleges/st_pauls/mauro_centre/peace_conflict/phdprogram/current/journals.html (accessed November 12, 2018).

[90] Thomas Socknat (1987), *Witness Against War: Pacifism in Canada, 1900-1945* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press).

Dawson, and Catherine Gidney.[91] This collection brings together a wide range of individual studies that together demonstrate the significance of the Canadian peace movement as a significant stream within Canadian history—which, as the authors note, has too frequently been basically portrayed as military history.[92] Once again, however, this volume is not conceived as a comprehensive history of the peace movement, and there is no mention of the Canadian Peace Initiative. A less scholarly book, published in 2017, is the anthology *150 Canadian Stories of Peace*, which was compiled by Gordon Breedyk, Mony Dojeiji, Koozma J. Tarasoff and Evelyn Voigt;[93] published in recognition of one hundred and fifty years of Canadian Confederation, the volume includes stories of peace by and about people of a wide variety of ages and backgrounds.

Conclusion

Throughout the past fifty years or so, in tandem with developments in the actual practice of conflict resolution and building peace, the academic discipline of peace and conflict studies has also matured. Creative thinkers like Johan Galtung and John Paul Lederach have provided new and more nuanced insights for understanding the meaning of peace and the resolution—or transformation—of conflicts. However, the scholarly literature addressing the Canadian peace movement and particularly the proposed DOP remains sparse.

Against this background of the larger discipline, the present thesis seeks to investigate the potential and the liabilities of establishing a DOP. In the following chapter the methods and procedures of this investigation are outlined.

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[91]Lara Campbell, Michael Dawson, and Catherine Gidney, eds. (2015), *Worth Fighting For: Canada's Tradition of War Resistance from 1812 to the War on Terror* (Toronto: Between the Lines).

[92]Ibid., 2.

[93]Breedyk, Gordon, Mony Dojeiji, Koozma J. Tarasoff, and Evelyn Voigt, comps. (2017) *150 Canadian Stories of Peace: An Anthology* (Nepean ON: Walking for Peace Publishing).

CHAPTER 2.

METHODS AND PROCEDURES

We all have to use our imaginations a great deal more than we are in the habit of doing.
—A.J. Muste[94]

Introduction

This chapter outlines the approaches that were used in the research for this thesis, i.e.,

documentary analysis and oral interviews. The documentary analysis was helpful for the general

context but had little to contribute to the specific topic of a DOP. On the other hand, the

interviews developed into an excellent experience that yielded much helpful information. Each

approach is discussed further in the following sections.

Qualitative Research

For the research of this topic, a qualitative research approach was selected. Qualitative research,

which encompasses a broad variety of research methods, is exploratory research, with the aim of

finding factors or reasons underlying a particular issue and establishing directions for

implementation. Data collection is not usually based on large-scale questionnaires, as is

frequently the case in quantitative research. Rather, data may be gathered through unstructured

or semi-structured approaches, such as small focus groups, individual interviews, or

participation/observation.[95]

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[94] A.J. Muste (1941), "The Pacifist Way of Life," in *Peace is the Way: Writings on Nonviolence from the Fellowship of Reconciliation*, ed. Walter Wink (Maryknoll NY: Orbis Books, 2004), 32.

[95]"What's the Difference between Quantitative and Qualitative Research?" See https://www.snapsurveys.com/blog/qualitative-vs-quantitative-research (accessed April 16, 2018).

In *Conflict Assessment and Peacebuilding Planning* author Lisa Schirch, research professor of peacebuilding at Eastern Mennonite University, outlines some basic principles that can serve as guidelines for doing qualitative research. These include the following:

- Participation—Active involvement of the people affected by the research

- Empowerment—Awareness of power dynamics between the researcher and participants

- Accountability—Clear identification of the researcher's goals, motives, and methods

- Respect—Recognition of the unique contribution that each participant can make

- Confidentiality—Honoring of requests for confidentiality

- Pedagogy—Appreciation of various forms of information, such as verbal or written as

well as non-verbal or artistic methods of gathering and presenting research findings.[96]

Schirch's principles are mainly applicable in the context of qualitative rather than quantitative research.[97] She suggests that research methods might include interviews, community consultations, focus groups, video documentaries, opinion polls and surveys, as well as "desk research"—i.e., books, articles, etc.—and Internet technologies.[98] In the research for the present thesis, two approaches have been used: documentary analysis and oral interviews.

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[96] Lisa Schirch (2013), *Conflict Assessment and Peacebuilding Planning: Toward a Participatory Approach to Human Security* (Boulder CO: Kumarian Press), 40.

[97]In her excellent article entitled "Eight Ways to Strengthen Mennonite Peacebuilding," Lisa Schirch notes the value of self-reflection for peacebuilding, i.e., reflecting on approaches that work well in peacebuilding and those that do not. While self-reflection may be a significant component of peacebuilding, it would certainly also be an important aspect of peace research—in fact, it might be considered another "principle"of qualitative research. See Schirch (2017), 362.

[98]Schirch (2013), 53-57.

Documentary Analysis

Documentary analysis consists of a review of the available relevant literature, in this case particularly as related to the specific topic of the "Canadian Department of Peace" as well as the Canadian peace tradition more generally. As already noted, there is a good deal of literature on the overall Canadian peace tradition and its various specific aspects. It is also noteworthy that to a large extent the Canadian peace movement has been preoccupied and intertwined with the larger global peace concerns and causes, notably with the movement in the United States; a great deal of literature is available on these larger topics.

On the other hand, there is only a very limited amount of literature related directly to the DOP. Government sources, for example, are few—in fact, there are next to none—beyond providing the texts of the two bills, Bill C-477 and Bill C-373.[99] There are also no articles or even any references to the bills or the topic of the DOP in any of the issues of *Peace Research*, which identifies itself as the "primary scholarly journal in its area."[100] Not unexpectedly, the most useful sources are articles in the Internet—which, of course, need to be read with due caution.[101] The findings are discussed further below.

Oral Interviews

As a complimentary approach to the documentary analysis, interviews were conducted with persons who had some form of association with or interest in the peace movement generally and

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[99]The two bills, Bill C-477 and Bill C-373, can be accessed at http://www.parl.ca/ DocumentViewer/en/41-2/bill/C-477/first-reading; and http://www.parl.ca/DocumentViewer/en/41-2/bill/C-373/first-reading (accessed April 5, 2018).

[100]https://www.peaceresearch.ca (accessed November 6, 2018).

[101]For example, internet resources could include lectures or interviews like Johan Galtung's "Breaking the Cycle of Violent Conflict," https://www.youtube. com/watch?v=16YiLqftppo (accessed February 16, 2018), or John Paul Lederach's "John Paul Lederach Speaks at the Next Gen Peace Conference," https://www.youtube.com/ watch?v=89Fy_PRuBBU (accessed February 16, 2018).

the topic of the DOP in particular.[102] Some of these interviews, in Winnipeg and Waterloo, were conducted in person, while others were conducted via telephone or email.[103]

Recruitment Strategy and Participants

Seeking out the persons to be interviewed was a deliberate, if somewhat random process. Two of the main proponents of the DOP—the director of the CPI, Saul Arbess (a cultural anthropologist, futurist, and Canadian and global peace activist, currently in active retirement in Victoria) and Balwant (Bill) Bhaneja (an academic and diplomat, currently in retirement in Ottawa)—were contacted by email and then also by telephone; both were happy to be of assistance. On the website of the CPI there is also a list of twenty-six other "Prominent Supporters," who would potentially have some useful perspectives to contribute;[104] however, it was readily possible to get addresses of only seven of them. Of these seven, three responded to an email inquiry, also resulting in a longer telephone interview with one.

Further, several parliamentarians, past and present, were contacted for their potential insights; four of these responded—former MP Bill Blaikie, Senator Marylou McPhedran, MP MaryAnn Mihychuk, and MP Borys Wrzesnewskyj. Other individuals who were contacted for their insights and opinions included a number of peace researchers, activists, and scholars in peace and conflict programs; frequently one respondent would recommend another potential person who would be interested and be able to contribute to the study (the "snowball" approach).

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[102] Originally one or possibly several focus groups were also considered, but these did not materialize.

[103]There was an earlier DOP support group in Winnipeg led by Gerry Labossiere which has, however, been dissolved (information from Sean Byrne and Gerry Labossiere).

[104]See the list of names on the CPI website, www.canadianpeaceinitiative.ca (accessed numerous times during September and October, 2018); the list included five "Supporters" who were already deceased.

Finally, there were also informal, less structured conversations with other people of various ages and backgrounds in order to get a sense of their awareness and evaluation of the DOP.[105]

The people who were contacted and responded can be tabulated as follows:

Contacts	Number
Initial contacts by email	23
In-person interviews	10
Telephone interviews	8
Email interviews	8
Informal conversations	Numerous

Figure 2. Thesis Contacts/Respondents

The formats of the interviews varied considerably: some were conducted in person, usually about one hour in length, and recorded; in some cases recording was not feasible (e.g., one meeting in a restaurant turned out to have much interfering noise and commotion). Other interviews were conducted over the telephone, usually about half an hour in length, and still others happened by shorter or longer email correspondence.

Interview Format

The interviews followed a semi-structured, in-depth approach, using several basic guiding questions but allowing the interviewed persons adequate space to develop their own thoughts further.[106] With some variations, respondents were asked the following basic three questions:

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[105]The list of people who were finally interviewed is found in Appendix I.

[106]Schirch suggests a set of six "lenses" which are deceptively simple, yet may be very useful: they are, as she notes, the "basic journalistic inquiry approach": Where, Who, Why, What, How, and When? In *Conflict Assessment and Peacebuilding Planning* she explores these questions with reference to conflict situations (Chaps. 5-10), but they can also be usefully employed with relevance to the topics of the present thesis.

1. How would you evaluate the significance of a Department of Peace (DOP) in the Federal Government of Canada?

2. Given that two bills to introduce a DOP (in 2009 and 2011) did not go past First Reading in Parliament, how would you assess the feasibility of another bill being accepted at present?

3. How do you see the value and/or relationship to the DOP of the motion to appoint a Canadian "Women, Peace and Security Ambassador" (Borys Wrzesnewskyj, September 20, 2018) and the subsequent announcement of the appointment by Foreign Affairs Minister Chrystia Freeland (September 22, 2018)?

Variations or related questions included the following:

- How familiar are you with the topic of the Canadian Department of Peace (DOP)?

- Have you been involved in past discussions about the DOP?

- How strong do you think the support for the DOP is among Canadians?

- What steps have been and/or could be undertaken to promote the DOP?

- What are the biggest obstacles to the implementation of the DOP?

- What resources/resource people are available to support the DOP?

- Are you satisfied with the last proposed bill (Bill C-373) introducing the topic of the DOP to Parliament in 2011? What additions or changes would you suggest?

- Is there anything else you would like to say about the history or future of the DOP?

As the interviews progressed and additional perspectives became apparent, some broader questions were also introduced, for example:

- Most supporters of the DOP appear to be over 50 years of age, and many are retired from full-time work; do you see any support among younger people—say, those under 30? Is it possible that the CPI may be a cause that is considered irrelevant by younger people?

- Do you see an overall absence of political interest among students and other young people? Do you observe any impact of current American politics on Canadian youth?

- How do you see the relationship between peace academics and practitioners? Is there a gap that needs to be addressed?

- How do you see the work of other peace-related NGOs, like the Civilian Peace Service Canada (CPSC), in relation to any parliamentary or government initiatives?

Ethics Commitments

An essential understanding of this research project was ethical conduct that promotes honesty, respect, fairness, and integrity. Respondents were informed that the research had been approved by the Joint Faculty Research Ethics Board at the University of Manitoba.[107] They were also informed that their participation was voluntary and that they would be free to withdraw from the research project at any time without any further consequences. Further, they were informed that they would not be exposed to any risks or dangers, also that there would be no remuneration or other direct benefits. Participants were assured of confidentiality and that their names would be used only with their permission; without exception, all agreed that it would be acceptable to identify them by name wherever this would be appropriate.

In addition, respondents were informed that the data they provided would be used only for purposes of the thesis, with the possibility of a related article or conference presentation. They were assured that the recordings and the summaries of all conversations would be retained

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[107]See "Consent Form for Interview Participants" (Appendix G).

in a secure, password-protected file until the end of the research project and then destroyed—at the latest by December 31, 2019. Finally, all participants were informed that the research was projected to be finished by January 2019 and the completion of the thesis was anticipated by spring 2019; if they would indicate interest, they would be sent a short summary of the thesis.

In terms of procedures, with the permission of the participants, ten of the personal or telephone interviews were recorded and extensive notes were taken of all of the conversations. Following the meetings the recordings and notes were summarized in one or two pages and sent to the participants for their critiques, corrections, and approval; all replied, some adding a few minor corrections or additions but all indicating their approval of the notes.

Data Analysis

Grounded theory is an inductive methodology used in the social sciences to determine the meaning of available data, i.e., it lets the information speak for itself; grounded theory can be followed in either qualitative or quantitative research.[108] Typically, open-ended and interactive questions can be used to elicit information or opinions on the topic of interest. It is on the basis of the responses that a researcher can develop a theory or draw other conclusions.

In the context of this thesis, the data gathered in the study went through a thorough process of recording, careful notes, and review of the notes with the interview participants for correctness. Finally, major themes and sub-themes that emerged inductively from the data were identified and incorporated into the body of the thesis.

Conclusion

Overall, the two approaches—documentary analysis and oral interviews—as outlined above combined to yield a satisfactory collection of data. As anticipated, the documentary information

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[108]See http://www.groundedtheory.com/what-is-gt.aspx (accessed January 10, 2019).

was helpful for the larger context of the DOP but quite limited in terms of the topic of the DOP itself. However, in this regard the interviews turned out to be excellent experiences. The questions provided enough guidance for the conversations, which also frequently expanded beyond the scope of the initial questions. Without exception, the people who agreed to be interviewed were thoughtful, enthusiastic, ready to share their insights and questions, and willing to be quoted.

In the following chapter the broader context of the DOP initiative is reviewed: the context of the Canadian peace tradition as well as the context of global peace traditions as reflected in the programs of a sampling of other countries.

CHAPTER 3

THE LARGER CONTEXT

Peace is the wholeness created by right relationships with oneself, other persons,
other cultures, other life, Earth, and the larger whole of which all are a part.
—The Earth Charter[109]

Introduction

As already noted, the discussion about a Canadian DOP has not been occurring in isolation but

needs to be understood in the context of the larger history of the peace movements in Canada and

in numerous other countries. Indeed, when reviewing this history, it quickly becomes evident

that although the circumstances are unique in each country there are many linkages in the global

peace movements. These connections have been present for many years through correspondence,

international peace conferences, the media, and other forms of interaction of peace activists and

theoreticians with one another.

In this chapter the peace tradition in Canada —which antedates the "peace movement" in

the narrower sense of the word—is reviewed. This is followed by a brief examination of several

other countries which have had related experiences. These are, first, four countries which have

also begun to implement "ministries" or "departments" of peace: the Solomon Islands, Nepal,

Papua/New Guinea, and Costa Rica.[110] Second, seven countries are considered which, while not

structuring specific peace "departments" in their governments, nevertheless have made

significant efforts to give peace a high priority: Norway, Germany, Japan, Ireland, New Zealand,

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[109] "The Earth Charter." http://earthcharter.org/virtual-library2/images/uploads/echarter_english.pdf (accessed November 15, 2018).

[110] These countries are listed in the website of the CPI; see http://canadianpeaceinitiative.ca/learn (accessed January 10, 2019).

the United Kingdom, and (ironically) the United States of America. Finally, lessons are drawn from the experiences of these other countries that can be applicable to the Canadian situation.

The Peace Tradition in Canada

It will be helpful to begin a review of the Canadian peace movement by defining several central terms, notably "peace" and "pacifism."[111] The *Compact Oxford Canadian Dictionary* defines several levels of "peace": on the personal level, as "quiet," "serenity," or "mental calmness"; on the social level, as "freedom from quarrels or dissension between individuals" or "freedom from civil disorder"; and on the level of international relations as "freedom from or cessation of war." "Pacifism" is defined as "the belief that all disputes should be settled by peaceful means rather than war." These basic definitions have been expanded by scholars like Martin Ceadel, Johan Galtung, Peter Brock, Thomas Socknat, James Reimer, and John Howard Yoder.[112]

The Canadian peace tradition traces its origins to the eighteenth century, when religious pacifist groups were recognized by the Canadian government.[113] For example, the Militia Act of 1793 first exempted "Quakers, Mennonites and Tunkers" from personal militia duties.[114] The earliest known test cases of conscientious objection occurred when Mennonites and Quakers refused militia service in the War of 1812.[115]

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[111]Victor Kliewer (2011), "Nonresistant or Pacifist? The Peace Stance of the Conservative *Kanadier* Mennonites, 1874-1945," Unpubl. MA Thesis (Winnipeg: Universities of Manitoba/Winnipeg), Chap. 1.

[112]Ibid.

[113]Thomas Socknat (2007), "Conscientious Objectors in the Context of Canadian Peace Movements," *Journal of Mennonite Studies* 25, 62.

[114]Frank Epp (1974), *Mennonites in Canada 1786-1920: The History of a Separate People* (Toronto: Macmillan), 97. Epp also reviews the precedents for Canadian law in the British legal system, which allowed for religious dissention and military exemption, with certain conditions, as early as 1761.

[115]Socknat, "Conscientious Objectors," 62. Socknat notes that the Mennonites—who had immigrated to Upper Canada as part of the United Empire Loyalist movement—agreed to pay the imposed fines, while the Quakers refused.

Liberal peace societies became active following the War of 1812, with the larger peace movement gradually emerging in the late nineteenth century.[116] However, as Thomas Socknat writes, "It was [the] religious pacifist presence in Canadian society and its support for conscientious objection that laid a firm foundation for a broader peace movement and remains to this day its core of support."[117] The Quakers had the greatest impact on early peace legislation, as the Mennonites—the largest nonresistant group—remained largely isolated from the broader society until World War II.[118]

The first national peace society, the Canadian Peace and Arbitration Society, was organized by 1905 but collapsed with the beginning of World War I.[119] Following the war, the peace movement again expanded, as groups like the Student Christian Movement (SCM) and the Fellowship of Reconciliation (FOR) were organized and there was strong support for international disarmament. The Cooperative Commonwealth Federation (CCF) was formed in 1933, becoming the political expression of the peace movement.[120] The groups which came to be called the "historic peace churches"—the Christian churches which included nonresistance in their basic confessions, specifically the Society of Friends (Quakers), the Mennonites, and the

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[116]Ibid.

[117]Ibid., 61.

[118]Ibid. 62.

[119]Ibid.

[120]Ibid., 63.

Church of the Brethren—began meetings in 1935,[121] and the "Conference of Historic Peace Churches" was formally organized in 1940.[122]

The Canadian peace movement again weakened with the outbreak of the Spanish Civil War in 1936 and then World War II in 1939, so that primarily the Christian conscientious objectors and a small core of activists working in the FOR remained.[123] At the same time, more and more men from other traditions, especially from the United Church of Canada, applied for CO status. As a result, the alternative service program was developed, and by 1945 more than ten thousand men had registered for work in the alternative service program.[124] As historian Thomas Socknat observes, "The Second World War was a watershed in the history of conscientious objection as well as the peace movement in Canada."[125]

The biggest issues in the 1950s and 1960s concerned nuclear testing and armament.[126] The "Ban the Bomb" petition led to the "largest outpouring of public support for the peace movement to that date in Canadian history."[127] During this time the Canadian "peace movement," in the narrower sense of the term, had its origins.[128] It was also during this time that the Canadian Mennonites—traditionally not active in national or international politics—began

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[121]*Global Anabaptist Mennonite Encyclopedia Online* (*GAMEO*), s.v. "Historic Peace Churches," http://www.gameo.org/encyclopedia/contents/H59ME.html. (accessed February 19, 2018).

[122]*GAMEO*, s.v. "Conference of Historic Peace Churches," http://www.gameo.org/encyclopedia/contents/C663ME.html. (accessed January 7, 2018).

[123]Socknat, "Conscientious Objectors," 64.

[124]Ibid., 66.

[125]Ibid.

[126]*Canadian Encyclopedia*, s.v. "Peace Movement," http://www.thecanadianencyclopedia.com/index.cfm?PgNm=TCE&Params=A1ARTA0006163 (accessed January 18, 2018).

[127]Socknat, "Conscientious Objectors," 67.

[128]By the early 1960s, new organizations were being starting: the Pugwash Conferences (1957), Canadian Voice of Women (1960), and the bourgeoning Canadian Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament, to name only three.

more active participation in political activity.[129] The Canadian peace movement of the 1960s also

received encouragement from the American Civil Rights Movement and the Vietnam War, with

the related American antiwar movement and some eighty thousand "draft-dodgers" coming to

Canada from the United States.[130]

The growing tension of the Cold War once again led to increased peace activism. One of

the earliest and most active organizations promoting peace during the Cold War was the

Canadian Peace Congress (CPC), organized in 1949 under the leadership of James Endicott;[131]

associated with the World Peace Council and controversial for its socialist leanings, the CPC

continued to be active until the early 1990s and beyond. These years also saw the beginnings of

other peace organizations, such as Project Ploughshares in 1976; as a division of the Canadian

Council of Churches, Project Ploughshares seeks to promote policies and actions to prevent war

and armed violence.[132] During this period the federal government also established the Canadian

Institute for International Peace and Security (1984),[133] and countless other civilian peace

groups, such as Peacebuild (started in 1994 as the Canadian Peacebuilding Coordinating

Committee),[134] were established across the country. In 1985 the Canadian Peace Alliance was

established, becoming the largest Canadian umbrella organization for some fifteen hundred

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[129]Socknat, "Conscientious Objectors," 67.

[130]Ibid.

[131]For more information on the Canadian Peace Congress see http://www.canadianpeacecongress.ca/about/ (accessed November 12, 2018).

[132]http://projectploughshares,.ca (accessed November 12, 2018).

[133]See article "The Canadian Institute for International Peace and Security" by Geoffrey Pearson at http://mje.mcgill.ca/article/viewFile/7756/5685 (accessed November 12, 2018).

[134]http://www.peacebuild.ca/en/about/history (accessed November 14, 2018).

peace organizations. [135] However, when the Cold War wound down in the 1990s the aims of the

peace movement became more diffused, encompassing a wide variety of concerns about the

environment, human rights, and overall increases of violence in Canada and internationally. A

major renewed challenge resulted from the invasion of Iraq in 2003. [136]

Since there has been no military conscription in Canada since the Second World War,

traditional conscientious objection has not been a major concern in recent years, and attention

has focused on the environment, the military-industrial complex, and nuclear stockpiling. [137] A

related program that has been receiving limited but ongoing attention is "Conscience Canada"; it

was established in 1982 to promote peace through the withholding of the portion of income taxes

which support the expenditures of the Canadian military. [138]

The government has been involved in global peace and security issues through its

Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade, funding other peace-related NGOs

through the Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA); the support has fluctuated

over the years, depending on the political conditions. [139] For example, during the years of the

Liberal government of Jean Chretien, 1993-2003, serious attention was given to transforming the

Canadian Forces Base Cornwallis into the Canadian and Multinational Peacekeeping Training

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[135]See Canadian Peace Alliance, http://www.acp-cpa.ca/en/group_directory.html (accessed February 19, 2018).

[136]See, for example, the response of the international community at the UN Security Council debate on March 26, 2003 at https://www.un.org/press/en/2003/sc7705.doc.htm (accessed October 16, 2018).

[137]Socknat, "Conscientious Objectors," 71.

[138]http://www.consciencecanada.ca/?page_id=479 (accessed February 19, 2018).

[139]*Canadian Encyclopedia*, s.v. "Peace Movement." http://www.thecanadianencyclopedia.com/index.cfm?PgNm=TCE&Params=A1ARTA0006163 (accessed January 18, 2018).

Centre.[140] During the following Conservative government of Stephen Harper, from 2006 to 2015,

Canadian military capacities were increased while support for non-military peace activities and

organizations was reduced—witness the financial cutbacks for respected NGOs like KAIROS

(KAIROS Canadian Ecumenical Justice Initiatives),[141] the closing of the Pearson Peacekeeping

Centre in 2013,[142] or the 2012 warning to Mennonite Church Canada that its charitable status

would be endangered if the related magazine *Canadian Mennonite* would continue to write

articles critical of government policies.[143] In the subsequent Liberal government of Justin

Trudeau the Conservative policy was again reversed. As the prime minister stated in 2015,

> We [the Liberal government] will renew Canada's commitment to peacekeeping
> operations. . . . Under Stephen Harper, Canada has dramatically scaled back its
> involvement in peace operations – a decision that could not come at a worse time. As the
> number of violent conflicts in the world escalates, demand for international peace
> operations has never been greater.
>
> We will recommit to supporting international peace operations with the United Nations.
> . . .
>
> We will lead an international effort to improve and expand the training of military
> and civilian personnel deployed on peace operations, and will insist that any
> peacekeepers involved in misconduct be held accountable by their own country and the
> United Nations.

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[140]https://ir.lib.uwo.ca/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1089&context=politicalsciencepub (accessed September 3, 2018).

[141]See Canadians for Justice and Peace in the Middle East, Factsheet Series No. 127, May 2011 at http://www.cjpme.org/fs_127 (accessed September 3, 2018).

[142]https://issat.dcaf.ch/Share/People-and-Organisations/Organisations/Pearson-Peacekeeping-Centre (accessed September 3, 2018).

[143]See https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/manitoba/mennonite-magazine-warned-about-political-articles-1.1170274. Also see Peter Langille, "Peace Research and Education: Under Siege?" in *Peace Issues in the 21st Century Global Context*, ed. Shreesh Juyal and John Duncan (Cambridge: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2017), reviewed by John Bacher in *Peace Magazine* (April/June 2018), 30.

Finally, to better help those affected by war and violent conflict, we will contribute more to the United Nations' mediation, conflict-prevention, and post-conflict reconstruction efforts.[144]

Other peace-related developments of the past several decades include the establishment of no less than twenty-six university peace and conflict programs, such as the Peace and Conflict Studies program at Conrad Grebel University College/University of Waterloo, the Peace Studies program at McMaster University, the MA programs in Human Security and Peacebuilding as well as Conflict Analysis and Management at Royal Roads University, and the PhD and MA programs in Peace and Conflict Studies at the University of Manitoba/University of Winnipeg.[145] Also there are a number of "peace institutes" across the country, some associated with universities and others independent organizations; they include such institutes as the Liu Institute for Global Issues at the University of British Columbia (1998),[146] the John Humphrey Centre for Peace and Human Rights in Edmonton (2000),[147] the Arthur V. Mauro Centre for Peace and Justice at the University of Manitoba (2001),[148] the University of Winnipeg's Global College (2005),[149] and the Canadian Mennonite University's Canadian School of Peacebuilding (2009).[150] There has been some effort to establish a Canadian Peace Institute,[151] with a

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[144]"Promoting International Peace and Security," Liberal Party of Canada policy statement, 2018; see https://www.liberal.ca/realchange/promoting-international-peace-and-security/ (accessed September 3, 2018).

[145]See the listing of peace and conflict studies programs at the PACS-Can website, https://pacscan.ca/en/peace-conflict-studies-programs-in-canada/ (accessed November 15, 2018).

[146]https://liu.arts.ubc.ca/ (accessed October 14, 2018).

[147]https://www.jhcentre.org/ (accessed October 14, 2018).

[148]http://umanitoba.ca/mauro_centre/ (accessed October 14, 2018).

[149]https://www.uwinnipeg.ca/global-college/ (accessed October 14, 2018).

[150]https://csop.cmu.ca/ (accessed October 15, 2018).

[151]See http://www.peace.ca/acandadianpeaceinstitute.htm (accessed November 15, 2018).

preliminary meeting held in Hamilton in 2009; however, no further information is available on

this venture. Academically based programs cooperate in such organizations as the Canadian

Peace Research Association (CPRA), whose main objective is "to advance research and

promote education in the study of the causes of war and the conditions of peace,"[152] as well

as the Peace and Conflict Studies Association of Canada (PACS-Can), which was organized in

2015 and identifies itself as "an evolving community of scholars, educators, and practitioners

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Canadian Peacemakers and Peacebuilders

A review of the Canadian peace movement of the past century would not be complete without listing some of the individuals who have played important roles in developing the peace agenda, both within Canada and globally. The list could surely be expanded, but the following are some significant persons:

- Louise Arbour (1947-   )
- Lloyd Axworthy (1939-   )
- Ed Broadbent (1936-   )
- Romeo Dallaire (1946-   )
- Ursula Franklin (1921-   )
- Louise Fréchette (1946-   )
- Dr. Lotta Hitschmanova (1909-1990)
- John Peters Humphrey (1905-1995)
- Stephen Lewis (1937-   )
- Agnes McPhail (1890-1954)
- Lester Bowles Pearson (1897-1972)
- Ernie Regehr (1941-   )
- Douglas Roche (1929-   )
- Murray Sinclair (1951-   )
- Murray Thomson (1922-   )
- J.S. Woodsworth (1874-1942) and Lucy Woodsworth (1874-1976)

Figure 3. Canadian peacemakers and peacebuilders

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[152]https://cpra-arcp.weebly.com/about-us.html (accessed November 19, 2018). The CPRA website includes a long list of Canadian and international peace-related institutes and organizations.

united by a common commitment to the promotion of just and non-violent solutions to contemporary conflict, whether at the local, national, or global level."[153] Yet another related organization is the Civilian Peace Service Canada (CPSC), the "home of the peace professional" (as stated in the website of the organization);[154] the aim of CPSC, which was started about 2003, is to "bridge the gap" between peace academics and practitioners and to establish an accreditation system for peace workers, similar to other professional organizations.

A unique development has been the establishment of the Canadian Museum for Human Rights in Winnipeg in 2012. Its purpose is "to explore the subject of human rights, with special but not exclusive reference to Canada, in order to enhance the public's understanding of human rights, to promote respect for others and to encourage reflection and dialogue."[155] In its eleven galleries there are permanent and travelling interactive exhibitions, such as "Mandela: Struggle for Freedom" (in 2018), and various courses and workshops related to human rights.[156]

Currently there are numerous other peace organizations in Canada with varying emphases and sizes: a sample of the diverse groups includes the Vancouver Island Peace and Disarmament Network, Canadians Concerned About Violence in Entertainment, the Canadian Peace Research Association, the World Federalists, the Canadian Voice of Women for Peace, Science for Peace, the Canadian Branch of Women International League for Peace and Freedom, Conscience Canada, United Nations Association of Canada, Canadian Pugwash Group, Project Ploughshares, Pax Christi, KAIROS, and others.—More directly related to the DOP, the website of CPI lists

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[153]https://pacscan.ca/en/home/ (accessed October 16, 2018).

[154] http://civilianpeaceservice.ca/ (accessed November 20, 2018).

[155]https://humanrights.ca/about

[156]http://humanrightsmuseum.ca (accessed January 7, 2018).

thirty-six supporting organizations.[157] Some of these have a broader focus than only

peacemaking (e.g., Mennonite Church Canada or the United Church of Canada), and there are

also other peace-related organizations which are not included here, but the list nevertheless gives

an indication of the breadth of the peace movement in Canada at present.

A major specific Canadian social issue, not directly a part of the peace movement but

closely related nevertheless, is the status of Indigenous people and Métis.[158] This has been a

longstanding unresolved issue, both in relation to the Canadian government and to the general

"settler" society. However, in the past several decades it has been highlighted by revelations of

the residential school experiences of Indigenous children and the underlying government

philosophy of trying to absorb Indigenous people into the mainstream of Canadian society.[159]

Not unrelated have been the problems associated with Indigenous people trying to find their

place in the larger society—problems like employment, housing, education, health care, and

overall living conditions on the reserves or in cities. In the last several years significant public

actions have been the "Idle no More" movement (founded in 2012),[160] the Canadian Truth and

Reconciliation Commission (commissioned 2008, with the final report in 2015 and continuing

work on the ninety-four "calls to action"),[161] and the Inquiry into Murdered and Missing

Indigenous Women (launched in 2016 with a final report expected in 2019).[162]

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[157]See the list of organizations in Appendix C.

[158]The proposal for a DOP incorporates this issue into its Domestic Peace Activities; see Appendix A.

[159]See, for example, https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/a-history-of-residential-schools-in-canada-1.702280 (accessed December 26, 2018).

[160]http://www.idlenomore.ca/story (accessed April 5, 2018).

[161]www.trc.ca (accessed April 5, 2018).

[162]http://www.mmiwg-ffada.ca/wp-content/uploads/2018/12/MMIWG_News-Release-Final-Submissions-Ottawa-20181212.pdf (accessed December 26, 2018).

As already suggested, the peace movement in Canada is not unrelated to the international peace movement. For example, the CPI is a member of the Global Alliance for Ministries and Infrastructures of Peace (GAMIP)[163] as well as the organization World BEYOND War.[164] Many other Canadian peace organizations are directly linked to international organizations, while other Canadian organizations include international concerns in their agenda. For example, Mennonite Central Committee Canada (MCC Canada), with its head office in Winnipeg, is closely linked to its sibling organization, the (international) Mennonite Central Committee, with head office in Akron, Pennsylvania, and responds to crises around the world.[165] KAIROS, a cooperative program of ten Canadian church denominations and organizations, plans programs through local partner organizations in countries around the world, such as Colombia, Indonesia, South Sudan, and Israel/Palestine.[166] And Canada and Canadian organizations have, of course, been part of the UN and its various branches like UNESCO, UNICEF, and FAO through both government and NGO participation since its inception in 1945.[167] Canada is also part of the Nuclear Free Zone (NFZ) movement: while the country as a whole has not been declared a NFZ, several individual cities have—Victoria, Vancouver, Nanaimo, Kitimat (BC), Red Deer (Alberta), and Regina (Saskatchewan).[168]

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[163]http://www.gamip.org/ (accessed October 17, 2018); see further information on GAMIP below.

[164]https://worldbeyondwar.org (accessed November 15, 2018).

[165]https://mcccanada.ca (accessed October 16, 2018).

[166]https://www.kairoscanada.org (accessed October 16, 2018).

[167]http://www.international.gc.ca/genev/mission/Canada-UN_NU.aspx?lang=eng;

[168]Other countries that have been declared NFZs: Japan (1971), New Zealand (1987), Italy (1987), Palau, (1979), Estonia (early 1990s), Mongolia (1992), the Central Asian Republics (2009), and numerous cities and counties in the UK and US. Five major treaties in concert with the UN form the basis for Nuclear Weapons Free Zones (NWFZs) in Latin America and the Carribean, South Pacific, Southeast Asia, Africa, and Central Asia. See https://www.un.org/disarmament/wmd/nuclear/nwfz/ (accessed November 13, 2018).

The 2018 Global Peace Index (GPI), a ranking of the internal and external "peacefulness"

of 163 countries ranks Canada as the sixth most peaceful country in the world, a position that has

shifted only slightly in the past decade.[169]

The Global Peace Index

The Global Peace Index (GPI), self-described as "the world's leading measure of global peacefulness," has been published annually since 2007 by the Institute for Economics and Peace (IEP), based in Sydney, Australia, with offices in New York, The Hague, Mexico City, and Brussels. The goal of the IEP is to be "an independent, non-partisan, non-profit think tank dedicated to shifting the world's focus to peace as a positive, achievable, and tangible measure of human well-being and progress."

The GPI reports on the levels of "Negative Peace" and "Positive Peace" of 163 countries with 99.7 per cent of the world's population. The GPI measures the negative aspects on the basis of twenty-three qualitative and quantitative categories, which are divided into three "domains": *Ongoing Domestic and International Conflict* (involvement in internal and external conflicts), *Societal Safety and Security* (level of harmony within a nation, crime rates, terrorist activity, political stability, forced population displacement), and *Militarisation* (level of military build-up, access to weapons).

The negative measurements are used in conjunction with the Positive Peace Index (PPI), which consists of eight "pillars of peace": well-functioning government, equitable resource distribution, free information flow, good relations with neighbours, high levels of human capital, accept of others' rights, low levels of corruption, and sound business environment. The latest available PPI is from 2018, and the rankings are slightly different than those of the GPI: for example, in 2018 Canada was ranked the sixth most peaceful country in the GPI but eleventh in the PPI.

Both the 100-page document *Global Peace Index 2018: Measuring Peace in a Complex World* and the 82-page document *Positive Peace Report 2018* contain a wealth of data and interpretive information.

Figure 4. The Global Peace Index
Source: http://visionofhumanity.org/app/uploads/2018/06/Global-Peace-Index-2018-2.pdf

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[169]http://visionofhumanity.org/app/uploads/2018/06/Global-Peace-Index-2018-2.pdf (accessed November 1, 2018). Canada's previous GPI rankings are as follows: 2017 – 8th, 2016 – 8th, 2015 – 7th, 2014 – 7th, 2013 – 8th, 2012 – 4th, 2011 – 8th, 2010 – 14th, 2009 – 8th, 2008 – 11th, 2007 – 8th. See Table 1 for the 2018 "peacefulness" ranking of selected countries. See Figure 4 for information on the GPI.

Departments of Peace in Other Countries

Canadian peace programs and activities find some parallels in the programs of other countries. The CPI website notes that within the past two decades Departments of Peace or Ministers of Peace have been established in four other countries: the Solomon Islands, Nepal, Costa Rica, and most recently Bougainville/Papua New Guinea.[170] In each of these countries the historical and political developments have been unique; nevertheless, a brief examination of their histories and structures can provide insights for the Canadian situation as well.

Solomon Islands

The Solomon Islands is a nation comprised of six large and more than nine hundred smaller Melanesian islands; its capital is Honiara on the island of Guadalcanal.[171] The islands, stretching over a distance of 1500 km from northwest to southeast, have a total landmass of 28,400 km ^{2}—an area only slightly larger than Lake Winnipeg. A British protectorate since the 1890s, the country was significantly impacted by European plantation owners and Christian missionaries from the late nineteenth century onward and by the violent conflict of World War II in the mid-twentieth century. It became an independent nation in 1978, remaining a member of the British Commonwealth, and also becoming a member of the United Nations the same year. Population estimates vary greatly; the United Nations estimate for 2005 was 472,000[172] while the *New World Encyclopedia* estimate is 538,000. It is a very young population, with only three per cent over the age of sixty-five and forty per cent under the age of fifteen years.[173]

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[170]http://canadianpeaceinitiative.ca/learn (accessed December 15, 2017).

[171]*The New World Encyclopedia*, s.v. "Solomon Islands," at http://www.newworldencyclopedia.org/entry/Solomon_Islands (accessed July 2, 2018).

[172]https://www encyclopedia.com s.v. "Solomon Islands" (accessed July 3, 2018).

[173]Ibid.

With a population composed of numerous different ethnic groups, violent conflicts erupted in the 1990s; various efforts to resolve the conflicts led to the Townsville Peace Agreement (TPA) in 2000.[174] The TPA, in turn, led to the establishment of various peace councils and in 2002 the Ministry of National Unity, Reconciliation and Peace (MNURP).[175] Since the parliament—a democratically elected unicameral body—was unstable and changed frequently, and since the government was unable to control the violence in the country, outside assistance was requested repeatedly. As a result, in 2003 a multinational force led by Australia and New Zealand arrived to restore peace and order in the troubled nation.[176] This also had the effect of beginning to rebuild the credibility of the government and MNURP, which had earlier been accused of corruption and ineffectiveness.[177] However, a complex conflicted situation— notably between groups from the islands of Guadalcanal and Malaita—continued to plague the nation even after multinational restoration efforts.[178]

A comparatively small department, MNURP is significant for advising the government and coordinating policies of reconciliation and peacebuilding. Aside from programs of post-conflict rehabilitation and reintegration, efforts are being undertaken for long-term peacebuilding. In 2009 two significant councils were established, the Truth and Reconciliation

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[174]https://www.peaceportal.org/web/i4p/solomon-islands (accessed July 5, 2018).

[142]Website of the National Parliament of the Solomon Islands, see http://www.parliament.gov.sb/index.php?q=node/80 (accessed, July 3, 2018).

[176]https://www.peaceportal.org.web/i4p/solomon-islands.

[177]Ibid.

[178]Ibid. For example, during the riots of the 2005 election, half of the capital city of Honiara was burned down; it is noteworthy that in the 2010 elections, with UN observers, no violence occurred. An excellent review of the complex conflicts has been offered in the 2009 paper "Reflecting on the Peace Practice Project: Cumulative Impact Study: Attempts at Building Peace in the Solomon Islands: Disconnected Layers"; http://live-cdacollaborative.pantheonsite.io/wp-content/uploads/2016/02/Attempts-at-Building-Peace-in-the-Solomon-Islands-Disconnected-Layers.pdf (accessed July 5, 2018).

Commission and the Peace and Integrity Council. The former was mandated to address the resolution of past conflicts, while the latter received the assignment of planning future directions in national peacebuilding.[179] Since tensions have continued to erupt throughout the Islands and the government has been in the process of developing MNURP, foreign aid has been sought for both financial support and assistance with training in peacebuilding skills.[180]

While government programs continue to be developed, significant reconciliation and peacebuilding efforts have been undertaken at local levels by civil society groups and notably by the churches.[181] In addition increasing attention has also been paid to traditional community structures and approaches to resolving conflicts.[182] The government has been working to coordinate and align the various programs, but given the still weak central government structures this has proven to be difficult.[183] The authors of the 2009 paper "Reflecting on the Peace Practice Project" conclude: "A key lesson arising from the Solomon Islands case study is that, given the ongoing and historical absence of any form of nation building or national unity, peace writ little (that is, the intra-communal and intra-village processes of reconciliation) are as vital as the larger peacebuilding attempts."[184] In other words, these peacebuilding efforts are directed entirely

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[179]http://www.parliament.gov.sb/index.php?q=node/80 (accessed July 3, 2018).

[180]Foreign aid has come especially from Australia. In 2016 MNURP signed a working agreement, the first of its kind, with the Mindanao Peacebuilding Institute Foundation to facilitate the development of short- and long term peacebuilding programs and the training of staff members; https://www.mpiasia.net/newsresources/allnews/latest-news-from-mpi/287-mpi-signs-mou-with-solomon-islands-ministry-of-national-unity-reconciliation-and-peace-mnurp.html (accessed July 4, 2018).

[181]The population of the Solomon Islands is listed as 97% Christian, comprising mainly the Anglican, Catholic, Seventh Day Adventist, South Seas Evangelical, and United Churches; http://www.studycountry.com/guide/SB-religion.htm (accessed July 4, 2018).

[182]http://live-cdacollaborative.pantheonsite.io/wp-content/uploads/2016/02/Attempts-at-Building-Peace-in-the-Solomon-Islands-Disconnected-Layers.pdf (accessed July 5, 2018).

[183]Ibid.

[184]Ibid.

toward internal conflicts and problems. Peacebuilding programs continue on various levels, but truly effective national peacebuilding will only be possible as local intra-communal and inter-communal issues are resolved. The Solomon Islands are not listed in the 2018 Global Peace Index (GPI).[185]

The experience of the Solomon Islands is of limited value for the Canadian situation, since the basic national government is still in the process of being established in a country that has only recently emerged from a difficult civil war, and since MNURP has been established to help bring about peace within the conflict-ridden nation—a quite different purpose and frame of reference from the DOP being discussed in Canada.

Nepal

Nepal—officially the Federal Democratic Republic of Nepal, a landlocked country in the Himalaya Mountains with an area of about 147,000 km^2 and a current population of 29.6 million[186]—is one of the least developed countries in the world.[187]A major factor in Nepal's existence and political decisions has been its geopolitical location between the two major world powers, China (specifically, the Tibet Autonomous Region) to the north and India to the east, south, and west. Nepal pursued a policy of isolation from the rest of the world until the early 1950s; in 1955 Nepal became a member of the United Nations.[188] A hereditary kingdom for

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[185]http://visionofhumanity.org/app/uploads/2018/06/Global-Peace-Index-2018-2.pdf

[186]Figure based on UN estimates as of July 2018; https://www.worldometers.info/world-population/nepal-population/ (accessed July 6, 2018).

[187]*Encyclopaedia Britannica*, s.v. "Nepal"; https://www.britannica.com/place/Nepal (accessed July 6, 2018). The official language of Nepal is Nepali, written in Devanagari script—not English, written in Latin script—so that access to government information sites is limited.

[188]Ibid.

centuries, Nepal introduced a multiparty democratic government in 1991.[189] However, a complex

conflict—including political, ethnic, religious, economic, and class-related factors—continued

and finally escalated into full-scale civil war, notably between Maoist revolutionaries and the

government. A far-reaching agreement was finally achieved with the Comprehensive Peace

Accord (CPA) in 2006.[190] The CPA, brokered under the auspices of the United Nations, laid out

basic conditions for peace in Nepal, including the following:

- the termination of the hereditary monarchy and a progressive restructuring of the state;

- commitment to democratic governance, human rights, press freedom, and rule of law;

- renewed commitment to the Universal Declaration of Human Rights;

- free and open elections.[191]

In order to implement the CPA, the Ministry of Peace and Reconstruction (MOPR) was

established in 2006 to oversee all components of the Agreement.[192] Other developments included

the dissolution of the monarchy, which occurred in 2008, and led to the formal establishment of a

democratic republic. The new constitution was accepted in 2015.[193] The CPA also stipulated the

establishment of the National Peace and Rehabilitation Commission, the Commission on

Disappearance and Truth and Reconciliation, and the Commission for State Restructuring, but

these have been slow to materialize; a Post Conflict Peace and Reconstruction Project has also

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[189]Political alliances included the traditional monarchists, the more bourgeois Congress Party, and several Marxist/Maoist parties; see John Whelpton (2005), *A History of Nepal* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), 174-175.

[190]http://www.peace.gov.np/en/content.php?id-243 (accessed July 6, 2018).

[191]https://peacemaker.un.org/sites/peacemaker.un.org/files/NP_061122_Comprehensive%20Peace%2 Agreement%20between%20the%20Government%20and%20the%20CPN%20%28Maoist%29.pdf (accessed July 7, 2018).

[192]https://www.peaceportal.org/documents/131665419/131694481/LPCs+in+Nepal/4555a977-a1e2-4be6-91b5-789ed6cc7e6f;jsessionid=F787B214169AF2C417641D9CA3D29683 (accessed July 31, 2018).

[193]https://www.worldatlas.com (accessed July 6, 2018).

been initiated.[194] In the 2018 GPI Nepal is listed in eighty-fourth place, improving slightly from

the previous year.[195]

The establishment of the MOPR, with its mandate to implement and monitor the CPA,

has been a significant development in Nepal. Its focus has been on dealing with continued efforts

to resolve the country's internal conflicts and building a peaceable future. A significant

organization has been the National Peace Trust Fund (NPTF), which is composed of

representatives of the Nepalese government and several donor countries, i.e., it is a combined

governmental/NGO structure.[196] The mandate of the NPTF is to implement the CPA "by

managing cantonments and combatants, peace dividend to conflict victims, transitional justice,

security strengthening, elections, CPA and peacebuilding initiatives at national and local

levels."[197]

Another aspect of the work of the MOPR has been the establishment of Local Peace

Committees in all the seventy-five districts of Nepal, with local Community Mediation

Committees in more than four hundred villages; support for these has come from the UN Peace

Fund for Nepal.[198] It is noteworthy that the framework of peacebuilding in Nepal is provided by

the government, with the guidance and support of the UN and other NGOs, but that the plans

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[194]http://www.peace.gov.np/en/content.php?id=243 (accessed July 6, 2018). Regrettably, this website is still incomplete and not all sections are available in English at present.

[195]http://visionofhumanity.org/app/uploads/2018/06/Global-Peace-Index-2018-2.pdf (accessed July 8, 2018).

[196]The donor countries are UN agencies with support from Denmark, Finland, Switzerland, Germany, Norway, U.K., and U.S.; financial support is also being provided by the World Bank and the Asia Development Bank; https://www.peaceportal.org/documents/131665419/131694481/LPCs+in+Nepal/4555a977-a1e2-4be6-91b5-789ed6cc7e6f;jsessionid=F787B214169AF2C417641D9CA3D29683 (accessed July 31, 2018).

[197]Ibid.

[198]Ibid.

incorporate local people and groups—the "grassroots" level—and this combination appears to be working out well.

As in the case of MNURP in the Solomon Islands, the focus of the MOPR is on establishing the rule of law, human rights, and structures for the peaceful coexistence of different groups within a country that has until quite recently been violently divided. Its mandate is thus quite different from the one envisioned for the DOP in Canada. However, again like the Solomon Islands, the experience of Nepal is a reminder of the possibilities of peacebuilding as a significant aspect of the government mandate.

Papua New Guinea/Bougainville

Papua New Guinea—officially The Independent State of Papua New Guinea—emerged as an independent nation in 1975 following a long and difficult past under various colonial powers.[199] First visited by European explorers in the seventeenth century, the territory remained largely unexplored for several centuries. From 1884 Britain took control of the southern part of the territory, while Germany ruled the northern part from 1848 until World War I. In 1914 Australian forces captured the German colony, and following the War Australia was mandated to administer the territory by the League of Nations. In 1942 the Japanese conquered the islands and retained control until 1945. Following World War II the two former colonies were combined into one, which received the name Papua New Guinea. Independence, with continuing close ties to Australia and membership in the British Empire as well as membership in the United Nations, came in 1975.

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[199]See, for example, the history of Bougainville in "Bougainville Island," http://www.solomonencyclopaedia.net/biogs/E000032b.htm (accessed June 28, 2018).

In Bougainville Island, then a province of Papua New Guinea, popular uprisings for greater local autonomy and even complete independence began almost immediately, leading to full-scale civil war and countless atrocities.[200] "The crisis," as it came to be known, continued throughout the 1980s and 1990s until the Bougainville Peace Agreement (BPA) was signed after lengthy negotiations in 2001.[201] The Agreement, called "a world class peace document," was a "road map" with three main foci: autonomy, weapons disposal, and a referendum on Bougainville's political status.[202] The BPA stipulated that a future referendum should determine if the provisional Autonomous Region of Bougainville (ARB), a semi-independent province of Papua New Guinea, should move toward complete independence; this referendum is now scheduled for June 15, 2019.[203]

The Bougainville Strategic Development Plan 2018-2020 consists of three overarching "thematic areas" of development: Social, Economic, and Infrastructure;[204] in the area of Social Development the first item in a list of twelve is "Peace and reconciliation."[205] In the related parliamentary structure, which is rather convoluted, one of the working committees of the House of Representatives of the Autonomous Bougainville Government (ABG) is responsible for "Peace and Reconciliation, BPA, Veterans, and Autonomy."[206]

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[200]It has been estimated that of a population of 160,000, 20-30,000 Bougainvilleans died and 70,000 were displaced from their homes. See "The Bougainville Project of PEACE Foundation Melanesia," http://www.justiciarestaurativa.org/www.restorativejustice.org/editions/2007/august07/backgroundpaper (accessed July 30, 2018).

[201]See http://unpo.org/article/34 (accessed June 28, 2018).

[202]Ibid. (accessed June 28, 2018).

[203]See http://www.abg.gov.pg (accessed June 28, 2018).

[204]Ibid. (accessed June 26, 2018).

[205]Ibid. Other items in the list include safety and security, education, health, youth, women and children, lost generation, veterans, spirituality, media, environment, and culture and heritage (accessed June 25, 2018).

It is significant that at present Bougainville is not an independent nation but an "Autonomous Region" of Papua New Guinea.[207] As such, the ABG has certain spelled-out responsibilities as well as boundaries which may well undergo some adaptations with the planned referendum and possible independence. Bougainville is not listed in the 2018 GPI, but Papua New Guinea is ranked one hundredth.[208]

Due to the very different nature of the political and military developments in Bougainville and the present provisional situation, not to mention the difference in size, the value of the Bougainville experience for a Canadian Department of Peace is quite limited. One significant parallel is the colonial history which brought British governmental and judiciary structures to both Bougainville/Papua New Guinea and Canada—frequently in conflict with traditional Indigenous structures.[209] A second parallel would be the division between large, often multinational mining corporations and local indigenous people, linked to extraction of natural resources, employment and community disruption, and environmental concerns. A third important parallel has been the renewal of traditional grassroots conflict resolution methods and an appreciation of restorative justice used in conjunction with other formal judicial structures.[210]

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[206]Ibid. (accessed June 28, 2018).

[207]Ibid.; the ARB consists of two larger and numerous smaller islands with a composite area of 9,384 km^2 and a current estimated population of 250,000. This compares to Canada's area of 9.985 million km^2 and population of about 37 million; the entire ARB is about half the size of Lake Ontario.

[208]http://visionofhumanity.org/app/uploads/2018/06/Global-Peace-Index-2018-2.pdf

[209]See Sean Byrne, Mary Anne Clarke, and Aziz Rahman (2018), "Colonialism and Peace and Conflict Studies: Special Issue on Colonialism and PACS," ed. Sean Byrne, in *Peace and Conflict Studies* 25(1): 1-21. Also see Sean Byrne (2017), "The Legacy of Colonialism Among Indigenous Peoples: Destructive Outcomes, Healing and Reconciliatory Potentials. Special Issue on Colonialism and PACS," ed. Sean Byrne, in *Peace Research: Canadian Journal of Peace and Conflict Studies* 49(2): 5-13.

[210]http://www.justiciarestaurativa.org/www.restorativejustice.org/editions/2007/august07/backgroundpaper (accessed July 30, 2018). For example, each village in Bougainville has a government-appointed magistrate and

These are basic insights that may not directly affect the formal structure or mandate of a DOP, yet could well be relevant to the basic principles involved in the Canadian discussion as well.

Costa Rica

The situation in Costa Rica is very different from that of the preceding three countries. Costa Rica, the "rich coast," received its name when Christopher Columbus reached the Central American region in 1502 and saw the gold ornaments of the local Indigenous population.[211] However, the mining for gold and silver was not productive, and the area was inhospitable with extreme heat, dense jungle, and diseases like Dengue fever and malaria, so that large-scale colonization did not occur as elsewhere in Latin America. The European settlers who did arrive by the mid-sixteenth century mostly settled on small land holdings, notably in the central highlands, the Meseta Central, although large-scale cattle farms were also developed in the northwestern part of the colony, as were cacao plantations on the Atlantic coast.[212]

In 1542 Costa Rica became a *gobernacion,* a province, within the larger Spanish colonial empire in Central America, and in 1821 the country declared its independence. Democracy and civic equality were slow to develop: the first elections were held in 1889—nearly seventy years after independence—but until the mid-twentieth century the country was marked by instability, including short-lived governments, dictatorships, coups, and civil war.[213] By World War I Costa Rica's elite had experienced increasing wealth through the production of coffee, while bananas

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constable; but locally respected people have been appointed to supplement their work in Peace and Good Order Committees, which first try to resolve conflicts by mediation in the community before referring them to the courts.

[211]Bruce M. Wilson (1998), *Costa Rica: Politics, Economics, and Democracy* (Boulder CO: Lynne Rienner Publishers), 9. Also see "History of Costa Rica," https://www.costarica.com/travel/history-of-costa-rica (accessed July 7, 2018).

[212]Ibid., 11.

[213]Ibid., 20. For example, Wilson notes that between 1890 and 1948 there were at least four coup attempts and eleven revolts against the government.

had also been successfully introduced and were exported, notably by the dominant American-owned United Fruit Company. At the same time, conflicts developed between employers and labourers, leading to some economic and social forms; however, by the mid-twentieth century it was clear that the members of the dominant oligarchy were not about to relinquish their economic or political controls of the country.[214]

Significant political and social reforms were introduced in 1941, including social security measures such as unemployment, health, and old-age benefits as well as a minimum wage and workers' rights to organize. However, these reforms did not go unchallenged, and this led to a short but violent civil war in 1948—a conflict that became pivotal for the future development of Costa Rica. Wilson writes: "The civil war was a critical turning point in Costa Rica's political and economic development. The new constitution, written in the aftermath of the war, marked the end of an old regime and laid the foundations of the modern Costa Rican state."[215] Among the most significant changes marked by the new constitution of 1949 were the abolition of a standing army, the nationalization of the banking system, and limitations to the powerful labour unions, as well as new electoral laws giving women and blacks the right to vote and prohibiting presidential re-election.[216]

From the early 1950s to the present Costa Rica has gone through difficult economic and political changes. These have been the result of internal conflicts but were also influenced by external forces, especially the United States, the International Monetary Fund, and the World

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[214]Ibid., 29.

[215]Ibid., 41.

[216]Ibid., 75.

Bank. As Wilson observes, "Costa Rica's colonial experience did not translate directly into a stable democracy after the civil war."[217]

At present Costa Ricans enjoy a high standard of living, with a large middle class and a stable government.[218] In 2018 the GPI listed Costa Rica as first—i.e., the most peaceful country—in Central America and as fortieth globally.[219]

In 2009 the legislature of Costa Rica reconfigured its justice department, renaming it the Ministry of Justice and Peace.[220] This was the first ministry of its kind in Latin America and only the third in the world.[221] It developed on the basis of a much longer trend in Costa Rica, which also included the abolition of the death penalty in 1877 and, as noted, the abolishment of the army in 1948.[222] In 1987 then-president Oscar Arias was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize for his leadership in the Esquipulas II Peace Accords, a significant agreement to end violence and promote reconciliation and democracy in Central America.[223]

Public education has been mandatory—and free—since 1869; as a result, Costa Rica claims a literacy rate of ninety-five per cent among adults over fifteen years of age.[224] Since

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[217]Ibid., 151.

[218]"History of Costa Rica," https://www.costarica.com/travel/history-of-costa-rica (accessed July 7, 2018).

[219]By comparison, Canada is listed sixth and the United States 121st. See https://news.co.cr/costa-rica-peaceful-country-central-america-second-latin-america/61736/ (accessed July 7, 2018).

[220]https://www.peaceportal.org/web/i4p/costa-rica (accessed August 6, 2018).

[221]http://www.yesmagazine.org/peace-justice/costa-rica-creates-department-of-peace (accessed July 8, 2018).
[222]Ibid.

[223]https://peacemaker.un.org/centralamerica-esquipulasII87 (accessed August 8, 2018). The Agreement includes Guatemala, El Salvador, Nicaragua, Honduras, and Costa Rica; it lays out the principles for resolving conflicts between the signatory states, including democratization, free elections, negotiations on arms controls, and refugee assistance.

[224]https://www.costarica.com/relocation/costa-ricas-education-system (accessed August 6, 2018).

1997 peace education is a required component of the public school program.[225] As Ricardo

Montoya Vargas of the Ministry of Education stated in 2010, "The aim of the education system

in Costa Rica is to develop critical, responsible and creative people who are able to make

decisions and live peacefully and respectfully in a diverse democracy."[226] Various organizations,

often with international linkages, are involved in promoting peace-related programs—for

example, the UNESCO-endorsed projects that promote global citizenship, environmental

conservation, gender equality, and access to education for handicapped children.[227] Beyond the

elementary and high school, there are excellent universities in Costa Rica, including the

internationally recognized University for Peace which was established under UN auspices in

1980.[228] The Costa Rican Ministry of Education has also been actively involved with other

organizations such as the European Centre for Conflict Prevention.[229]

     The justice system of Costa Rica includes the option of conflict mediation and other

methods of peaceful conflict resolution.[230] In 2004 the National Directorate of Alternative

Conflict Resolution was established, and in 2006 the National Commission for the Prevention of

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[225]This became mandatory with the passing of the law for the Alternative Resolution of Conflicts and Promotion of Peace; see https://www.peaceportal.org/web/i4p/costa-rica (accessed August 6, 2018).

[226]https://creducation.net/cre-presentations/costa_rica_project_ethic_aesthetics_and_citizenship (accessed August 6, 2018). https://creducation.net/costa_rica_regional_meeting/ (accessed August 6, 2018),

[227]https://sites.chapman.edu/peacecomm17/2017/01/21/peace-education (accessed August 6, 2018).

[228]The mission of the University for Peace is "to provide humanity with an international institution of higher education for peace with the aim of promoting among all human beings the spirit of understanding, tolerance and peaceful coexistence, to stimulate cooperation among peoples and to help lessen obstacles and threats to world peace and progress, in keeping with the noble aspirations proclaimed in the Charter of the United Nations." https://www.upeace.org (accessed August 6, 2018).

[229]For example, in 2010 the Ministry hosted a meeting of governmental and non-governmental organizations from around the world to examine best practices in infrastructure development and the role of governmental/non-governmental partnerships to address youth violence. See https://creducation.net/costa_rica_regional_meeting (accessed August 6, 2018).

[230]http://www.yesmagazine.org/peace-justice/costa-rica-creates-department-of-peace (accessed July 8, 2018).

Violence and Promotion of Social Peace was created; both of these organizations have worked together with the Ministry of Justice and Peace.[231]

Costa Rica has worked at the issues of justice and peace internally, as well as working collaboratively with other countries and NGOs: for example, in 2004 it hosted the Global Alliance Summit for Ministries and Departments of Peace.[232]

In summary, Costa Rica has a long history of working at conflict resolution, justice, and peacebuilding which can be relevant for the Canadian conversation about a DOP. While it developed out of a colonial past, not unlike Canada or the other three countries reviewed above, Costa Rica has experienced a long period of stable government and a high standard of living. This includes the reconfigured justice system and the educational programs of peace throughout the school system, as well as concerns for reconciliation and peacebuilding beyond its borders— all topics that are also within the broad parameters of the envisioned DOP.

Government Peace Programs of Other Countries

While no official "departments" or "ministries" of peace have been established elsewhere, numerous countries have developed substantial programs of conflict resolution, crisis management, and positive peacebuilding, addressing both internal and international issues. In addition, in 2009 there were campaigns to establish departments of peace in thirty-two countries.[233] The following are some examples of countries in which peace concerns—as well as histories of conflict—have been or are being addressed in different ways and which can provide

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[231]Ibid.

[232]Ibid.

[233]http://www.yesmagazine.org/peace-justice/costa-rica-creates-department-of-peace (accessed July 8, 2018)

additional helpful perspectives for the discussion of a DOP. Norway, representative of the

Scandinavian countries, has a long history of both warfare but also of creative peacebuilding,

including, for example, the work of Johan Galtung and PRIO. Germany and Japan emerged,

Selected Most Peaceful Countries (2018 Global Peace Index):	
1	Iceland
2	New Zealand
3	Austria
4	Portugal
5	Denmark
6	Canada
7	Czech Republic
8	Singapore
9	Japan
10	Ireland
16	Norway
17	Germany
40	Costa Rica
57	United Kingdom
84	Nepal
100	Papua New Guinea
121	USA
Not listed	Solomon Islands

Table 1. Selected most peaceful countries
Source: Global Peace Index, http://visionofhumanity.org/app/uploads/
2018/06/Global-Peace-Index-2018-2.pdf (accessed November 14, 2018).

following the catastrophes of World War II, as countries determined to find better alternatives than war for living in the global community. Ireland, with an exceptionally difficult history of conflict among nationalistic, political, and religious groups, has also been the locus of much creative work at peacebuilding on various levels. New Zealand, with a history not unlike that of Canada, has consistently ranked among the ten most peaceful countries in the GPI. The United Kingdom (UK), closely linked with Canada through its colonial past and continuing Commonwealth connection, has a long history of dealing with domestic conflicts violently as well as military escapades internationally; at the same time it gave rise to the Quakers and has been one of the countries with a movement toward creating a Ministry of Peace. The United States of America (US) also has a long history of domestic violence and has developed the largest global military empire ever in existence.[234] However, the US is also home to a longstanding and active peace movement going back to the founding fathers of the republic itself, and it is the country with the closest linkages to Canada, not only in general political and economic terms but also in the peace movement.

Norway

The political affairs of Norway are governed by the Council of State, which consists of the Prime Minister with a minimum of seven ministries and operates under the oversight of the *Stortinget*, the parliament.[235] There is no special "department of peace," but related domestic issues are

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[234]See, for example, Ted Robert Gurr (1989), *Violence in America: Protest, Rebellion and Reform*. (Thousand Oaks CA: Sage) or Robert N. Bellah, "The New American Empire," *Commonweal* (October 25, 2002) at https://www.commonwealmagazine.org/new-american-empire (accessed Feburary 12, 2019).

[235]http://www.legco.gov.hk/research-publications/english/1314fsc49-political-system-of-norway-20140902-e.pdf (accessed August 15, 2018).

distributed among the other ministries, such as Justice and Public Security, Health and Care Services, Children and Equality, Labor and Social Affairs, or Education and Research.[236]

Beyond the domestic programs, Norwegian programs addressing conflict resolution and peacebuilding extend far beyond its borders. International involvements—and they are substantial!—are conducted through the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, particularly the Section for Peace and Reconciliation. This Section was established in 2002—the first of its kind in the world—with the mandate to facilitate peace processes and to strengthen the capacity of the international community to deal with conflict; the Section has worked in collaboration with the UN as well as civil societies and Norwegian or international NGOs.[237] General guidelines, as laid out by the Ministry include the following: long-term commitment to development assistance and peace work, provision of resources to enable sustainable reconciliation efforts and peace settlements, development of good relations with key international actors, and a focus on genuine conflict resolution rather than externally forced solutions ("facilitation rather than 'mediation with muscle'").[238] In the past twenty-five years Norway has been involved, officially or behind the scenes, in finding resolutions to conflicts in such diverse countries as Afghanistan, Colombia, Nepal, Sri Lanka, and Sudan; one of the best-known projects was the development of the Oslo Peace Accords between Israel and the Palestine Liberation Organization, signed in 1993.[239]

Among numerous other programs, the Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs together with the Centre for Humanitarian Dialogue has since 2003 organized the Oslo Forum, an

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[236]https://www.regjeringen.no/en/dep/id933/ (accessed August 15, 2018).

[237]http://ww.regjeringen.no/en/topics/foreign-affairs/peace-and-reconciliation-efforts/innsiktsmappe/norway-peace-work/id446704/ (accessed August 12, 2018).

[238]Ibid.

[239]https://history.state.gov/milestones/1993-2000/oslo (accessed August 14, 2018).

opportunity for conversations among international decisionmakers and peacebuilders.[240] Norway

also is a participant—with the other Scandinavian countries Sweden, Denmark, and Finland—of

the Scandinavian Peacekeeping Training Program which provides specialized training for UN

and other peacekeeping missions.[241] Another significant institution is the Peace Research

Institute Oslo (PRIO), an independent international institute, one of the first in its field; PRIO

has been conducting advanced studies of peace and conflict conditions among nations, groups,

and people since its inception in 1959.[242]

Norway is a member of international organizations such as the OSCE, the Organization

for Security and Cooperation in Europe (together with some fifty-five other countries of Europe,

as well as Asia, the US and Canada),[243] the Council of Europe (the leading human rights

organization of Europe, with forty-seven member states),[244] and the UN.[245] In 2016 Norway was

elected to be a member of the UN Peacebuilding Commission for the period 2017-2018.[246]

Somewhat surprisingly, Norway ranked sixteenth in the 2018 GPI.[247]

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[240]The Forum has included such diverse persons as Jimmy Carter, Kofi Annan, Aung San Suu Kyi, and Bono; in 2017 the Canadian Minister of Foreign Affairs, Chrystia Freeland, was also a participant. https://www.canada.ca/en/globalaffairs/news/2017/06/foreign_affairs_ministertopromotepeaceandconflictresolution atosl.html (accessed August 12, 2018).

[241]Erika Simpson, "A 1994 Blueprint for a Canadian and Multinational Peacekeeping Training Centre at CFB Cornwallis," Annex M, 87*Political Science Publications.* Paper 65 (1994). https://ir.lib.uwo.ca/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1089&context=politicalsciencepub (accessed September 3, 2018).

[242]https://www.prio.org/Projects/Project/?x=1411 (accessed August 14, 201

[243]https://www.osce.org/participating-states (accessed August 13, 2018).

[244]https://www.coe.int/en/web/portal (accessed August 13, 2018).

[245]Norway was one of the founding nations of the UN in 1945; http://www.un.org/en/member-states/ (accessed August 13, 2018).

[246]https://www.regjeringen.no/en/aktuelt/peace-building-un/id2525142/ (accessed August 12, 2018).

[247]http://visionofhumanity.org/app/uploads/2018/06/Global-Peace-Index-2018-2.pdf (accessed August 16, 2018). This was the lowest-ranked of the Scandinavian countries, with Iceland ranked first.

In relation to the Canadian DOP conversation, it is noteworthy that Norway has been involved in creative and significant peacebuilding operations both domestically and internationally, without the additional bureaucratic structure of a separate DOP. It remains to be thoroughly investigated whether this is a viable alternative for the Canadian context.

Germany

The Federal Republic of Germany, following the catastrophic conclusion of the Second World War, was established as a parliamentary republic on May 23, 1949.[248] Like Norway and most other European countries, Germany is a member of the European Union, the Council of Europe,[249] the OSCE,[250] and the UN.[251] In the 2018 GPI Germany ranked seventeenth.[252] In the German government there is no special "department" or "ministry" of peace, but the vision for peace is evident in a number of government and civilian structures and programs.

The basic philosophy and governing structures of Germany are outlined in the *Grundgesetz*, the "Basic Law for the Federal Republic of Germany."[253] Consisting of 146 articles, it begins with the basic rights of all citizens in terms that are reminiscent of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR); "rights" include basic human rights and freedoms, equality before the law, freedom of expression, and the right to serve in civilian public

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[248]http://www.nationsonline.org/oneworld/History/Federal-Republic-Germany-history.htm (accessed August 24, 3018).

[249]https://www.coe.int/en/web/about-us/our-member-states (accessed August 14, 2018).

[250]https://www.osce.org/participating-states (accessed August 16, 2018).

[251]http://www.un.org/en/member-states/ (accessed August 16, 2018). Germany became a full member of the UN in 1973.

[252]http://visionofhumanity.org/app/uploads/2018/06/Global-Peace-Index-2018-2.pdf (accessed August 16, 2018).

[253]https://www.gesetze-im-internet.de/englisch_gg/englisch_gg.html (accessed August 16, 2018).

service in lieu of military service.[254] International conflict resolution and peacebuilding are addressed through the federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development which is active in a variety of countries and programs, such as promoting peace and security, managing crises, and supporting refugee resettlement. The federal government has laid out the vision for its foreign affairs programs in the document "Preventing crises, transforming conflicts, building peace."[255] The vision stipulates that civil peacemaking efforts shall always take priority over the military, that opportunities for mediation skills training shall be expanded, and that arms controls and disarmament measures shall be intensified. An advisory board, comprised of representatives of government, civil society, and the scientific community, gives overall leadership and direction.

The German *Zivildienst*, the Civil Peace Service, was introduced in 1973 as an alternative to military service; it is comprised of a number of NGOs and is funded by the federal government. When German military conscription was ended in 2011, the *Zivildienst* was reorganized as *Bundesfreiwilligendienst*, Federal Voluntary Service. In 2018, there were about three hundred volunteers working in forty-three countries in Africa, Asia, the Middle East, South America, and Southeastern Europe.[256]

The Peace Research Institute Frankfurt (PRIF), located in Frankfurt and the largest peace-related research organization in Germany, was opened in 1970.[257] Initially research focused particularly on Cold War issues, but in the 1990s this shifted toward the investigation of

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[254]Ibid.

[255]https://www.bundesregierung.de/Content/EN/Artikel/2017/06_en/2017-06-14-friedenspolitische-leitlinien_en.html (accessed August 16, 2018).

[256]Ibid.

[257]https://www.hsfk.de/en/ (accessed August 16, 2018).

how Europe could contribute to international peacebuilding.[258] The PRIF has a research staff of some eighty scholars and the largest peace-related library in Germany, consisting of thousands of books, journals, and documents, and also, of course, internet access to electronic resources.[259] Research projects have focused on human rights, intra- and international conflicts, arms controls, nuclear weapons research, and institutional inequalities, among others.

Academic peace and conflict studies programs at the graduate level are available at a number of German universities, e.g., Peace and Security Studies at the University of Hamburg; Peace and Conflict Studies (in English) at the Otto-von-Guericke University, Magdeburg, in the context of the DAAD (German Academic Exchange Service); and International Studies/Peace and Conflict Studies at Goethe University, Frankfurt/Main.

In relation to the Canadian DOP conversation, Germany—like Norway—has not developed a specific DOP but has developed important peacebuilding programs through government programs as well as civilian organizations. This two-tiered approach, and the interaction between them, should be carefully examined for its applicability in the Canadian context.

Japan

In the city of Nagaoka, approximately one hundred and fifty kilometers north of Tokyo, there is a bronze statue of the goddess of peace, *Heiwa-zo*. The statue, in the Peace Forest Memorial Park, was commissioned in 1951 as a memorial to the air raid by one hundred and twenty-five B-29 bombers on August 1, 1945—a raid in which 163,000 bombs were dropped, destroying eighty per cent of the city and killing some 1,500 residents. *Heiwa-zo* has become a symbol of the

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[258]Ibid.

[259]Ibid.

citizens of Nagaoka and their commitment to peace.[260] Other peace statues and peace parks have

been established in numerous Japanese cities—notably Tokyo, Hiroshima, and Nagasaki—after

the Second World War, a war which has become the source of the powerful Japanese peace ethic

of the past seventy years.[261]

The Japanese Constitution of 1947, article 9, states:

Aspiring sincerely to an international peace based on justice and order, the Japanese people forever renounce war as a sovereign right of the nation and the threat or use of force as means of settling international disputes… [L]and, sea, and air forces, as well as other war potential, will never be maintained. The right of belligerency of the state will not be recognized.[262]

Since the end of World War Two, Japan has consistently followed a policy oriented

toward peace with its immediate neighbours, the larger Asia-Pacific region, and, indeed, the

entire globe.[263] This policy began under the influence of the victorious allies, notably the

Supreme Commander for Allied Powers (SCAP), General Douglas MacArthur, who was

determined that Japanese military might should never again become a global threat. Thus the

new Japanese constitution emphasized the demilitarization and democratization of Japan—an

emphasis that, while intensely debated, has continued to determine Japanese policy to the

present. [264] In the wake of the atomic bombs dropped on Hiroshima and Nagasaki, Japan has

been a Nuclear Free Zone since 1971, following the tenets of the Three Non-Nuclear Principles:

nuclear weapons shall not be manufactured in, possessed by, or allowed entry into Japan (even

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[260]https://nationalpost.com/travel/stroll-through-history-the-peace-statue-in-nagaoka-japan (accessed August 20, 2018).

[261]See, for example, https://www.nippon.com/en/features/h00141/ (accessed August 20, 2018).

[262]https://www.japanistry.com/the-post-war-era-modern-japan/ (accessed August 20, 2018). Article 9 has subsequently been modified by the introduction of a National Police Reserve in 1950, later reconfigured as the Self-Defense Force in 1954; see https://www.britannica.com/place/Japan/Government-and-society.

[263]https://www.mofa.go.jp/fp/nsp/page1we_000077.html (accessed August 20, 2018).

[264]https://www.britannica.com/place/Japan/World-War-II-and-defeat#ref23208 (accessed August 20, 2018).

though nuclear energy is used as an energy source).[265] A member of the UN since 1956,[266] Japan has been one of its strongest supporters, both in terms of financial contributions and in terms of active participation in a wide range of UN missions.[267] Japan has introduced numerous motions at the UN addressing the illegal arms trade and its consequences, and has been especially concerned to end nuclear armament and proliferation.[268] The country has also participated in many UN peacekeeping activities, such as peacekeeping, disaster relief and humanitarian assistance in Iraq, Sudan, and East Timor, to name only a few examples.[269]

The Japanese government does not include a separate department or ministry of peace but has designed international peacebuilding as one of its diplomatic priorities.[270] The Ministry of Foreign Affairs includes a number of Bureaus which, in turn, include related Divisions. For example, the Foreign Policy Bureau lists, among a total of thirteen Divisions, the International Peace Cooperation Division, United Nations Policy Division, and the Human Rights and Humanitarian Affairs Division; the Ministry also includes the Disarmament, Non-proliferation and Science Department, which lists such Divisions as Arms Control and Disarmament, Biological and Chemical Weapons Conventions, and Conventional Arms Division. There is also the International Cooperation Bureau, with such Divisions as Aid Policy and Management, NGO Cooperation, and Humanitarian Assistance and Emergency Relief.[271]

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[265] https://www.nti.org/learn/countries/japan/nuclear/ (accessed Novemebr 13, 2018).

[266] http://www.un.org/en/member-states (accessed August 16, 2018).

[267] For example, in 2011 Japan contributed 12.5% of the UN budget, second only to the US; https://www.mofa.go.jp/policy/un/sc/contribution.html (accessed August 22, 2018).

[268] Ibid.

[269] https://www.mofa.go.jp/fp/nsp/page1we_000077.html (accessed August 20, 2018).

[270] https://www.mofa.go.jp/policy/un/sc/contribution.html (accessed August 22, 2018).

[271] The complete listing is found at https://www.mofa.go.jp/about/hq/org.html (accessed August 20, 2018).

In terms of domestic government structures, the Japanese government consists of ten ministries, none of which have a specific mandate to carry out peacebuilding but which all incorporate the same philosophy.[272] Education, from the primary to postgraduate levels, is understood to be an important priority for Japanese children and youth. This is based on a broad understanding of peacebuilding, including not only conflict resolution skills but also a more general education in the arts and sciences. Japan supports a variety of UN and UNESCO-related initiatives in peacebuilding education around the world.[273]

In Japan a number of universities have begun to offer peace and conflict studies at the undergraduate and postgraduate levels, usually in combination with other disciplines, such as international studies, history, economics, political science, and international student exchanges. For example, the Tokyo University of Foreign Studies offers both Master's and Doctoral degrees in peace and conflict studies,[274] and the International University of Japan offers an MA program in international peace studies.[275]

Japan ranked ninth in the 2018 GPI.[276]

Related to Canada, the Japanese approach suggests that it is possible to incorporate the vision of peace into governmental and educational structures and, indeed, into the general public ethos without a special department. It is an approach that merits closer investigation.

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[272]https://www.britannica.com/place/Japan/Government-and-society (accessed August 20, 2018).

[273]Kazuya Asakawa and Kathy R. Matsui (2009), "Framework for Peace Education in Japan: A Comprehensive Approach for the 21st Century," Paper submitted to the Asia-Pacific Peace Research Association (APPRA) 2009 Conference, Hualien, Taiwan.

[274]http://www.tufs.ac.jp/common/pg/pcs/ (accessed August 22, 2018).

[275]https://www.iuj.ac.jp/gsir/irp/ips-features/ (accessed August 22, 2018).

[276]http://visionofhumanity.org/app/uploads/2018/06/Global-Peace-Index-2018-2.pdf (accessed August 16, 2018).

Ireland

The modern Republic of Ireland traces its formal origin to the declaration of independence from the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland in 1919 after a lengthy War of Independence.[277] The declaration, however, did not bring an end to hostilities between Irish independent-minded republicans—particularly visible in the IRA, the Irish Republican Army—and the British security forces: violence continued to escalate, homes and cities were destroyed, and the conflict took on an increasingly sectarian character dividing Catholics and Protestants. The Irish Free State, comprised of twenty-six of the thirty-two counties on the island of Ireland which were predominantly Catholic, was finally established in 1922 with partition, while the remaining six northeastern, predominantly Protestant counties opted to remain in the United Kingdom as Northern Ireland.[278]

In 1937 the Irish Free State adopted a new constitution and a new name, "Ireland." It formally separated all links to the British royalty and formally declared itself a republic in 1949, the "Republic of Ireland." While Ireland and Northern Ireland have had few formal ties, during the 1980s and 1990s the British and Irish governments worked with the conflicted parties in Northern Ireland towards a resolution of "the Troubles," the ongoing internal strife that ended with the Good Friday Agreement in 1998.[279]

Ireland became a member of the UN in 1955 and of the EU—then the European Economic Community—in 1973. The country has experienced positive economic growth and is

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[277]Much of the following information is taken from the article "Ireland: History" in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*; see https://www.britannica.com/place/Ireland/The-rise-of-Fenianism (accessed January 14, 2019).

[278] https://www.historyhit.com/1921-irish-free-state-becomes-independent-nation/ (accessed January 15, 2019).

[279] http://www.theirishstory.com/2015/02/09/the-northern-ireland-conflict-1968-1998-an-overview/#.XD-QgGeWwnw (accessed January 16, 2019).

listed as one of the wealthiest countries in the EU;[280] in 2015 Ireland was ranked as the sixth

most developed country in the world in the United Nations Human Development Index.[281]

Ireland is a member of the Council of Europe, as well as the Organisation for Economic Co-

operation and Development (OECD) and OSCE.[282] Since the Second World War Ireland has

followed a policy of international military neutrality through non-alignment and is consequently

not a member of NATO,[283] although it is a member of some of NATO's programs like

Partnership for Peace.[284] In the 2018 GPI, listing Ireland is ranked tenth most peaceful country in

the world.[285]

The lengthy experiences of civil conflict in Ireland and Northern Ireland have also led to

numerous larger and smaller programs and initiatives to establish peace.[286] Examples include the

Forum for Peace and Reconciliation (established by the Irish government in 1994), the Irish

Peace Institute in Limerick (1984), and Peace Brigades International Ireland (2014).[287] Well-

known peace organizations in Northern Ireland include Community of Peace People, a

movement that was started by Nobel Laureates Betty Williams and Mairead Corrigan in 1976;

the Ulster Project, an exchange program for Catholic and Protestant teenagers that was formed in

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[280]https://www.worldatlas.com/articles/the-richest-countries-in-europe.html (accessed January 16, 2019).

[281]http://hdr.undp.org/sites/default/files/2015_human_development_report (accessed January 16, 2019).

[282]https://www.dfa.ie/our-role-policies/international-priorities/peace-and-security/conflict-resolution/ (accessed January 16, 2019).

[283]https://www.nato.int/cps/en/natohq/nato_countries.htm (accessed January 15, 2019).

[284]https://www.sto.nato.int/Pages/partnership-for-peace.aspx (accessed January 15, 2019).

[285]http://visionofhumanity.org/app/uploads/2018/06/Global-Peace-Index-2018-2.pdf (accessed January 15, 2019).

[286]A check of "Ireland Peace and Reconciliation" in the Internet yields more than five million references, while the heading "Irish government and peace" yields over seventy-six million (accessed January 15, 2019).

[287]https://www.pbi-ireland.org/ (accessed January 16, 2019).

1975; the integrated school movement that began in the late 1970s; and the Derry-based Peace and Reconciliation Group that was started in 1976.[288]

There is no separate department of peace within the Irish government. Efforts are made to address international conflicts through the Conflict Resolution Unit (CRU) which was established in 2007 by the Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade.[289] The CRU draws on its expertise from Ireland's tradition of UN peacekeeping, previous commitment to overseas development aid, experience of the peace process in Northern Ireland, and commitment to human rights and the international rule of law.[290] The CRU also works together with civil organizations dedicated to the promotion of global peace, such as the Centre for Humanitarian Dialogue, and Conciliation Resources[291] and the annual Reconciliation Networking Forum.[292]

Education in peace and conflict resolution is promoted in that the CRU has contributed to training programs, for example, the Andrew Grene Postgraduate Scholarship in Conflict Resolution. Graduate peace study programs are offered at Trinity College and University College in Dublin, the University of Limerick, Maynooth University, and Ulster University in Derry, and Queen's University Belfast, Northern Ireland.[293]

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[288]https://alphahistory.com/northernireland/northern-ireland-peace-movements/ (accessed January 16, 2019).

[289]https://www.dfa.ie/our-role-policies/international-priorities/peace-and-security/conflict-resolution/ (accessed January 15, 2019).

[290] https://www.dfa.ie/our-role-policies/international-priorities/peace-and-security/conflict-resolution/ (accessed January 15, 2019).

[291]Ibid.

[292] https://www.dfa.ie/our-role-policies/our-work/casestudiesarchive/2014/september/working-for-peace-and-reconciliation/ (accessed January 16, 2019).

[293] https://www.educationinireland.com/en/What-can-I-study-/ (accessed January 16, 2019).

Not unlike the experiences of Germany and Japan, as a result of the lengthy and severe conflict Ireland has developed strong programs of peacebuilding and peace education, many of these through the initiatives of individual persons or NGOs. Once again, Canadians can learn from the bitter experiences of the Irish people as peacebuilding initiatives and programs are being considered.

New Zealand

New Zealand, a nation with a history that has many similarities to Canada's, was ranked the second most peaceful country in the world in the 2018 GPI.[294] It has, in fact, been ranked number one, "the most peaceful country of the world," twice—in 2009 and 2010—and has ranked in the top five most peaceful countries every year since the GPI was started in 2007.—It was not always this way!

The earliest inhabitants of New Zealand were Polynesians, the ancestors of the Maori, who had settled throughout the islands by the time the first Europeans made their voyages of discovery to the area in the eighteenth century.[295] Within the following century the contacts between the Maori and the Europeans—notably whalers, sealers, and traders—expanded. Missionaries of the Christian Missionary Society came from Australia beginning in the 1830s, and while their efforts to "civilize" the Maori and "save their souls" had only limited initial success, their new ideas and the introduction of a written Maori language had a significant impact.[296]

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[294]Ibid. (accessed November 7, 2018).

[295]Much of this brief history of New Zealand is taken from the article "A history of New Zealand 1769-1914" at https://nzhistory.govt.nz/culture/history-of-new-zealand-1769-1914 (accessed November 7, 2018).

[296]https://nzhistory.govt.nz/culture/the-missionaries (accessed November 7, 2018).

In 1840 New Zealand officially became a British colony with the controversial Treaty of Waitangi; following considerable further conflict, a new constitution was adopted in 1852. The continuing tensions between the mostly British settlers and the Maori, which focused on land rights and power, continued throughout the second half of the nineteenth century and came to be known as the New Zealand Wars.

At the same time, new settlers—mostly British and including women as well as men—continued to arrive in large numbers, railways were built, and new towns sprang up. As life in the colony developed, New Zealand gradually progressed toward full independence by 1947.[297] It was a founding member of the British Commonwealth and has remained a member to the present, with the British monarch as the titular head of state.

New Zealand participated with other Allied forces in the First and Second World Wars, as well as with UN forces in the Korean War and with US forces in Vietnam—amidst sharp disagreements among the population. In 1999 New Zealand troops took part in the UN peacekeeping mission in East Timor.[298]

Since 1840 Justices of the Peace have had an important role in the ordering of civil life.[299] At present there are about seven thousand Justices in the Royal Federation of NZ Justices' Associations.[300] In 1975, the Peace Foundation was formed by a group of citizens who were concerned about the escalating violence in the world. The Foundation's vision was "the building peaceful local, national and global communities," and included such activities as peace education

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[297]https://www.history.com/this-day-in-history/british-colonists-reach-new-zealand (accessed November 8, 2018).

[298]https://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-pacific-15370160 (accessed November 8, 2018).

[299]http://justiceofthepeace.org.nz/About+JPs/History.html (accessed November 8, 2018).

[300]http://justiceofthepeace.org.nz/About+JPs/Some+brief+details.html (accessed November 8, 2018).

and the promotion of social justice, supporting the work of the UN, advocating for nuclear

disarmament, and providing resources for decisionmaking bodies about peaceful options.[301] A

visit to New Zealand by Helen Caldicott, an Australian physician and leading anti-nuclear

advocate, in 1983 proved to have a significant impact on the development of the peace

movement and led to the declaration of New Zealand as the first country to become a Nuclear

Free Zone in 1987.[302]

    At present there are some twenty-six peace organizations in New Zealand, including

many with international links.[303] Included are such groups as the Aotearoa New Zealand Peace

and Conflict Studies Centre Trust, the Council for International Development, Human Rights in

Education/Mana Tika Tangata, the National Centre for Peace and Conflict Studies, and the

national peace networking organization Peace Movement Aotearoa. International peace

organizations with branches in New Zealand include Greenpeace, Pax Christi, Peace Brigades

International, the UN Association of New Zealand, and Women's International League for Peace

and Freedom. Through the University of Otago, the National Centre for Peace and Conflict

Studies has introduced the first post-graduate (MA and PhD) peace studies program in New

Zealand and one of only a few in Australasia.[304]

    Under the heading "Working towards a secure world," the New Zealand Ministry of

Foreign Affairs and Trade (MFAT) states the following:

> We take our responsibility for helping create and maintain a peaceful world seriously.
> New Zealand participates actively in the international campaign against terrorism,

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[301]http://www.peace.net.nz/history-of-the-peace-foundation (accessed November 8, 2018).

[302]Ibid.

[303]http://www.peace.net.nz/links/peace-organisations-aotearoa-new-zealand (accessed November 8, 2018).

[304]https://www.otago.ac.nz/ncpacs/index.html (accessed November 8, 2018). (The Centre is led by Dr. Katerina Standish, an alumna of the University of Manitoba's Mauro Centre.)

initiatives to prevent the spread of weapons of mass destruction, and peace support operations. We work with other governments and participate in regional and international bodies that promote wider security cooperation and stability.

The protection of human rights is fundamental to achieving peace and stability, and New Zealand is known for its work to promote human rights internationally.

MFAT represents New Zealand in global discussions on peace, security and human rights issues.[305]

These peace-related statements and programs, by civilian NGOs as well as the government, point to the significance of the peace perspective in New Zealand. This is also confirmed by the high GPI ranking of New Zealand as one of the most peaceful countries in the world. At the same time, there does not appear to have been any significant movement toward establishing a department or ministry of peace. A review of Internet sites related to "New Zealand department of peace" reveals little useful information, even while suggesting numerous links to Justices of Peace and other civilian peace organizations and study programs.[306]

In reference to the Canadian situation, the New Zealand model suggests that it is not necessary to establish a separate department or ministry of peace in order to be a peaceful country and to be significantly involved in global peacemaking efforts.

United Kingdom

As stated in the website of the Government of Canada, "Canada and the United Kingdom have a profound and positive relationship."[307] This continuing close relationship has arisen from the

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[305]https://www.mfat.govt.nz/en/peace-rights-and-security/ (accessed November 7, 2018).

[306]Under the heading "New Zealand department of peace" there are more than thirty million suggested links to related programs and organizations; see https://www.google.com/search?ei= TrtkXK6UNY7Ys AX8q7mo BA&q =New+Zealand+department+of+peace&oq=New+Zealand+department+of+peace&gs (accessed February 13, 2019).

[307]http://www.canadainternational.gc.ca/united_kingdom-royaume_uni/bilateral_relations_bilaterales/ index.aspx?lang=eng (accessed August 23, 2018).

earliest British sixteenth- and seventeenth-century explorations and conquests of North America

and a long colonial history which eventually resulted in Canadian independence in 1982.[308]

The history of the UK is marked by centuries of violent conflict between individual

leaders, between the English, Welsh, Scottish, and Irish people who comprise the modern nation,

and between Great Britain and other nations.[309] In fact, tensions remain to the present time

between "unionists" and "nationalists" in Northern Ireland.[310] In addition to the internal

struggles, there is also the violent colonial history of the past three centuries and the forced

subjugation of numerous peoples and countries around the globe into the British Empire. The

first major challenge to this system came in the American Revolution in the late eighteenth

century; in the mid- to late twentieth century independence movements developed in Africa, the

Middle East, and Asia, as former British colonies asserted their independence. It is noteworthy

that many of these have remained in the British Commonwealth.[311] At present the UK is a

member of the Council of Europe,[312] the OSCE,[313] and it was one of the founding members of

the UN.[314] The UK ranked a surprisingly low fifty-seventh in the 2018 GPI.[315]

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[308]Ibid.

[309]https://www.britannica.com/place/United-Kingdom (accessed August 24, 2018). Examples include long-running conflicts with the Welsh and Scots, the Hundred Years' War with France in the fourteenth to the mid-fifteenth centuries, the war with Spain in the sixteenth century, and other religious and class wars seemingly without end; https://www.worldatlas.com/webimage/countrys/europe/ unitedkingdom/(accessed August 23, 2018).

[310]Ibid.

[311]http://thecommonwealth.org/member-countries (accessed September 1, 2018).

[312]https://www.coe.int/en/web/about-us/our-member-states (accessed August 14, 2018).

[313]https://www.osce.org/participating-states (accessed August 14, 2018).

[314]http://www.un.org/en/member-states (accessed August 16, 2018).

[315]http://visionofhumanity.org/app/uploads/2018/06/Global-Peace-Index-2018-2.pdf (accessed August 16, 2018).

At the same time as there is the long history of violent conflicts in the UK, there have also been significant efforts at peaceful approaches to resolving difficult issues and conflicts. One of the earliest was the National Peace Council, an umbrella organization subsequently renamed the Network for Peace.[316] On the website of Network for Peace there is a listing of no fewer than seventy-three organizations in the UK which are working at peacebuilding in a wide variety of ways, including such groups as the Anglican Pacifist Fellowship, Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament, Fellowship of Reconciliation (England), the International Institute of Peace Studies and Global Philosophy, Quaker Peace and Social Witness, Scientists for Global Responsibility, and the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom.[317] Others are the Greenham Common Women's Peace Camp, a protest movement against nuclear weapons that was active from 1981 to 2000,[318] and Friends of the Earth, which has since 1971 been organizing campaigns against nuclear weapons and for protection of the environment.[319]

There are a numerous undergraduate and graduate programs in peace and conflict studies in the UK, including the Universities of Bradford, Kent, Aberdeen, Durham, London, Bath, and Coventry, to name only a few.[320]

In 2003 the "Ministry of Peace Bill" was introduced in the British House of Commons as "a Bill . . . with the function of promoting conflict resolution and the avoidance of military conflict."[321] The bill spells out the following seven general "functions" of this Ministry:

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[316] http://www.networkforpeace.org.uk/ (accessed January 15, 2019).

[317]Ibid.

[318]http://www.greenhamwpc.org.uk/ (accessed January 14, 2019).

[319]https://friendsoftheearth.uk/ (accessed January 15, 2019).

[320] https://www.postgraduatesearch.com/pgs/search?course=peace-studies&qualification=masters (accessed January 15, 2019). (Dr. Chuck Thiessen, an alumnus of the Mauro Centre, Winnipeg, teaches at Coventry.)

- Monitor and report to Parliament . . . on the effectiveness of the Government and local government in preventing and resolving conflict at local, regional, national and international levels;

- Provide advice to the Secretary of State;

- Seek to improve the links between universities, the research councils and other research institutions and local, national and international organizations concerned with the promotion of peace or the prevention and resolution of conflict;

- Assist NGOs in analyzing, sharing their experience of, and learning from, peace-building work in regions where there are conflicts;

- Determine criteria for the establishment of local and regional peace commissions, with discretion to provide financial or other assistance;

- Facilitate collaboration between organizations concerned with the promotion of peace or the prevention and resolution of conflict and the Government;

- Encourage public support for peace-building.[322]

The bill also lists steps for enacting the bill and associated financial considerations, with several attached schedules that list specific areas of domestic and international responsibility, as well as topics for related education and research.[323] It is unclear what further action was taken on

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[321]https://publications.parliament.uk/pa/cm200203/cmbills/163/03163.1-7.html (accessed September 1, 2018).

[322]Ibid.

[323]Ibid.

the bill, the implication being that no action was taken at all. However, efforts have continued in support of the bill and the topic more generally.[324]

Related to the Canadian DOP, the specifics of the British Bill are not identical to the Canadian Bills C-477 or C-373; however, the overall thrust and the general outline are similar and it may well be considered an encouraging precedent for the introduction of the Canadian bills.

United States of America

As stated in the Canadian government website, "Canada and the United States enjoy a unique relationship. Our partnership is forged by shared geography, similar values, common interests, deep connections and powerful, multi-layered economic ties."[325] The close ties are evident not only in the "world's longest undefended border" but also in the extensive business and trade relationships and the numbers of people crossing the Canada-US border—some 400,000 daily— and close cooperation in ecological and environmental concerns as well as defense alliances that have been developed over many years.[326] The ties between the two neighbouring countries are too numerous and complex to be explored here in detail, but some areas of mutual interest and cooperation—and at times conflict—include the following:[327]

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[324]For example, in 2015 a petition was circulated in support of a Ministry of Peace which included such jurisdictions as working within UN guidelines on human rights and the role of women in peacebuilding, monitoring human rights, developing alternative methods of addressing conflicts, monitoring arms production, and developing educational and training programs. See https://www.change.org/p/her-majesty-s-government-establish-a-united-kingdom-department-of-peace (accessed September 1, 2018).

[325]"Canada and the United States," http://international.gc.ca/world-monde/united_states-etats_unis/relations.aspx?lang=eng (accessed September 3, 2018).

[326]Ibid.

[327]Ibid. The items are addressed more fully in the Canadian government document "Canada and United States Relations." (accessed September 4, 2018).

- Trade, investments, and business relationships at many levels and in countless economic sectors; significant agreements have been the Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement, in effect since 1989, replaced in 1994 by the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) which created one of the largest free-trade regions in the world, and in 2018-2019 potentially by the United States-Mexico-Canada Agreement (USMCA) which is presently in the process of being ratified.[328]

- Security and defense through such organizations as the North American Aerospace Defense Command (NORAD), established in 1957.

- Environmental concerns, including air and water, and addressing global climate change as a major concern, for example, in the International Joint Commission.

- Protection of fish and wildlife, including a conflict resolution strategy for the Great Lakes.

- Energy resources.

The US, like Canada, was a founding member of the UN in 1945. Both are members—together with fifty-five other countries—of the OSCE.[329] In the 2018 GPI listing the US is 121st—in sharp contrast to Canada's sixth place.[330]

The American identity in history and the contemporary world is largely understood and interpreted in militaristic terms.[331] In 2018 the US has a military force of 1, 336,535 personnel on

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[328]http://www.naftanow.org/ (accessed September 6, 2018).

[329]https://www.osce.org/participating-states (accessed August 16, 2018).

[330]http://visionofhumanity.org/app/uploads/2018/06/Global-Peace-Index-2018-2.pdf (accessed August 16, 2018).

[331]In the article "Militarism" in the *Encyclopedia of the New American Nation*, William Kamman writes, "No one can deny the widespread emphasis on military preparedness, the evident abuse of power by agencies created to improve American defense, . . . and myriad other examples of militarism in American life." http://www.naftanow.org/ (accessed September 6, 2018).

active duty; including the National Guard, Reserves, and related civilians, the number of military

personnel totals 2,869,822.[332] Of the number of personnel on active duty, 170,754 (12.7 percent)

are on overseas duty in some 166 countries, the largest contingents being in Germany, Japan,

South Korea, and the UK.[333] Domestically, the military is responsible for enforcing homeland

security, controlling public disorders, and assisting with major emergencies like hurricanes or

forest fires. While exact numbers are difficult to ascertain, US military expenditures dramatically

exceed those of any other country.[334] According to the respected Stockholm International Peace

Research Institute (SIPRI), American military expenditures account for fully one-third (35

percent) of global military expenditures.[335]

   However, there has also been a long-standing and vigorous peace movement in

the US. On the political and diplomatic levels, the US has participated in and given major

leadership to such organizations and agreements as the League of Nations,[336] the Kellogg-Briand

Pact of 1928,[337] and the UN.[338] Beyond these international commitments, there have been

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[332]Figures as of June 30, 2018; see https://www.dmdc.osd.mil/appj/dwp/dwp_reports.jsp (accessed November 21, 2018).

[333]Ibid.

[334] According to information from the World Economic Forum, US military expenditures amounted to a staggering $611 billion in 2016: more than the combined expenditures of the eight next highest spenders—China, Russia, UK, France, Japan, Saudi Arabia, India, and Germany—combined. https://www.weforum.org/agenda/2017/03/the-us-spends-more-on-defence-than-all-of-these-countries-combined/ (accessed September 3, 2018).

[335]http://milexdata.sipri.org (accessed September 5, 2018).

[336]Following World War I, US president Woodrow Wilson gave major impetus for the organization of the League of Nations in 1920, although the US never formally became a member; see http://americanhistory.oxfordre.com/view/10.1093/acrefore/9780199329175.001.0001/acrefore-9780199329175-e-314 (accessed September 5, 2018).

[337]The Kellogg-Briand Pact, named for the French Minister of Foreign Affairs, Aristide Briand, and the American Secretary of State, Frank B. Kellogg, was a significant although ultimately unsuccessful effort to stop the rising militarism of the 1930s; see https://history.state.gov/milestones/1921-1936/kellogg (accessed September 5, 2018).

Military Expenditures of Selected Countries, 2017[339] *(Figures in million US $)*	
Canada (Cdn. $25 billion in 2018)	20,567
Costa Rica	0
Germany	44,329
Ireland	No information
Japan	45,387
Nepal	386
New Zealand	2,328
Norway	6,568
Papua New Guinea	72
United Kingdom	47,193
United States	609,758
Bougainville	No information
Solomon Islands	No information

Table 2. Comparison of military expenditures, 2017.
Source: https://www.sipri.org.

numerous proposals for a Department of Peace, beginning in 1793 when Benjamin Rush, one of

the Founding Fathers, called for a "Peace-Office for the United States" parallel to the

Department of War.[340] Subsequently more than one hundred bills to establish a Department of

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[338]Following the vision of US president Franklin Delano Roosevelt, the country was a central founding member of the UN in 1945 and continues to be a member of the Security Council; it is host to the UN headquarters in New York City and the largest financial contributor to the UN (although the level of support is under review at present); see http://www.socialstudies.org/sites/default/files/publications/se/5807/580702.html (accessed September 5, 2018).

[339]Figures are taken from the data of SIPRI, the respected Swedish International Peace Research Institute, which publishes global military expenditures annually; see https://www.sipri.org (accessed September 7, 2018).

[340]The bill did not receive any further action; see http://peaceeconomyproject.org/wordpress/remembering-benjamin-rush (accessed February 1, 2018).

Peace have been introduced in the US Congress,[341] and hundreds of articles deal with the topic,

as well as reviewing the overall condition of peace in America and addressing specific related

topics and organizations, such as the United States Institute of Peace.[342]

To provide one illustration, in 2001 Rep. Dennis Kucinich, with cosponsor Bernie

Sanders, introduced a bill in Congress to establish a Department of Peace; this was reintroduced

several times between 2001 and 2012.[343] For example, in the 112th session of Congress, 2011-

2012, Kucinich introduced H.R.808 - Department of Peace Act of 2011.[344] The mission of the

Department, which was to be headed by a Secretary of Peace, was stated as: (1) the cultivation of

peace as a national policy objective; and (2) the development of policies that promote national

and international conflict prevention, nonviolent intervention, mediation, peaceful conflict

resolution, and structured conflict mediation.[345] The Department was to consist of eight

"Offices": the Offices of Peace Education and Training, Domestic Peace Activities, International

Peace Activities, Technology for Peace, Arms Control and Disarmament, Peaceful Coexistence

and Nonviolent Conflict Resolution, Human Rights and Economic Rights, and the

Intergovernmental Advisory Council on Peace.[346]

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[341]https://thebulletin.org/movement-us-department-peace (accessed February 1, 2018).

[342]A preliminary search of the Internet yields 42 million items related to the United States Institute of Peace (accessed February 20, 2018).

[343]See Dennis Kucinich interview with Walter Cronkite, July 18, 2009 at https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=|BIRE7gybo (accessed August 28, 2018).

[344]https://www.congress.gov/bill/112th-congress/house-bill/808 (accessed September 5, 2018).

[345]Ibid.

[346]Ibid.

Following Kucinich's retirement from Congress in 2013, a bill to introduce the Department of Peace was again introduced by Rep. Barbara Lee.[347] The most recent bill, entitled "A Bill to establish a Department of Peacebuilding, and for other purposes," was introduced in 2017 by Rep. Lee with twenty-seven co-sponsors."[348] The bill, which stretches to forty-three pages, begins with a review of the US Constitution and its intent for peace but then continues with a long list of the statistics of violence occurring both domestically and internationally before focusing on the call to establish a Department of Peacebuilding.[349] The structure and responsibilities of the department—very similar to the earlier Kucinich bills—are spelled out in detail.[350] In summary, the program of the proposed department includes the following items:

- Provide assistance to efforts by city, county, and state governments in coordinating existing programs; as well as develop new programs based on best practices nationally
- Teach violence prevention and mediation to America's school children
- Effectively treat and dismantle gang psychology
- Rehabilitate the prison population
- Build peace-making efforts among conflicting cultures both here and abroad
- Support our military with complementary approaches to peacebuilding.
- Create and administer a U.S. Peace Academy, acting as a sister organization to the U.S. Military Academy.[351]

The overall organizational structure is very similar to the DOP model, as summarized in Table 3:

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[347]https://ebcitizen.com/2013/02/16/lee-introduces-pair-of-bills-to-create-department-of-peacebuilding-send-special-envoy-to-iran/ (accessed September 3, 2018).

[348]https://www.congress.gov/115/bills/hr1111/BILLS-115hr1111ih.pdf (accessed August 28, 2018).

[349]Ibid.

[350]Ibid.

[351]https://peacealliance.org/issues-advocacy/department-of-peace/ (accessed November 14, 2018).

US Department of Peacebuilding Proposed Structure	Canadian Department of Peace Proposed Structure *(See diagram, Appendix A)*
Head: Secretary of Peace	Head: Minister for Peace
Office of Peace Education and Training	Peace Education and Training Activities
Office of Domestic Peacebuilding Activities	Domestic Peace Activities
Office of International Peacebuilding Activities	International Peace Activities
Office of Technology for Peace	
Office of Arms Control and Disarmament	Arms Control and Disarmament
Office of Peacebuilding Information and Research	[Policies and Programs for Peaceful Engagement]
Office of Human Rights and Economic Rights	Human and Economic Rights
Sec. of Defense and Sec. of State shall consult with Sec. of Peace about international matters as appropriate	Deputy Minister chairs interdepartmental meetings with Foreign Affairs Canada, CIDA, Department of Defense, Public Safety, etc.

Table 3. Comparison of proposed US and Canadian Departments of Peace.
Source: https://www.congress.gov/115/bills/hr1111/BILLS-115hr1111ih.pdf (accessed August 28, 2018).

Although the bills to establish a US Department of Peacebuilding have never been

accepted by Congress or the Senate, efforts to promote it continue, notably by the [US] Peace

Alliance which was organized in 2004 with the purpose of establishing a Department of

Peacebuilding.[352]

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[352]See the website of the Peace Alliance at https://peacealliance.org/issues-advocacy/department-of-peace/ .
The complete text of H[ouse of] R[epresentatives] 1111 is available at
https://www.congress.gov/115/bills/hr1111/BILLS-115hr1111ih.pdf (accessed November 14, 2018).

Besides the peacebuilding efforts in the US government, there is a myriad of other civil organizations devoted to a wide variety of peace concerns. These include such well-established groups as the Fellowship of Reconciliation, the War Resisters League, Peace Brigades International, the American Friends Service Committee, Amnesty International, Church World Service, the National Campaign for a Peace Tax Fund, and the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom—groups that frequently have international connections—as well as countless other national and local groups and organizations.[353]

One significant institution that is on the boundary between a government agency and a civil organization is the United States Institute of Peace (USIP).[354] It was established by Congress in 1984 as an independent, non-partisan national institute, "dedicated to the proposition that a world without violent conflict is practical and essential for U.S. and global security."[355] The website of the USIP identifies its aim more specifically: "To promote national security and global stability by reducing violent conflicts abroad. Our staff guide peace talks and advise governments; train police and religious leaders; and support community groups opposing extremism—all to help troubled countries solve their own conflicts peacefully."[356] The USIP mediators and facilitators are highly qualified professionals who work in tandem with US military and political leaders in many of the most conflicted areas of the world. Funding for the Institute comes from the US congress—a substantial $37.8 million in 2018.[357]

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[353]See, for example, such listings of organizations as http://peaceiowa.org/national_peace_links.php as well as the websites of individual organizations.

[354] https://www.usip.org/ (accessed November 20, 2018).

[355]Ibid.

[356]Ibid.

[357] https://www.usip.org/publications/2018/07/impact-where-america-needs-it (accessed November 20, 2018).

There are over two hundred undergraduate and fifty graduate peace and conflict studies programs in the US, for example, the programs at Nova Southeastern, Denver, Notre Dame, Georgetown, Eastern Mennonite, George Mason, Kennesaw State, San Diego, American, Syracuse, and the University of North Carolina—Greensboro.[358]

Just as the Canadian peace movement, in both practice and academia, has been most closely interconnected with the American one, the closest relationship of the CPI with similar programs in any other nation has doubtlessly been with the US—witness the parallel designs of the projected departments of peace (Table 3). Saul Arbess, long involved in the leadership of the CPI, has noted the close working relationship with American peace activists: for example, Rep. Dennis Kucinich, called "the founder of the modern peace movement in the US," was invited to the World Peace Forum in Canada in 2006 and has addressed the CPI.[359]

Research Findings

In reviewing the theory of peacebuilding as well as the larger peace traditions and programs in Canada and other countries, it is possible to discern a number of lessons that are relevant to the present Canadian situation. Some of these are encouraging, while others raise questions or cautions.

1. The Canadian situation is not unique.

Research into the experiences of other countries helps to provide a larger perspective for the Canadian undertaking. Efforts to establish structures that can contribute to the big vision of peace as well as practical peacemaking, peacekeeping, and peacebuilding—some more and

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[358]https://www.masterstudies.com/MA/Peace-and-Conflict-Studies/USA/ (accessed January 15, 2019). (University of Manitoba Mauro Centre alumnus, Dr. Ali Askerov teaches at the University of North Carolina-Greensboro.)

[359]Interview with Saul Arbess, October 9, 2018.

others less successful—are underway in numerous countries, from the Solomon Islands and Nepal to Costa Rica and the US. A vast amount of information is available which can support and augment the Canadian vision of peacebuilding generally and a DOP specifically—as, indeed, it already has.

2. Peacebuilding includes both negative and positive dimensions.

Johan Galtung's distinction between "negative" and "positive" peace is applicable in any consideration of peacebuilding. As the experiences of other countries—such as the Solomon Islands or Nepal—demonstrate, it is essential to begin by bringing an end to any existing violent confrontations; however, then it is no less essential to investigate and develop positive alternatives—such as just laws and long-term education—if a lasting peace is to be found.

3. It is essential to include all participants.

The peacebuilding model which includes participation by members from all levels of the affected society, as developed by John Paul Lederach in his "conceptual framework for peacebuilding," is an important basic concept for developing the work of a DOP. Such a "framework" has been in evidence in the cooperative work between government and civil organizations in many countries, with the government provides the overall framework and even all or some of the finances for peace programs while NGOs develop and resource specific programs. A good example of this cooperative approach in Canada was the work of CIDA (in existence from 1968 to 2013), where the Canadian government worked in tandem with NGOs to address issues of poverty, human rights, and peacebuilding.[360]

4. There will be different perspectives and interests.

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[360] http://www.who.int/workforcealliance/members_partners/member_list/cida/en/ (accessed November 20, 2018).

There will always be differing convictions, interests, goals and priorities, e.g., mining enterprises and environmental groups, whether in Canada or Bougainville. It will be necessary to seek creative approaches which will satisfy all parties or which will at least be tolerated by all. One particularly difficult issue relates to racial divides, be these between Indigenous people and "settlers" or among different immigrant or ethno-political groups. These need to be addressed, whether in the Solomon Islands, New Zealand, or Canada.

5. Basic values need continual review.

Basic world views and political systems continually need to be reviewed and revised. How do nation states fit into emerging transnational economics and a global economy? Is the present liberal capitalist system capable of providing a truly just society in which the basic needs of all people are met? Is a socialist economic order more capable of doing this? Numerous indicators—from protest movements against injustices and discrimination[361] to unparalleled refugee movements[362]—suggest that basic current structures need to be rethought—be these political, economic, judicial, or even more fundamentally, religious—and new paradigms need to be developed.

6. The role of the military.

Costa Rica has been without an army since 1948, yet remains the most peaceful country in Latin America; in contrast, the US employs an enormous military force, domestically and globally, yet remains conspicuously low on the GPI scale of peacefulness. What is the role of the military—in general but also specifically for Canada, both domestically and globally (e.g., to

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[361]For one example, the "Me Too" movement (with the Internet hashtag #MeToo) burst on the Canadian and international scene in 2017; it has been called a "watershed moment in the advancement of gender equality." See https://www.canadianwomen.org/the-facts/the-metoo-movement-in-canada/ (accessed February 15, 2019).

[362]The UN High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) estimates that at present there are 25.4 million refugees and another 40 million internally displace people (IDPs) in the world—the highest levels on record. See https://www.unhcr.org/figures-at-a-glance.html (accessed February 15, 2018).

provide greater military support for UN peacekeeping operations in conflicted areas of the

world)? The purpose of Canada's military needs to be reviewed, bearing in mind both the

negative and the positive aspects of peace.

7. UN participation.

Since the origin of the UN Canada has traditionally been a strong supporter in a variety

of roles, but this support has declined in the past decades.[363] The current Liberal government has

announced an increased commitment to the work of the UN;[364] it remains to be seen to what

extent and in which forms this support will develop.

8. Peace education.

Peace education is an important part of the educational programs in countries like Costa

Rica and Norway. The Canadian education system already includes significant elements of peace

but may need further careful attention.[365] Also there is the challenge of becoming familiar with

Canadian history—with some proud moments but also darker aspects in its social history.[366]

In other countries there are various peace institutes—like PRIO, SIPRI, USIP, or PRIF—which

provide valuable services with peace research and resourcing; similar models have been

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[363]See, for example, the excellent article by A. Walter Dorn, "Canadian Peacekeeping: Proud Tradition, Strong Future?", first published in *Canadian Foreign Policy Journal,* Vol. 12, No. 2 (Fall 2005), pp.7-32, then also in a shorter version in *Peace Magazine* in two parts as "Canadian Peacekeeping: A Proud Tradition" and "Canada: The Once and Future Peacekeeper?" The paper is also available online at http://walterdorn.net/32-canadian-peacekeeping-proud-tradition-strong-future/ (accessed November 15, 2018).

[364]See report on Prime Minister Trudeau's visit to the UN, September 2018, https://pm.gc.ca/eng/news/2018/09/26/prime-minister-concludes-successful-week-united-nations-general-assembly (accessed November 21, 2018).

[365]See, for example, Sharon Anne Cook (2008), "Give Peace a Chance: The Diminution of Peace in Global Education in the United States, United Kingdom, and Canada," *Canadian Journal of Education / Revue canadienne de l'éducation,* Vol. 31, No. 4 (2008): 889-913.

[366]See, for example, the work of Canadian Centres for Teaching Peace, https://www.peace.ca/ (accessed November 21, 2018).

proposed for Canada, but none exists at present.[367] It remains to be seen if another peace institute is necessary or if other Canadian institutes or programs will be able to fill the research gaps adequately.

9. Is a DOP necessary?

A few countries, like Nepal, have "departments of peace" in their governmental structures. In other countries parliamentary bills to introduce such departments or ministries have been introduced, e.g., in the UK a "Ministry of Peace" bill was introduced in 2003, and in the US a "Bill to establish a Department of Peacebuilding" has been introduced numerous times. Although the specifics of these bills vary, they have similarities to the bills which have been considered in Canada. They can be models or encouragement for the Canadian effort to introduce a similar department, as well as contributing additional perspectives to the format and jurisdiction of the proposed DOP.

Yet other countries with strong peace emphases—like New Zealand, Norway, Germany, Japan, Ireland, or Sweden—do not have departments or ministries of peace but have integrated peace concerns into other government ministries. For example, related domestic issues may be lodged with Justice or Labour and Social Affairs, while international issues may be dealt with in Foreign Affairs. These could also offer alternative models for consideration in Canada.

Conclusion

Much information is available when the larger peace traditions are studied—be this the long tradition of peace in Canada or the hard-earned lessons in peacebuilding in other countries such

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[367]The Pearson Peacekeeping Centre in Ottawa was established by the Canadian government in 1994 as an independent, not-for-profit organization with the mandate of supporting Canada's work in international peace and security; its programs included education, training and research on peace operations throughout the world. The Centre was closed by the then Conservative government in 2013. See https://ipolitics.ca/2013/10/28/pushing-peacekeeping-off-the-table/ (accessed January 14, 2019).

as Nepal, Japan or Ireland. These experiences offer valuable insights for the consideration of a DOP.

In the following chapter the Canadian DOP proposal—Bill C-373—is examined more specifically, and the promotional program of the CPI is reviewed; other options are also considered, and, finally, the interview responses of a number of persons who are interested (or potentially interested) in a DOP are noted—including their affirmation as well as their questions.

CHAPTER 4

THE CANADIAN DEPARTMENT OF PEACE

The creation of a Ministry for Peace is not the final achievement,
merely the making of a road to achieve a sustainable order
that would allow resolution of human conflicts
without violence.

—Oscar Arias[368]

Introduction

In this chapter the proposed Canadian DOP and the activities of the CPI in promoting it are

examined. Other options, notably the "Women, Peace and Security Ambassador," are also briefly

evaluated. Finally, the chapter reports the responses of a cross-section of academics, politicians,

and peacebuilding practitioners concerning their evaluations of the role of a DOP and the

potential for its acceptance.

The Canadian Peace Initiative

It is in the context of the described peace-related considerations and activities that the

bills were introduced in the Canadian Parliament to establish a DOP in the Federal Government

of Canada.[369] When MP Bill Siksay rose in the Canadian Parliament in 2009 to introduce Bill C-

447, "An Act to Establish the Department of Peace," and when in 2011 MP Alex Atamanenko

introduced Bill C-373,[370] essentially almost identical to the Bill C-447, they were clearly not just

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[368]The quote by Oscar Arias, former president of Costa Rica and Nobel Peace Laureate, can be found at https://canadianpeaceinitiative.ca/get-involved/chapters/ (accessed November 22, 2018).

[369]http://canadianpeaceinitiative.ca (first accessed December 15, 2017 but available to the present).

[370]See Appendix A. The complete Bill can also be found at http://www.parl.ca/DocumentViewer/en/41-1/bill/C-373/firstreading (accessed April 12, 2018).

acting on their own.[371] The legislation could only be brought before Parliament as a result of significant popular support. The primary initiative behind the bills has and continues to come from the Canadian Department of Peace Initiative (CDPI), subsequently renamed the Canadian Peace Initiative (CPI); in fact, the establishment of the Department of Peace is the primary raison d'être of the CPI. As stated on the organization's website,

> We are a nonpartisan, non-profit organization with an aim to increase the capacity for peacebuilding within the Canadian federal government. The key focus of our work is the proposal for a **Department of Peace**, a framework that complements our other federal departments, significantly increasing our peacebuilding capabilities. . . . On this site you'll find an in-depth description of how this concept works, two model Bills, a list of numerous supporters in government and beyond, pamphlets and postcards you can use to let people know about the need for a Department of Peace, and details on how to show your support.
>
> **Join one of Canada's most dynamic citizen campaigns**. Canada has a greater role to play in reducing the mass suffering and death caused by war, terrorism, and violence — whether domestically or around the world. Join us in demanding that our government establish a Department of Peace.[372]

The DOP that is being proposed is a complete, comprehensive department of the Canadian government with its own minister, staff, and resources, with the purpose of consolidating the diverse peace-related programs of the government. Its mandate would be to promote a culture of peace and the nonviolent resolution of conflict in Canada and around the world and to build institutions for long-term research policy and action for sustainable peace. Specifically, the proposed bill lists the following main goals—each of which represents a major area of responsibility in itself:[373]

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[371]"History of Bills," http://canadianpeaceinitiative.ca/learn/model-bill/ (accessed October 14, 2017).

[372]http://canadianpeaceinitiative.ca (accessed February 20, 2018).

[373]Ibid.

1. Develop early detection and rapid response processes to deal with emerging conflicts and establish systemic responses to post-conflict demobilization, reconciliation, and reconstruction.

2. Lead internationally to abolish nuclear, biological, and chemical weapons; to reduce conventional weapon arsenals; and to ban the weaponization of space.

3. Implement the 1999 UN Declaration and Programme of Action on a Culture of Peace to safeguard human rights and enhance the security of persons and their communities.[374]

4. Implement UN Resolution 1325 to protect and support the key role played by women in the wide spectrum of peace-building work.[375]

5. Establish a Civilian Peace Service that, with other training organizations, will recruit, train, and accredit peace professionals and volunteers to work at home and abroad, as an alternative to armed intervention.

6. Address issues of violence in Canada by promoting nonviolent approaches that encourage community involvement and responsibility, such as Restorative Justice, Non-violent Communication, and Alternate Dispute Resolution.

7. Support the development of peace education at all levels, including post-secondary peace and conflict studies.

8. Promote the transition from a war-based to a peace-based economy.

9. Establish processes of reconciliation with Canada's Indigenous peoples.

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[374] See the Declaration at http://www.un-documents.net/a53r243.htm (accessed November 22, 2018).

[375] UN Resolution 1325, *Women, Peace and Security*, can be found at https://www.un.org/ruleoflaw/files/womenpeaceandsecurity.pdf (accessed November 22, 2018).

Bill C-373, An Act to Establish the Department of Peace

As already noted, the two bills—Bill C-447 and Bill C-373, with identical titles—are also almost

identical in content. There are some minor changes in the language of the bills, e.g., the word

"shall" in C-447 has been changed to "must" in C-373; and C-373 has several additions which

are not found in C-447. In this thesis Bill C-373—which also quite adequately represents C-447

—will be examined more closely.[376]

       Bill C-373 is a finely crafted, complex document, well-organized and clearly articulated.

Following introductory materials, it is divided into nine major sections:

- *Establishment of the Department*

- *Mission of the Department*

- *Powers, Duties and Functions of the Minister*

- *Human Security Responsibilities*

- *Educational Responsibilities*

- *Domestic Responsibilities*

- *International Responsibilities*

- *Consultation with Minister*

- *Departmental Officers*

       The structure and division of responsibilities is also clearly laid out in diagram form on

the website of the CPI (see Appendix B).

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[376]As noted above, the complete Bill C-373 can be found in Appendix A and also on-line at
https://canadianpeaceinitiative.ca/wp-content/media/CanadaBillForDOP_C-373.pdf or
http://www.parl.ca/DocumentViewer/en/41-1/bill/C-373/firstreading (accessed November 20, 2018)..

The first major section, *Establishment of the Department*, is straightforward, basic to the whole document, and brief: it simply states that the DOP will be established as a department of the Government of Canada with its own presiding Minister of Peace.

The next section, *Mission of the Department*, states: "The work of the Department is to be dedicated to peace-building and the study of conditions that are conducive to both domestic and international peace." The assumptions underlying the work are spelled out in nine points, with the basic overall thrust of peace as "an organizing principle in society" in promoting justice, democracy and human rights, working at non-military and non-violent ways of addressing domestic and international conflicts, assuming leadership among federal departments in dealing with issues of conflict and peacebuilding, and including the initiatives of local communities, religious groups and NGOs.

The following section defines the *Powers, Duties and Functions of the Minister* in eight sub-points. Essentially, these include the mandate to work with all branches of the federal public administration on policies related to peace and to represent all matters of peace in the federal cabinet; the minister is also responsible for research and developing policies related to peaceful conduct, including the resources of the Canadian public and NGOs. In addition, the minister is responsible for creating and promoting crisis- and violence-prevention programs, such as restorative justice and a Canadian civilian peace service. Finally, programs are to be implemented that "address unhealthy manifestations of violence in Canadian culture as they relate to both humans and animals."

The following four sections define the responsibilities of the minister concerning peace in human security, education, and in domestic and international arenas. These responsibilities are wide-ranging and include, for instance:

- developing non-violent conflict resolution strategies to deal with geographic, religious, ethnic, gender, economic, and hate-crime related issues;

- consulting widely with peace educators and human rights advocates in Canada and throughout the world, develop programs for students and teachers at all levels from grade school through university;

- establishing a National Peace Academy;

- providing financial grants to peace studies programs at universities and colleges;

- developing policies to address community conflicts and family violence;

- providing counselling and advocacy for women victimized by violence;

- providing training for all personnel of Canadian armed forces to deal with war-torn societies and those working at post-conflict reconstruction;

- working with other governments and international NGOs in developing exchanges;

- developing a Civilian Peace Service program;

- developing recommendations to the prime minister for the reduction of weapons of mass destruction and the monitoring of international arms sales;

- advising and working cooperatively with other government departments, such as Finance, Foreign Affairs, and Defence, as well as the Canadian ambassador to the UN.

The next section addresses the relationship of the minister with colleagues in other government departments, notably Defence and Foreign Affairs, mandating consultation with them; this applies especially in times of potential or actual international conflict involving Canada, both domestically and internationally. The minister is also to be consulted before the government enters into any treaty or peace agreement.

The final major section of the bill, *Departmental Officers*, deals with the appointment of a deputy minister of peace as well as assistant deputy ministers for six major areas:

- Peace Education and Training (including study guides and materials for all levels of education from elementary school through university programs);

- Domestic Peace Activities (including violence prevention and restorative justice programs, Interfaith/Interethnic Dialogue and First Nations Reconciliation);

- International Peace Activities (including international activities in conjunction with the UN and multinational peace forces, as well as conflicts related to climate change);

- Arms Control and Disarmament (including nuclear disarmament and other arms control treaties);

- Policies and Programs for Peaceful Engagement; and

- Human, Social and Economic Rights.[377]

Provision is also made for a general counsel, four additional officers-at-large, and, finally, for a commissioner of peace whose duty it is to monitor the work of the entire department and report on its effectiveness to parliament every six months. The responsibilities of each assistant deputy minister are enormous and at once a reminder of the urgent needs as well as the challenges of each assignment.

Even though neither of the introduced bills went beyond the First Reading, the overall concerns for peace—peacemaking, peacekeeping, and peacebuilding both within Canada and around the world—have continued. There is currently, in 2019, no comparable bill in Parliament, but in 2016 over one thousand signatories from across the country endorsed a petition to the

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[377]See further specifics in Bill C-373, Appendix A.

Government of Canada to establish a federal DOP in the 42nd Parliament.[378] The submission

included such national and global leaders as Dr. Mary-Wynne Ashford, International Physicians

for Prevention of Nuclear War; Hon. Lloyd Axworthy, OC, former Minister of Foreign Affairs

and president emeritus, University of Winnipeg; Senator Mobina Jaffer; Edward Lee, former

ambassador and legal advisor, Foreign Affairs Canada; and Hon. Alexa McDonough, former

leader, New Democratic Party of Canada.[379] Supporting organizations, to name only the first few

of thirty-six, include the Anglican Church of Canada—Diocese of Ottawa, the Canadian Institute

for Conflict Resolution, the Canadian Catholic Organization for Peace and Development**,** the

Canadian Peace Alliance, and the Canadian Pugwash Group.[380]

Organizationally, the CPI is a Canada-wide organization with local chapters in eight

cities or areas: Victoria, Vancouver, Edmonton, Hamilton, Toronto, Ottawa, Arnprior (Ontario),

and Atlantic Provinces Canada.[381] The activities of each chapter vary to some extent, but all have

the aim of promoting the DOP. For example, at the 2018 annual membership meeting of the

Arnprior chapter—which consists of twenty-five members—the chair, Theresa Dunn, reported

that the national board of the CPI had endorsed Motion M-163, the appointment of a Women,

Peace and Security Ambassador, with some reservations; national efforts were continuing toward

establishing a DOP; letters of concern about nuclear weapons had been sent to local newspapers;

chapter members had attended the campaign on Parliament Hill in support of the Geneva

Convention; and post cards had been sent to the Canada Pension Plan to divest from industries

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[378]https://petitions.ourcommons.ca/en/Petition/Detail?Petition=e-464 (accessed October 14, 2017).

[379]http://canadianpeaceinitiative.ca/learn/supporters (accessed December 15, 2017).

[380]Ibid.; see Appendix C for a complete list of organizations supporting the CPI.

[381] Email addresses for each CPI chapter are listed in the CPI website at
https://canadianpeaceinitiative.ca/get-involved/chapters/ (accessed November 8, 2018).

producing nuclear weapons. Concern was also expressed at the meeting about the apparent decrease of interest for the work of the chapter. [382] On the national level, the co-chairs of the CPI are currently (2018) Furquar Gehlen, Vancouver, and Theresa Dunn, Arnprior, Ontario; Saul Arbess of Victoria is the CPI director.[383]

The CPI is a member of the Global Alliance for Ministries and Infrastructures of Peace (GAMIP).[384] This organization's vision is "a world where all countries have ministries and other infrastructures for peace at all levels which collectively form a dynamic system fostering sustainable peace."[385] At its first "summit," held in London in October 2005 with representatives from twelve countries, an initiative called "The International People's Initiative for Departments of Peace" was launched with the purpose of encouraging national campaigns to establish departments or ministries of peace in governments around the world. It was also reported that campaigns to establish departments of peace were underway in five countries: Australia, Japan, the UK, the US—and Canada.[386]

During the course of the last century the peace tradition in Canada has ebbed and flowed, influenced by social, political, and military conditions, notably the two World Wars and later the threat of nuclear proliferation and war. The acceptance of a bill to establish the DOP would represent a major creative step forward for the Canadian government in addressing the domestic and global challenges of conflict resolution and peacebuilding in the twenty-first century.

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[382]Notes of October 2018 AGM, received from Theresa Dunn, chair of the Arnprior Chapter.

[383]Saul Arbess is a retired professor of anthropology with positions held at Simon Fraser University and other universities; he was director of BC First Nations Education, 1976-1983. Arbess was CPI national co-chair, 2005-2011. See https://restorativejusticeontherise.org/saul-arbess-penny-joy/ (accessed November 8, 2018).

[384]http://www.gamip.org/ (accessed October 17, 2018).

[385]Ibid. (accessed October 17, 2018).

[386] http://www.gamip.org/ (accessed October 17, 2018).

Other Options

Are there alternatives to the proposed DOP? Certainly others could be considered! One option is

to incorporate "peace" as a guiding philosophy into all components of government but without

establishing a separate "department of peace."The Japanese government, to consider one

example, includes peace as a guiding principle in its constitution and has designated international

peacebuilding as one of its diplomatic priorities, but it does not include a separate department or

ministry of peace in its governing structures. This philosophy pervades all of its ministries,

becoming quite specific in the various branches of the government.[387] This commitment to peace

is taken seriously, both domestically and internationally, and Japan has consistently remained in

the top ten peaceful countries of the world according to the GPI.

Other countries, like New Zealand or Germany, have followed similar approaches to the

Japanese model: peaceful relations are a central aspect of their orientation, and they continue to

rate highly on the GPI, but they have not established separate departments or ministries of peace.

The Canadian "Women, Peace and Security Ambassador"

Another related option has emerged with the action to appoint a Canadian "Women,

Peace and Security Ambassador."[388] This initiative was first tabled in the House of Commons as

Motion M-163, a private member's motion, on February 1, 2018 by MP Borys Wrzesnewskyj

(Liberal—Etobicoke Centre).[389] The motion was first debated in parliament on September 20,

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[387]See the section on Japan (above); the complete listing of Japanese government structures is found at https://www.mofa.go.jp/about/hq/org.html (accessed August 20, 2018).

[388]See the complete motion to establish a "Women, Peace and Security Ambassador" in Appendix E. It is also available at https://www.ourcommons.ca/Parliamentarians/en/members/Borys-Wrzesnewskyj(25468)/ Motions?sessionId=152&documentId=9617522 (accessed November 22, 2018).

[389]The difference between a "motion" and a "bill" is spelled out as follows in the House of Commons handbook under "Private Members' Business": "Private Members' Business consists of bills and substantive motions presented by Members of Parliament who are not Ministers of the Crown or Parliamentary Secretaries. . . .

2018; the second debate took place on December 12, 2018, with the vote on the appointment at

the conclusion of the debate; the motion was accepted by a vote of 212 to 84.[390]

Anticipating the positive outcome, the Foreign Affairs Minister, Chrystia Freeland,

announced the appointment at a meeting of female ministers of foreign affairs on September 22.

The appointment was reported, among other news media, in *The Toronto Star*:

> Canada will create a new ambassador position dedicated to women, peace and security, Foreign Affairs Minister Chrystia Freeland said Saturday [September 22].
> Freeland did not offer many details but said the new ambassador would help champion feminist-based aid programs and advocate for more female participation in peacekeeping and conflict resolution. . . .
> Freeland also confirmed Canada would spend about $25 million to fund a number of initiatives aimed at combating gender-based violence and promoting women's participation in peace processes, and would co-chair a global network on women, peace and security with Uruguay in 2020.[391]

The motion was the result, among other factors, of UN Resolution 1325 which was

adopted by the UN Security Council some years earlier, on October 31, 2000,[392] and was a

component of the government's National Action Plan on Women for the period 2017-2022.[393]

Also significantly contributing to the motion was the effort of the Women, Peace and Security

Network—Canada, an organization that has been lobbying the government to follow through on

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Like a government bill, a *private Member's bill* is a piece of draft legislation which is submitted to Parliament for approval and possible amendment before it can become law. . . . A *private Member's motion* is usually a draft resolution which, if adopted, becomes an expression of the opinion of the House." See https://www.ourcommons.ca/About/Guides/PrivateMembersBusiness-e.html (accessed October 10, 2018).

[390] The live debate was aired on television and is available at http://www.cpac.ca/en/.

[391]https://www.thestar.com/news/canada/2018/09/22/ottawa-to-name-new-ambassador-for-women-peace-and-security-freeland-says.html (accessed October 31, 2018).

[392]See UN Security Council Resolution 1325 in Appendix G.

[393]See "Women, peace and security" at http://international.gc.ca/world-monde/issues_development-enjeux_developpement/gender_equality-egalite_des_genres/women_peace_security-femmes_paix_securite.aspx?lang=eng (accessed November 22, 2018).

UN resolutions addressing topics related to women, peace, and security while also providing discussion platforms for civic organizations dealing with related issues.[394]

In brief, the motion proposes the following responsibilities of the ambassador:

- the promotion of research to identify roots causes of conflicts;

- support of training and counselling in non-violent conflict resolution;

- action to reduce and prevent conflict and empower women and girls;

- leadership in implementing the National Action Plan on Women;

- the promotion of gender equality and gender perspectives in peacebuilding.

Motion M-163 was introduced in parliament by Borys Wrzesnewskyj, who has been an active supporter of the CPI. Likewise, other members of the CPI were involved in the initial drafting of M-163.[395] Subsequently, the co-chairs of the CPI, Furquan Gehlen and Theresa Dunn, have affirmed their support of the motion, albeit with some reservations.[396] These do not relate to the basic purpose of the motion but rather raise the concern that it is only "a step" in the direction of a full DOP and that its scope should be expanded beyond women's concerns and address all peace issues that Canada faces (e.g., including Indigenous issues, disarmament, and peace operations).[397] So it appears that the motion to appoint a Women, Peace and Security Ambassador is not really an alternative to a DOP but is a "step in the right direction" nevertheless—perhaps the only one that is politically viable at the present and one that will call for further action in the future.

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[394] See the website of the organization at https://wpsn-canada.org/ (accessed November 22, 2018).

[395] Comments by Gordon Breedyk, telephone interview, November 9, 2018.

[396] See the CPI letter endorsing Motion M-163 at https://canadianpeaceinitiative.ca/news/cpi-support-for-a-women-peace-and-security-ambassador/ (accessed November 22, 2018).

[397] Ibid.

Interview Responses

As noted earlier, twenty-three people from across Canada were interviewed: ten were

interviewed in person, eight were interviewed by telephone, and eight—with some duplication—

responded by email. The interviewees included academics involved in peace and conflict studies,

politicians, and peace practitioners active in various forms of mediation and conflict resolution.

Although all had and continue to have longstanding and deep commitments to peace and

peacebuilding, many were not well-acquainted with the CPI or the projected DOP. In all cases

the conversations were frank and open; all of the persons expressed interest in the inquiry and

were forthcoming with their convictions, doubts, questions, or admissions of ignorance.

Respondents were asked three basic questions; the responses are summarized in the

following general categories that emerged from the data.

1. The significance of a Department of Peace (DOP) in the Federal Government of Canada.

There was a considerable range of responses to the question, "How would you rate the

significance of a DOP in the Federal Government of Canada?" However, with one exception ("I

am not a pacifist, and I wouldn't support the idea of a DOP"), all affirmed the preservation and

promotion of peace as a central government policy.

The levels of support for the specific proposal of a DOP ranged from enthusiastic

endorsement to basic rejection of the concept. Some affirmed the idea of establishing a DOP but

saw it as lacking in support among parliamentarians and the general public. Specific comments

included such varied statements as the following: "It's a great idea but, alas, has a long way to go

to being established!" – "It's an idea that merits serious study, but I think the proposed DOP is

totally balmy [i.e., foolish], it betrays a core understanding of parliamentary democracy." – Anne

Pearson, Professor of Religious Studies at McMaster University and a CPI supporter, wrote

affirmatively: "A D[epartment] O[f] P[eace] is, in my view, critical to the future/maturation of our country and I would welcome Canada's renewed leadership in this area, building on the legacy of my grandfather Lester B. Pearson and others." – And Mike Nickerson, an environmentalist and CPI supporter, wrote with some passion: "With the world bristling with sword rattling, I like to think that the time has come to establish institutions to promote and secure peace. It is critical."

A recurring theme was the concern that a DOP could have the effect of the peace agenda being delegated to the one department and becoming marginalized in all the others. – "Would it not be more effective to press the peace agenda within existing government departments rather than starting a new department?" – "It would be important for the DOP not to be an isolated department: peace should be the overarching framework for all departments and close co-ordination would be essential; as [former Canadian senator] Doug Roche and [former Minister of Foreign Affairs] Lloyd Axworthy have stated, the DOP should be the central co-ordinating body for all departments."

There were practical considerations related to the implementation and expenses of establishing a DOP. For example, questions included the following: "What problem, precisely, is the establishment of a DOP trying to address?" – "What funding would be required, and would it be available?" – "Would another new department mean more bureaucracy and expenses?" – "Is there the political will to make a DOP happen?"

There was also the recurring question about the level of public support for a DOP. – "[The DOP] would not likely become a reality unless there was a big groundswell of public support for it." – "At present most supporters of the CPI appear to be middle-aged and older; younger adults seem to have different matters on their minds—this is not the same climate as in

the 1970s and 1980s when there was much concern and commitment to peace." – "I'm very supportive of the DOP, but it will probably take a small initiative group to move the agenda forward."

Finally, there were repeated expressions of goodwill but of lack of knowledge about the CPI. – "I've heard of the DOP but am not really qualified to make an evaluation of the proposal." – "I'm not very familiar with the DOP discussion, but I think it can only be a good undertaking."

2. The feasibility of introducing another DOP Bill in Parliament.

Again various opinions were expressed on this topic. Several said they were not in a position to comment because they were not familiar enough with the political process. Others suggested that the political will to introduce another bill was lacking among parliamentarians. Yet others thought the public interest was also not present. None could foresee the possibility of an immediate acceptance of another bill to establish a DOP.

Several responses were typical: "I don't see the political will to develop a DOP at present; 'peace' does not appear to be very high on the present government's agenda, despite official statements." – "Public awareness and support needs to be developed first." – "A strong lobby group would be essential to move a bill forward." – "There may be activity to develop support for a DOP, but I am not aware of any consistent effort to promote it; it would take a small initiative group to move this agenda forward—as happened in the past with nuclear and arms controls." – And one (Liberal) MP responded: "Is there a possibility of a DOP being accepted by parliament at present? With an election coming in a year [October 2019]? No way!"

Despite the reservations, there were also optimistic suggestions: "Go for it if the possibility is there!" – "It is worth trying again. The importance and relevance have not diminished in the least, and there is more likelihood of such a bill passing with a Liberal or NDP

government than with a Conservative one." – "Politics is the art of the possible. Could the DOP become reality? Of course, nothing is impossible—there is always hope."

There were several suggestions to follow a policy of incremental steps, such as the appointment of the Ambassador for Women, Peace and Security. – "Establishing a new government department is a huge undertaking. This may be the ultimate goal, but smaller steps may need to be taken first." Finances were not seen as the major obstacle, while on the other hand the stance of the Conservatives, either in government or in opposition, was considered by several respondents to be a major barrier to be overcome.

A recurring theme was the necessity of a compelling vision: "What would be needed first is a vision, and it has proven difficult to convince people that a DOP would be necessary or could contribute in a meaningful way to improving the 'peacefulness' of Canada or the world."

3. The value and/or relationship to the DOP of the recently introduced private member's motion to appoint a Canadian "Women, Peace and Security Ambassador" (September 20, 2018) and the subsequent announcement of the appointment by Foreign Affairs Minister Chrystia Freeland (September 22, 2018).[398]

While some respondents were not acquainted with the subject and others expressed some reservations about its effectiveness, the replies to this question were almost entirely positive. – "The Ambassador is a small beginning of peacebuilding, will hopefully increase in scope and substance with time." – "I don't know much about the Ambassador role, but it sounds like a great opening for continuing the promotion of the DOP."

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[398]At the time of the interviews, during the fall and early winter of 2018, the appointment of the Ambassador was still pending; by the time this thesis was completed, the appointment had, in fact, been made.

The close tie between the Ambassador and the DOP was repeatedly observed, usually in the sense that the Ambassadorship was "a step in the right direction." – "The Ambassador would be a good first step toward a DOP." – "I think the Ambassador is a very good step and would ultimately fall under the purview of a DOP." – "The Ambassador can be seen as a scaled-down version of the DOP. While at present there is no chance of a bill to establish a DOP being accepted in parliament, the motion to appoint an Ambassador will go through." Saul Arbess, CPI director, noted: "Borys Wrzesnewskyj, the mover of Motion M-163 [the motion to appoint an Ambassador], has been closely connected to the CPI. This appointment would definitely be a positive step toward establishing a DOP. The CPI supports the motion and is not planning any specific further steps toward instituting a DOP at present."

The significance of the UN resolution on Women, Peace and Security and the efforts of the Canadian Women's Peace and Security Network[399] in making the appointment of the Ambassador possible was pointed out: "The motion for an Ambassador has developed out of the work of the Women's Peace and Security Network, the UN Resolution 1325 [accepted in 2000], and the five-year Canadian National Action Plan (CNAP, 2010-2015); this included seven government ministries. Now the Ambassador should be in charge of the continuing the CNAP. So far, this looks as if it is a positive development."

The main caution that was expressed about the Ambassadorship dealt with the question of whether it would be primarily a symbolic but ineffective appointment or whether it would include actual substance and have any effect on government policies. – "I would heartily welcome the appointment, but it will remain to be seen how much authority the Ambassador will actually be given." – "It is not yet clear how much authority the Ambassador would have; this will also depend on the actual person in that position."

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[399]https://wpsn-canada.org (accessed December 28, 2018).

In most interviews the three basic questions usually led to other related questions and comments such as the following—with some repetitions and variations of the previous responses. For example, respondents reflected on the level of their familiarity with the DOP. The people directly involved in the CPI were, of course, very knowledgeable and involved. Others, including academics and practitioners or politicians, were only vaguely familiar with the idea of a DOP—or not at all. The responses to the appointment of an Ambassador were similar, except that the motion had been introduced in parliament, so that the politicians were more aware of it.

There appeared to be a clear consensus of opinions that the general public support for a DOP was very weak, if not non-existent altogether. There were several comments that any topic of this nature was dependent on a small vigorous initiative group which would promote it actively. If there would not be public support or pressure, parliamentarians would not make it their priority either.

To a large extent the DOP seems to be the vision of a middle-aged and older generation with the experiences of the wars of the mid-twentieth century and the Holocaust and awareness of the newly emerging nuclear threat. The "Millennials" (those born about 1980-1994) and "Gen Z" (those born after 1994) and to some extent even the older members of the "Baby Boomers" (born 1946-1964) and "Gen X" (born mid-1960s top early 1980s)—that is, those under about forty years of age and even some who are older, who have mostly grown up in a more peaceful environment and not experienced wars personally in a major way—have other priorities such as finding employment, paying off large loans, and establishing their own families. Many are also socially concerned, but this tends to be in specific areas like the environment or Indigenous injustices, rather than peace more generally. And in any case, revising or introducing new formal

government structures is probably not of great interest to most members of the general public of any age.

At the parliamentary level, a DOP is not a priority and perhaps not even a desirable route to go as there are many obstacles to its implementation. The current Liberal prime minister has given greater support to peace undertakings than the previous Conservative prime minister did, but it is not yet clear how serious this commitment is. Other factors also have significance for government policy (such as trade and commerce, membership in NATO, pressure from the American government, influence of the military-industrial complex). If there is not a serious "push" from the public at large or at least from significant lobbying groups, parliamentarians will probably let other priorities influence their time and energy. At the public level, a major obstacle is lack of awareness and concern about a DOP and even "peace" more generally. To this could be added that financial limitations—not unrelated to the lack of awareness and interest—are always a concern.

Although varied opinions were expressed, there was also an overall sense of a gap between peace academics and practitioners. There was a feeling that university peace programs produce excellent papers but that these do not lead to substantial involvement in the practical issues of mediation or peacebuilding. University programs in peace and conflict studies are experiencing increasing enrolments, indicating interest among students; however, it is more difficult to find jobs in areas of practical peacemaking. There should be greater efforts at integrating these two perspectives—the catchword is "pracademics."[400] Civilian Peace Services Canada (CPSC) is working at professional accreditation of mediators and other peace workers,

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[400]The term "pracademics" was first proposed by Maria Volpe and David Chandler (2001), "Resolving and Managing Conflicts in Academic Communities: The Emerging Role of the 'Pracademic'," *Negotiation Journal* *17:*3, 245-255..

based on education and experience: this would be one way of bridging the gap between academics and practitioners.

There was also a clear sense that peace-related NGOs are able to work within the framework of parliamentary or governmental initiatives, but that a DOP could provide the necessary larger framework for them. The DOP would also include interaction with the other government ministries, such as Global Affairs or Indigenous and Northern Affairs, and work to set the overall direction of government policies; the DOP would have the resources to work on a larger scale than any NGO. There could also be cooperative programs, similar to earlier CIDA funds being allocated to NGOs according to clearly established criteria or, conversely, NGOs providing research and field notes to the government for establishing policies.

While there seemed to be agreement that some form of publicity would be essential for a DOP to succeed, there were very few comments about the forms or practical steps that might be taken to promote the DOP. A general theme was that it would be necessary to promote an awareness of the urgency of the way of peace instead of "sword rattling" as the way forward; this could be done by organizing local meetings or larger conventions (like the "No War 2018" conference organized by World Beyond War in Toronto in September 2018), or by writing articles and letters to different media, producing videos (like the excellent 5-minute video "The Story of the Rohingya: Imagine Another Way" on the CPI website), or meeting with children and youth in schools to discuss conflict and peaceful options. It was observed that the mood and the priorities of the public change over time: at the present time it is more difficult to motivate people for peace than it was during the Vietnam War or the height of the Cold War. Some wondered if it is even possible to talk of a "peace movement" in Canada at the present as the passion of earlier decades appears to have dissipated. However, as former MP Bill Baikie—not a

convinced supporter of the DOP initiative—said encouragingly: "When I was a student, I worked on construction in the summers, and that included breaking up old cement blocks with a hammer. How do you crack a cement block? An old Ukrainian worker told me how: you continue to hammer the block in the same place, and eventually it cracks. The moral is that persistence is essential to make things happen, and I have also found this useful in life and in politics."

The members of the CPI have been working with a good deal of persistence at building momentum by getting the support of significant individuals and other organizations to support the DOP initiative. Working through the local chapters has been helpful, and there is hope that more will be started. There are also church groups and other organizations which have similar goals and work at promoting a culture of peace, both domestically and globally.

As James Christie, retired professor and church leader who remains to be convinced that the DOP is a realistic option, said at the end of the interview, "The idea of a DOP is worth serious examination, no matter what the conclusions will be; it's an idea that merits serious study."

Research Findings

When the literature related to the DOP and the responses received in the interviewing process are reviewed, what can be expected in terms of a future Department of Peace? As already noted, the literature related to this immediate topic is quite sparse. The most useful resource is the CPI website, particularly the sections "Learn about the Initiative" and "F[requently] A[sked] Q[uestions]." More literature is available on the broader topic of the Canadian peace movement, although this also is fairly limited. When the even larger topic of global peace initiatives is considered, there is an enormous amount of literature, and it is important to see the Canadian developments in this larger context; however, even here there is relatively little material that

focused on the Canadian situation in particular. The oral interviews yielded a rich repository of valuable information by persons deeply committed to peacebuilding, even as they registered a wide range of convictions about the feasibility and value of a DOP.

In summary, the following research findings may be offered:

1. Establishing a DOP is not realistic at present.

The aim of establishing a DOP at the present time is not a realistic expectation: despite some support, there is neither the overall political will among parliamentarians to make this a priority, nor the interest or commitment among the general population of Canada.

2. The Women, Peace and Security Ambassador is a positive step.

On the other hand, the appointment of the Women, Peace and Security Ambassador is a hopeful sign for the promotion of peace as an important criterion for the future policy direction of the Canadian government. This appointment has been possible on the basis of a more foundational statement accepted by the UN, followed by concerted and sustained efforts in Canada, especially by members of the Women, Peace and Security Network. The appointment of the Ambassador, whose effectiveness remains to be tested, is generally endorsed as "a step in the right direction" by peacebuilders—but only as one step on the way to a more comprehensive governmental department.

3. There is support, although limited, for a DOP.

Although there are no formal plans to introduce another bill to establish a DOP in parliament, efforts continue by the supporters of the CPI to raise awareness and interest in the issue among the Canadian population. Considering the peace movement in Canada at present, this will not be an easy task, but if done consistently enough, there could well be a groundswell of support among the population and enough political will to enable another bill in the future.

4. Peacebuilders need to clarify their vision.

Peacebuilders will need to carry on the discussion among themselves to clarify their

vision and the best way forward. This could take the form of national or local conferences or

"town-hall" meetings (the models of the "No War 2018" conference in Toronto or the cross-

country tour arranged by Borys Wrzesnewskyj in connection with the Women, Peace and

Security Ambassador appointment come to mind). Other venues could be through articles in

periodicals (like *Peace Research* or *Peace Magazine*) or other publications, as well as exchanges

on social media. At present there are significant divergences of opinion among peacebuilders

about the wisdom and viability of establishing a DOP.

5. Global interaction.

Decisions in Canada are clearly related to developments in the rest of the world, evident

in the truly big concerns of our time, such as the environment, nuclear armaments, transnational

movement of military *matériel*, or the countless humanitarian crises. Equally Canada is a

participant in such international organizations as the UN, NATO, the Organization of American

States (OAS), or, since 2018, the US-Mexico-Canada-Agreement (USMCA). Even as the CPI is

promoting a DOP for Canada, it is possible to learn from the experiences of others and also to

consider what the implications of a DOP would mean for international relationships. Considering

the history of Canadian involvement in international affairs, Canada has the potential to become

a world leader in this area as well.

6. The challenge to broaden the support base.

At present most CPI supporters appear to be of the "Baby Boomer" generation and older;

it will be essential to engage younger Canadians if a DOP is to become a reality. One way to

pursue this would be through the local chapters of the CPI. As already noted, there are presently

eight chapters in cities across Canada, and Saul Arbess, the national CPI director, invites

concerned persons to organize new chapters elsewhere. The challenge will be to involve a

younger generation, for example, through focused discussion forums.

7. The value of liaison with other organizations.

The establishment of a DOP is not the only peacebuilding endeavour in Canada. It will be

important to continue to work in liaison with other like-minded groups, many of which are listed

as supporters of the CPI on the CPI website. Specifically, the Women's Peace and Security

Network comes to mind. A different example of peacebuilding is the annual student seminar in

Ottawa which is organized by the Ottawa Office of Mennonite Central Committee Canada:

university students from across Canada have the opportunity to engage parliamentarians and civil

society advocates and discuss human rights and peacebuilding issues.[401]

Conclusion

In this chapter the proposed Canadian DOP was examined in some detail, and the possibility of

other options, notably the Women, Peace and Security Ambassador, was explored as well. In

particular, the responses of a cross-section of academics, politicians, and peacebuilding

practitioners to the concept of a DOP and its feasibility were examined. It would appear that it is

unrealistic to expect the establishment of a DOP by the government in the near future; on the

other hand, the recent appointment of the Women, Peace and Security Ambassador appears to be

a positive step in this direction.

In the concluding chapter of the thesis, the key findings of this research project are

reviewed, together with suggestions for possible further research.

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[401]In 2019, the MCCC Ottawa Office Student Seminar is scheduled for February 14-16 with the theme "People on the move: Human rights and global migration." See https://mcccanada.ca/stories/ottawa-office-student-seminar-february-14-16-2019 (accessed January 17, 2019).

CONCLUSIONS

I am a prisoner of hope. We are more connected than ever before,
we have more knowledge, and there are solutions if we work together.
—Archbishop Desmond Tutu[402]

Introduction

In this final chapter the key findings of the research project are reviewed. Given the limitations

of the project, as well as the continuous developments within society in general and the peace

movement in particular, this thesis is of course not the final word on the subject. Thus the

research can well be continued and augmented: some possible topics and directions are

suggested below.

Review of Key Findings

A number of themes have emerged in this research project, arising from the related literature as

well as the interviews; they have been discussed in the previous chapters, but some more general

personal reflections follow. In offering these observations, I am aware of the excellent work that

has already been done and continues to be undertaken by the members of the CPI. In no way do I

mean to denigrate their efforts or minimize the significance of their work; on the contrary, I

deeply appreciate the vision and persistence in pursuing it that I have observed.

One theme that has emerged from the literature is that while the Canadian context and

peacebuilding program may be unique—as, indeed, it is in any country—there are also many

similar programs and models of peacebuilding in other countries which can provide useful

information for the CPI. Indeed, persons active in the CPI, like director Saul Arbess, have been

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[402]https://www.facebook.com/DesmondTutuPF/posts/1355247527841632 (accessed November 22, 2018).

and continue to be deeply involved in international organizations like the Global Alliance for Ministries and Departments of Peace. Having considered the programs of a number of other countries, I note that the American efforts to introduce a Department of Peace are the most similar to and most closely interrelated with the Canadian approach and bear particular continued close observation and study.

A second theme that stands out for me is that peacebuilding clearly includes both negative and positive dimensions. I find it helpful to keep in mind Johan Galtung's classic definitions of "negative" and "positive" peace. Traditional methods of "making peace," be these in the context of international conflicts, intrastate civil wars, or smaller interpersonal conflicts, have frequently focused on the negative approach, i.e., bringing an end to violent conflict by force—and this has also been understood as a central component of Canada's defence department.[403] As "pracademics" of peacebuilding, like Galtung and also John Paul Lederach, have persuasively argued, it is at least as important—especially in the long run—to focus on the positive aspects of peacebuilding, i.e., addressing underlying social justice issues and developing stable and constructive social structures. The vision for a DOP emphasizes—as I believe it should—the positive aspects of peacebuilding, as clearly illustrated in the diagram of the proposed DOP structure in Appendix B.

Third, based on John Paul Lederach's model as well as practical experience, it seems essential to me that a broad base of participants must be developed for the successful implementation of a DOP. This would include the involvement of Canadians of all ages and backgrounds and from all parts of the country; it would include working together with other like-minded organizations, such as the Women, Peace and Security Network; it would also include the cooperation of politicians and civic leaders of all persuasions. There will always be differing

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[403]See N. 39.

interests and convictions, and these may—hopefully, they will!—shift with time and experiences, but they need to be worked through in careful and respectful ways if a strong support base is to be established. Peace education, a long-term undertaking beginning at an early age—as in Norway or Costa Rica—is another important component in developing a strong support base. At present there is already a significant list of CPI supporters, including both individuals and organizations; the list will need continuous attention if it is to be expanded and if the DOP is to be a higher priority for those who are already supporters.

Fourth, in reading of the experiences of other countries and in conducting the interviews, I was struck by the diversity of opinions on the topic of a DOP—and this among people who were basically agreed on the need for establishing peace-promoting structures. This divergence relates not only to the expectations of *realpolitik*, but also to basically diverging visions as such. While some considered the DOP to be the essential way to proceed, others strongly opposed it, rather advocating peace as a guiding principle in all departments of the government. There may well be others who entirely reject the idea of a DOP and its underlying concept of positive peacebuilding, but it appears to me that the peacebuilders themselves need to find greater agreement in their vision before the DOP can become a reality.

Fifth, is a DOP the *only* way to proceed? Considering the experiences of other countries, the answer would have to be no, not necessarily. A few countries have established their own ministries or departments of peace, mostly in circumstances quite different from those in Canada at present; in yet other countries parliamentary bills to introduce such ministries have been introduced, sometimes repeatedly—e.g., in the UK or the US—and these can be models for the Canadian effort to introduce a similar department. On the other hand, there are countries with strong peace programs which do not have departments or ministries of peace but have integrated

peace concerns into other government structures, and these offer alternative models for consideration in Canada. So it will remain for Canadian peacebuilders to agree on which approach could be the most appropriate in the Canadian context.

Finally, is the establishment of a DOP a realistic possibility at present? Considering the recent past—that is, the introduction of Bills C-447 in 2009 and C-373 in 2011—and the current political climate, the answer would appear to be, in the words of one of the respondents, "No way!" On the other hand, as another respondent replied, "Politics is the art of the possible. Could the DOP become reality? Of course, nothing is impossible—there is always hope!" The establishment of a DOP is a huge undertaking, requiring a truly big, creative, and courageous vision as well as careful, meticulous planning. Hence it will not be possible to achieve it in one fell swoop but rather will require patience, persistence, and quite possibly intermediate steps, such as the appointment of the Women, Peace and Security Ambassador.

Further Research

The research topics introduced in this thesis could well be expanded in a variety of directions.

1. To be more complete, the research on the feasibility of establishing a DOP should include a wider sampling of interview respondents, including other politicians, civil society leaders, and a wider cross-section of the general Canadian public; in particular, interviews with university students and other young adults, as well as marginalized groups (e.g., women, Indigenous people, people living with disabilities, LGBTQ, and veterans) might well add a significant dimension to the study. These should include not only those who support a peace stance—be they in favour of or opposed to a DOP—but also those who may well question or fundamentally disagree with the peace position as such.

2. At the same time, it will be important to remain aware of related developments in other countries, be this via publications, conferences, or other social media and networking.

3. Now that the Women, Peace and Security Ambassador has been appointed, it will be worth observing the further impact of this office, the activities that are undertaken, and how the office will contribute to the causes of peace and security—and to the potential future development of a DOP.

4. It would be a worthwhile study to examine the overall record of peacekeeping/peacebuilding activities and trends of Canadian governments since, say, the mid-twentieth century. In his article entitled "Peacekeeping" historian J.L. Granatstein offers a brief review of Canadian peacekeeping operations, notably with the UN, observing that since Canada's dramatic role in the 1956 Suez Crisis, Canadians have sometimes considered peacekeeping as "part of the country's identity," but that in subsequent decades this commitment, notably to UN peacekeeping missions, has been in decline.[404] How have Liberal governments differed from Conservative ones? Have the NDP or the Green parties had any impact on policies? And a year ago, in January 2018, the present government announced the appointment of a human rights ambassador but has to date not filled this position;[405] such activities merit careful review and analysis.

5. Another significant research project would be a careful assessment of the history of the shifting mood of Canadian society as far as the overall peace tradition is concerned. Certainly the present-day mood—notably on university campuses—is very different from the counter-cultural

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[404] J.L. Granatstein, "Peacekeeping" in *The Canadian Encyclopedia*; see https://www.thecanadianencyclopedia.ca/en/article/peacekeeping (accessed January 17, 2019).

[405] See the item "Take action" in the January 2019 e-newsletter of the Mennonite Central Committee Ottawa Office.

time of the 1960s and 1970s![406] Careful reflection would be needed to determine how the

current mood would affect the discussion of a DOP and its possible establishment.

Conclusion

At the outset of this research project I had the intention of "evaluating the significance and the

feasibility of establishing a Department of Peace (DOP) as an integral department of the Federal

Government of Canada."[407] During the ensuing research the focus of my research and reflections

shifted: as I heard questions about the desirability of a separate DOP—and even strongly

opposing opinions—I was forced to take a step back. I began to ask not only about the potential

structure and content of a DOP but also whether a DOP would, in fact, be advisable as the best

route to follow in promoting peace as a framework for the overall agenda of the Canadian

government. After numerous interviews with Canadian peacebuilders and politicians, I observe

continuing deep divisions between DOP advocates and opponents. At this stage in my research it

is my conclusion that, with all the requisite considerations and caveats, a DOP can play a very

significant role in the structure—and, indeed, the overall guiding philosophy—of the Canadian

government, related to both its domestic responsibilities and the larger global community.

In beginning this project I also indicated my intention of doing the research "in the

historical context of the Canadian peace movement, as well as in consideration of similar

movements in other countries and the interconnectedness of global efforts towards finding non-

violent resolutions of conflicts and promoting peace."[408] As anticipated, the investigation of this

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[406]I am writing these words on US Martin Luther King Jr. Day 2019 and recall the passion of the era—evident, for example, at King's "I have a dream speech" held in Washington in 1968. It was a time of great drama in history, not only in the US but also in Canada. King's speech is available at https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=vP4iY1TtS3s (accessed January 21, 2019).

[407]See p. 2.

[408]Ibid.

larger context has, indeed, turned out to be a richly rewarding experience. While there may not be a voluminous literature on the Canadian peace movement, there are excellent articles, monographs and multi-author works; I have especially come to value the ongoing publication of *Peace Research* and the more popular *Peace Magazine*—both filled with a wide range of current Canadian and global peace-related materials. Concerning the global peace movements, there are seemingly endless resources of valuable (as well as less valuable!) material that are worth investigating, particularly on the Internet, so that it is a challenge to find acceptable criteria and limits in doing the research.[409]

In any case, the available literature and the interviews have together provided a useful framework for the present study, limited as it has been. The writings of historians like Peter Brock and theoreticians like Johan Galtung and John Paul Lederach have provided much insight and inspiration to continue to work in conflict transformation and peacebuilding. And the oral interviews have offered an enriching experience of meeting other Canadians from a variety of backgrounds as we discussed the possibility of a DOP as well as the much larger and truly awe-inspiring subject of peacebuilding around the world.

In the meantime, as conflicts of varying dimensions and brutality continue in Canada and elsewhere, the challenge of peacebuilding is as urgent—and also as exciting—as ever. In the words of philosopher and theologian Pierre Teilhard de Chardin, "Someday, after harnessing the ether, the winds, the tides, and gravitation, we shall harness for God the energies of love; and then, for the second time in the history of the world, [we] will have discovered fire."[410]

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[409]For just one example, the search for "Global peace" in the Internet yields 671 million sites (accessed November 29, 2018)—subsequently adjusted to 673 million (accessed January 17, 2019).

[410]Pierre Teilhard de Chardin (1936, pub. in 1975), "The Evolution of Chastity" in *Toward the Future*, (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Harcourt), 86-87.

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APPENDIX A.

Bill C-373, Department of Peace Act[411]

1st Session, 41st Parliament,

60 Elizabeth II, 2011

HOUSE OF COMMONS OF CANADA

BILL C-373

An Act to establish the Department of Peace

Whereas the Parliament of Canada is of the view that the establishment of a Department of Peace would help to advance the cause of peace in Canada and throughout the world;

And whereas peace is not simply the absence of active hostilities but rather a state of non-violence, harmony and amity based on a foundation of principles supported by the United Nations;

Now, therefore, Her Majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate and House of Commons of Canada, enacts as follows:

SHORT TITLE

Short title

1. This Act may be cited as the *Department of Peace Act*.

INTERPRETATION

Definitions

2. The following definitions apply in this Act.

"Civilian Peace Service"
« *service civil pour la paix* »
"Civilian Peace Service" means the service established under paragraph 14(2)(*b*).

"Department"
« *ministère* »
Department" means the Department of Peace established under subsection 3(1).

"Minister"
« *ministre* »

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[411]http://www.parl.ca/DocumentViewer/en/41-2/bill/C-373/first-reading/page-24 (accessed November 19, 2018).

"Minister" means the Minister of Peace appointed under section 3.

ESTABLISHMENT OF DEPARTMENT

Department established

3. (1) A department of the Government of Canada called the Department of Peace is established, over which the Minister of Peace, appointed by commission under the Great Seal, is to preside.

Minister

(2) The Minister holds office during pleasure and has the management and direction of the Department.

MISSION OF DEPARTMENT

Mission

4. The work of the Department is to be dedicated to peace-building and the study of conditions that are conducive to both domestic and international peace and, in particular, the Department must

(*a*) hold peace as an organizing principle in society, coordinating service with every level of Canadian society;

(*b*) promote justice and democratic principles in order to expand human rights;

(*c*) strengthen non-military means of peacemaking;

(*d*) promote the development of human potential;

(*e*) work to create peace, prevent violence, divert from armed conflict, use field-tested programs and develop new structures for non-violent dispute resolution;

(*f*) take a proactive, strategic approach to the development of policies and programs that promote national and international conflict prevention, non-violent intervention, mediation, peaceful conflict resolution and structured mediation of conflict;

(*g*) address matters both domestic and international in scope;

(*h*) support the development of initiatives from local communities, religious groups and non-governmental organizations; and

(*i*) assume a leadership role among federal departments in addressing matters of peace, order, justice and good government, and in carrying out the responsibility to protect Canadians from harm.

POWERS, DUTIES AND FUNCTIONS OF THE MINISTER

Powers, duties and functions

5. (1) The powers, duties and functions of the Minister extend to and include all matters over which Parliament has jurisdiction — and that have not been assigned by law to another department, board or agency of the Government of Canada — relating to peacemaking and the study of conditions that are conducive to both domestic and international peace.

Minister's jurisdiction

(2) The Minister's jurisdiction referred to in subsection (1) encompasses, but is not limited to, jurisdiction over the matters referred to in subsection (3).

Powers, duties and functions

(3) The Minister must

(*a*) work proactively and interactively with each branch of the federal public administration on all policy matters relating to conditions of peace;

(*b*) serve as the Cabinet spokesperson on matters relating to peace;

(*c*) include the intellectual and spiritual wealth of the people of Canada by involving private, public and non-governmental organizations in the administration of the Department and in its development of policy and programs;

(*d*) monitor and analyse causative principles of conflict and make policy recommendations for developing and maintaining peaceful conduct, with a view to preventing crisis and violence;

(*e*) promote and develop programs involving citizen participation, including a Canadian civilian peace service aimed at preventing crisis and violence, which would involve the participation of trained citizens in all elements of peace-building, peacemaking and peacekeeping;

(*f*) develop an intercultural competence within the Department to manage conflicts between individuals and groups;

(*g*) assist in the establishment and funding of community-based violence mitigation and prevention programs, including restorative justice practices and violence prevention models and their implementation; and

(*h*) develop strategies and implement programs to address unhealthy manifestations of violence in Canadian culture as they relate to both humans and animals.

HUMAN SECURITY RESPONSIBILITIES

Non-violent conflict resolution strategies

6. (1) The Minister must develop non-violent conflict resolution strategies applicable to situations where human security is threatened by conflict that

(*a*) is geographic, religious, ethnic, racial, gender-, sexuality- or class-based in its origin, or related to other human rights violations;

 (*b*) results from economic concerns, including trade or misdistribution of wealth; or

(*c*) is initiated through disputes concerning scarcity of food or natural resources, including water and energy resources, or environmental concerns.

Information relating to strategies

(2) The Minister must offer to provide information relating to the strategies referred to in subsection (1) to all parties involved in a conflict referred to in that subsection.

EDUCATIONAL RESPONSIBILITIES

Education

7. The Minister must

(*a*) consult with established and innovative peace educators, from across Canada to develop an agenda of peace themes, which is to include studies of

      (i) the human rights movement in Canada and throughout the world, with special emphasis on how cooperative endeavour and involvement have contributed to advancements in peace and justice,

      (ii) peace agreements, and

      (iii) circumstances in which peaceful intervention has worked to stop conflict;

(*b*) in cooperation with provincial and territorial ministers of education,

      (i) offer incentives in the form of grants and training,

      (ii) work with educators to design and develop resources to achieve methods of instruction on peaceful conflict prevention and resolution, and

(iii) develop an intercultural competence to manage conflicts between different groups;

(*c*) establish and maintain a public website for the purposes of soliciting and receiving ideas for the development of peace from the people of Canada;

(*d*) engage the critical thinking capabilities of grade-school, high-school and university students and teachers by means of the Internet and other media and issue periodic reports concerning submissions received from such persons;

(*e*) establish, in collaboration with post-secondary institutions in Canada, a National Peace Academy to provide diploma or degree courses of instruction in peace education, whose graduates will be required to provide five years of public service in programs dedicated to domestic or international non-violent conflict resolution; and

(*f*) provide grants for peace studies departments in universities and colleges throughout Canada.

DOMESTIC RESPONSIBILITIES

Domestic responsibilities

8. The Minister must

(*a*) provide financing for community initiatives that rely on local resources to create peace projects to facilitate the development of strategies for conflict prevention and resolution at a national level and thereby inform and inspire national policy;

(*b*) assist in the development of community-based strategies for celebrating diversity, promoting respect and combating racism and sexism;

(*c*) assist in the establishment and funding of community-based violence prevention programs;

(*d*) develop policies that address family violence, including spousal abuse, child abuse and elder abuse;

(*e*) develop policies to address violence against animals;

(*f*) analyse existing policies, implement field-tested programs and develop new approaches to deal with the implements of violence, such as handguns and other firearms;

(*g*) develop new programs that relate to the societal challenges of school violence, gangs, racial and ethnic violence, violence against gays and lesbians, transphobic violence and disputes involving relations between police services and communities;

(*h*) make policy recommendations to the Minister of Justice regarding human rights, labour law and civil liberties;

(*i*) provide counselling services for and advocate on behalf of women victimized by violence;

(*j*) provide for public education programs concerning hate crimes so as to promote healing and respect for racial, religious, ethnic, gender and sexual diversity; and

(*k*) ensure, through such participatory and evaluative methods as social and narrative research, that federal official language policies and employment equity policies are guided by principles that are consistent with developing a culture of peace.

INTERNATIONAL RESPONSIBILITIES

International responsibilities

9. The Minister must

(*a*) advise the Minister of National Defence and the Minister of Foreign Affairs on all matters relating to national security, including the protection of human rights and the prevention, amelioration and de-escalation of unarmed and armed international conflict;

(*b*) provide for the training of all Canadian personnel who administer post-conflict reconstruction or demobilization in war-torn societies;

(*c*) sponsor national and regional conflict prevention and dispute resolution initiatives, create special task forces and draw on local, regional and national expertise to develop plans and programs for addressing the root sources of conflict in troubled areas;

(*d*) provide, between Canada and other nations, for exchanges of individuals who work for governments and for non-governmental organizations that endeavour to develop domestic and international peace-based initiatives;

(*e*) encourage the development of international sister city programs, pairing Canadian cities with cities around the globe for artistic, cultural, economic, educational, peace and faith-based exchanges;

(*f*) develop and administer the training of civilian peacekeepers who participate in multinational non-violent police forces or provide support to civilian police participating in peacekeeping;

(*g*) develop and administer a Civilian Peace Service cadet program to engage youth in community service in Canada and overseas;

(*h*) work jointly with the Minister of Finance to strengthen peace enforcement through the hiring and training of monitors and investigators to help with the enforcement of international arms embargoes;

(*i*) facilitate the development of peace summits at which parties to a conflict may gather — under carefully prepared conditions — to promote non-violent communication and mutually beneficial solutions;

(*j*) submit to the Prime Minister recommendations for reducing the numbers of weapons of mass destruction and for stopping their proliferation;

(*k*) submit an annual report to the Prime Minister on the sale of arms from Canada to other nations, including an analysis of the impact of such sales on the defence of Canada and how such sales affect peace;

(*l*) in consultation with the Minister of Foreign Affairs, develop strategies for the sustainability and management of the distribution of international funds;

(*m*) advise the Canadian Ambassador to the United Nations on matters pertaining to the United Nations Security Council; and

(*n*) provide to the Department of National Defence, on a regular basis, ethical and value-based analyses of programs and other initiatives of that Department.

CONSULTATION WITH MINISTER

In case of conflict

10. (1) If it appears that Canada is about to be involved in an armed conflict with another government or entity, the Minister of National Defence and the Minister of Foreign Affairs must, in accordance with the process referred to in subsection (4), consult with the Minister with a view to resolving the conflict by non-violent means.

Diplomatic initiatives

(2) If an armed conflict involving Canada and any other government or entity is ongoing or recently concluded, the Minister must arrange for independent study of diplomatic initiatives undertaken by Canada and other parties involved in the armed conflict.

Effectiveness of initiatives

(3) Immediately after an armed conflict involving Canada and any other government or entity has concluded, the Minister must assess the effectiveness of any diplomatic initiatives that played a role in ending the conflict. The Minister must report to Parliament on the results of the assessment within six months after the end of the armed conflict.

Formal consultative process

(4) The Minister must immediately establish a formal consultative process with the Minister of National Defence and the Minister of Foreign Affairs to address any issues that may arise in respect of

(*a*) any potential or ongoing armed conflict involving Canada and another nation; and

(*b*) the use of Department of National Defence personnel within Canada.

Treaties and peace agreements

11. The Minister is to be consulted before the Government of Canada enters into any treaty or peace agreement.

DEPARTMENTAL OFFICERS

Deputy Minister

12. (1) The Governor in Council must appoint an officer called the Deputy Minister of Peace to hold office during pleasure and to be the deputy head of the Department.

Absence or disability

(2) The Deputy Minister must designate other officers of the Department to act for and perform the functions of the Deputy Minister during his or her absence or disability.

Other officers

13. (1) The Governor in Council must appoint the following departmental officers:

(*a*) an Assistant Deputy Minister for Peace Education and Training, who is to be responsible for carrying out the functions and responsibilities referred to in section 14;

(*b*) an Assistant Deputy Minister for Domestic Peace Activities, who is to be responsible for carrying out the functions and responsibilities referred to in section 15;

(*c*) an Assistant Deputy Minister for International Peace Activities, who is to be responsible for carrying out the functions and responsibilities referred to in section 16;

(*d*) an Assistant Deputy Minister for Arms Control and Disarmament, who is to be responsible for carrying out the functions and responsibilities referred to in section 17;

(*e*) an Assistant Deputy Minister for Policies and Programs for Peaceful Engagement, who is to be responsible for carrying out the functions and responsibilities referred to in section 18;

(*f*) an Assistant Deputy Minister for Human, Social and Economic Rights, who is to be responsible for carrying out the functions and responsibilities referred to in section 19;

(*g*) a general counsel to provide legal advice to the Minister and Deputy Minister on all matters relating to the administration of the Department and the activities of the Department and its officers; and

(*h*) four additional officers to perform general duties as prescribed by the Deputy Minister, including

(i) parliamentary relations functions,

(ii) public information functions, including providing, through the use of the latest technologies, useful information about peace and the work of the Department,

(iii) management and budget functions, and

(iv) planning, evaluation and policy development functions, including development of policies to promote the efficient and coordinated administration of the Department and its programs and to encourage improvements in conflict resolution and violence prevention methodologies.

Additional functions

(2) Each officer referred to in this section must report to the Deputy Minister and must, in addition to any functions assigned to the officer under this Act, perform any functions assigned to the officer by the Minister or Deputy Minister.

Office of Peace Education and Training

14. (1) The Assistant Deputy Minister for Peace Education and Training is responsible for the establishment and administration of the departmental Office of Peace Education and Training.

Functions

(2) The Assistant Deputy Minister referred to in subsection (1) must

(*a*) carry out those functions of the Department relating to the creation, facilitation and support of peace education programs and training at the elementary, secondary, university and postgraduate levels;

(*b*) establish a Civilian Peace Service to promote non-violent means of conflict resolution on a local, regional and international basis; and

(*c*) establish a Civilian Peace Service cadet program to engage young persons in community service in Canada and overseas and to prepare them for careers as peace professionals.

Specific responsibilities

(3) The Assistant Deputy Minister referred to in subsection (1) must

(*a*) undertake research on and document peaceful approaches to conflict faced by Canadian society and by our allies, with the objective of making the Department a source of innovative approaches and practices for peace-related strategies; and

(*b*) hold a yearly conference with provincial and territorial ministers of education and other leaders in education to share new findings in peace-related strategies applicable in Canadian society and abroad and to demonstrate how these findings could be potential content for school curricula.

Grants

(4) The Assistant Deputy Minister referred to in subsection (1) must

(*a*) provide peace education grants to universities and colleges for the creation and expansion of peace studies departments; and

(*b*) create a community peace grant program under which grants are to be provided to not-for-profit community organizations and other non-governmental organizations for the purposes of developing local peace-building initiatives and innovative neighbourhood programs for non-violent conflict resolution.

Office of Domestic Peace Activities

15. (1) The Assistant Deputy Minister for Domestic Peace Activities is responsible for the establishment and administration of the departmental Office of Domestic Peace Activities.

Functions

(2) The Assistant Deputy Minister referred to in subsection (1) must carry out those functions of the Department relating to domestic peace activities, including the development of policies that increase awareness of the availability and effectiveness of intervention and counselling in respect of domestic violence and conflict.

Specific responsibilities

(3) The Assistant Deputy Minister referred to in subsection (1) must

(*a*) develop new policies and build on existing programs responsive to the prevention of crime, including the development of community policing strategies and peaceful settlement skills among police and other public safety officers;

(*b*) develop community-based strategies for celebrating diversity and promoting respect; and

(*c*) promote the use of restorative justice practices in the resolution of conflict at the community, regional and national level.

Office of International Peace Activities

16. (1) The Assistant Deputy Minister for International Peace Activities is responsible for the establishment and administration of the departmental Office of International Peace Activities.

Functions

(2) The Assistant Deputy Minister referred to in subsection (1) must carry out those functions of the Department relating to international peace activities.

Specific responsibilities

(3) The Assistant Deputy Minister referred to in subsection (1) must

(*a*) provide for the training and deployment of Civilian Peace Service graduates and other non-military conflict-prevention and peacemaking personnel;

(*b*) sponsor national and regional conflict-prevention and dispute-resolution initiatives in countries experiencing social, political or economic strife;

(*c*) advocate the creation of a multinational non-violent peace force;

(*d*) provide training for the administration of post-conflict reconstruction and demobilization in war-torn societies;

(*e*) provide for personnel exchanges between Canada and other nations who are endeavouring to develop domestic and international peace-based initiatives; and

(*f*) create early detection, assessment and response mechanisms to respond to emerging conflicts in order to mitigate or prevent violence.

Office of Arms Control and Disarmament

17. (1) The Assistant Deputy Minister for Arms Control and Disarmament is responsible for the establishment and administration of the departmental Office of Arms Control and Disarmament.

Functions

(2) The Assistant Deputy Minister referred to in subsection (1) must carry out those functions of the Department relating to arms control programs and arms limitation agreements.

Specific responsibilities

(3) The Assistant Deputy Minister referred to in subsection (1) must

(*a*) advise the Minister and Deputy Minister on all interagency discussions and all international negotiations regarding the reduction and elimination of weapons of mass destruction throughout the world;

(*b*) advise the Minister and Deputy Minister on incidents of dismantling of weapons of mass destruction and the safe and secure storage of materials related thereto;

(*c*) assist nations, international agencies and non-governmental organizations in determining the locations of nuclear weapons build-up;

(*d*) develop non-violent strategies to deter the testing or use of offensive or defensive nuclear weapons, whether based on land, air, sea, or in outer space;

(*e*) facilitate the role of all parties and relevant government departments in advanc-ing the development of a nuclear weapons convention for the establishment of national and international legislation and policies on the responsible use, disposal and future elimination of nuclear weapons; and

(*f*) provide a depository for copies of all contracts, agreements and treaties that deal with the reduction and elimination of nuclear weapons or the protection of outer space from militarization.

Office of Policies and Programs for Peaceful Engagement

18. (1) The Assistant Deputy Minister for Policies and Programs for Peaceful Engagement is responsible for the establishment and administration of the departmental Office of Policies and Programs for Peaceful Engagement

Functions

(2) The Assistant Deputy Minister referred to in subsection (1) must carry out those functions in the Department relating to research and analysis in respect of creating, initiating, and modelling approaches to peaceful engagement and non-violent conflict resolution.

Specific responsibilities

(3) The Assistant Deputy Minister referred to in subsection (1) must

(*a*) study the global impact of war, especially on the physical and mental condition of children (using as a guide the ten-point agenda in the 1996 United Nations Children's Fund report, *The State of the World's Children* and the 2004 *World Report on Violence and Health* of the World Health Organization), as well as the effect of war on the environment and public health;

(*b*) implement United Nations Resolution 1325 to promote the enhanced participation of women in all aspects of peace activities, from conflict prevention to post-conflict reconstruction;

(*c*) review and implement United Nations deliberations on the Rapid Response Planning Process (R2P2) — Responsibility to Protect, with particular emphasis on the responsibility to prevent;

(*d*) publish a monthly journal of the activities of the Department and encourage scholarly participation;

(*e*) gather information on effective community peace-building activities and disseminate such information to local governments and non-governmental organizations in Canada and abroad;

(*f*) research the effect of reports of violence in the media and make such reports available to Parliament annually; and

(*g*) sponsor conferences throughout Canada to enhance awareness of the work of the Department and non-governmental organizations that work in partnership with the Government.

Office of Human, Social and Economic Rights

19. (1) The Assistant Deputy Minister for Human, Social and Economic Rights is responsible for the establishment and administration of the departmental Office of Human, Social and Economic Rights.

Functions

(2) The Assistant Deputy Minister referred to in subsection (1) must carry out those functions in the Department that support the principles of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights passed by the General Assembly of the United Nations on December 10, 1948.

Specific responsibilities

(3) The Assistant Deputy Minister referred to in subsection (1) must

(*a*) assist the Minister and Deputy Minister in furthering the incorporation of the principles of human rights, as enunciated in United Nations General Assembly Resolution 217A (III) of December 10, 1948, into all agreements between Canada and other nations, in order to assist in the reduction of causes of violence;

(*b*) gather information on and document human rights abuses, both domestically and internationally, make such findings available to other agencies in order to facilitate non-violent conflict resolution and recommend to the Minister non-violent responses to correct such abuses;

(*c*) provide trained observers to work with non-governmental organizations for the purposes of creating a climate that is conducive to respect for human rights;

(*d*) conduct economic analyses of the scarcity of human and natural resources as a source of conflict and make recommendations to the Minister regarding the non-violent prevention of such scarcity, non-violent intervention in case of such scarcity and the development of programs of assist- ance for people experiencing such scarcity, whether it be due to armed conflict, maldistribution of resources or natural causes; and

(*e*) assist the Minister, in cooperation with the Minister for Foreign Affairs and the Minister of Finance, in developing strategies regarding the sustainability and the management of the distribution of funds from international agencies, the conditions appli- cable to the receipt of such funds and the impact of those conditions on the peace and stability of the recipient nations.

Commissioner of Peace

20. (1) The Minister must appoint a Commissioner of Peace, who is to monitor the work of the Minister and the Department and report to Parliament every six months on the effectiveness of the Minister and the Department in carrying out their functions and responsibilities under this Act.

Additional duties

(2) The Commissioner must

(*a*) make any recommendations that he or she considers advisable to the Minister regarding the policies of the Department relating to peace and non-violent conflict resolution;

(*b*) provide a forum for representatives of foreign governments and other entities and federal, provincial, territorial and local governments to discuss peace issues;

(*c*) promote better intergovernmental relations; and

(*d*) report annually to the Minister, the Prime Minister and Parliament on the impact of federal peace activities on provincial, territorial and local governments.

Advisory council

21. (1) The Minister must appoint an advisory council to assist the Commissioner in carrying out his or her functions under section 20. The council must, in consultation with the Commissioner, also serve as a national and international sounding board on issues relating to peace and non-violent conflict resolution and as a nexus for fostering peace.

Members

(2) The advisory council is to be composed of 10 members, including representatives of peace groups and non-governmental organizations. The members of the advisory council must serve without remuneration but are to be reimbursed for any reasonable expense incurred in the course of their work.

Published under authority of the Speaker of the House of Commons

APPENDIX B.

Diagram of the Department of Peace[412]
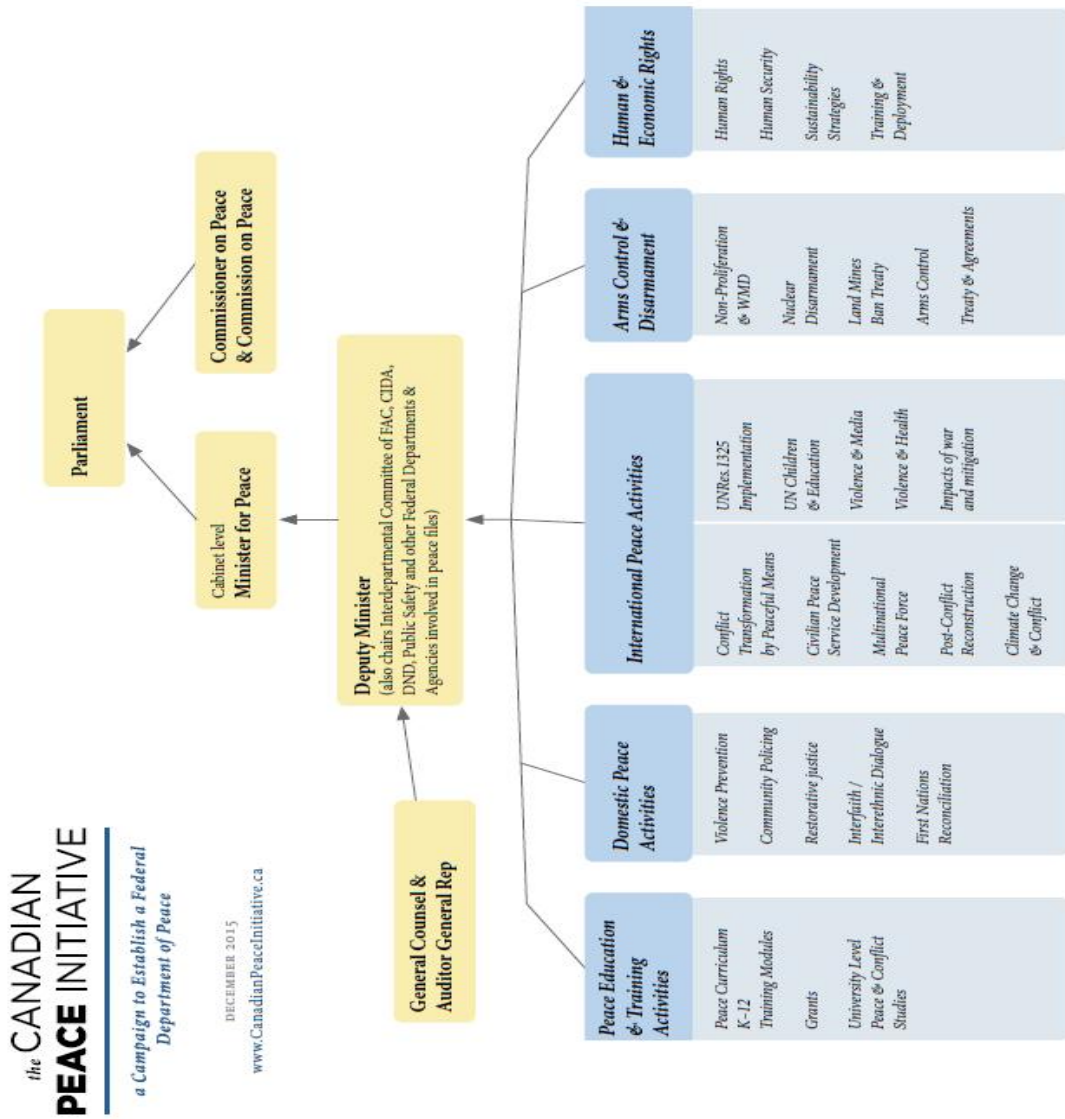
[412]https://canadianpeaceinitiative.ca (accessed November 19, 2018).

APPENDIX C.

Organizations Endorsing the Canadian Peace Initiative[413]

- Anglican Church of Canada - Diocese of Ottawa
- Canadian Institute for Conflict Resolution
- Canadian Catholic Organization for Peace and Development
- Canadian Peace Alliance ("Canada's largest peace umbrella organization")
- Canadian Pugwash Group
- Canadian Unitarians for Social Justice (CUJS)
- Canadian Voice of Women for Peace
- Canadian Yearly Meeting of the Religious Society of Friends (Quakers)
- Centre for Child Honouring (Raffi Cavoukian)
- Center for Global Nonviolence, Honolulu, Hawaii
- Cercle de Paix - Circle of Peace
- Civilian Peace Service Canada (Credentialing organization for peace professionals)
- Conscience Canada
- Council of Canadians
- Cultivons La Paix
- The Dalai Lama Foundation Canada
- Educating for Peace
- Hiroshima Day Coalition
- Mennonite Central Committee Canada
- Mennonite Church Canada
- Muslim Coordinating Council of the National Capital Region
- Nobel Women's Initiative
- Nonviolence International Canada
- Nonviolent Peaceforce Canada
- Pax Christi Toronto (formerly Catholics for Peace)
- Physicians for Global Survival
- Project Ploughshares - Ottawa
- Science for Peace
- Sri Chimnoy's World Harmony Run (est. 1987)
- United Church of Canada
- Veterans Against Nuclear Arms (Ontario/Québec Region)
- Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, Vancouver Branch
- World Federalist Movement - Canada (est. 1951)
- World Conference on Religions for Peace (Religions for Peace)
- YOU CAN (Youth services, Edmonton)

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[413] https://canadianpeaceinitiative.ca (accessed October 20, 2018).

APPENDIX D.

Canadian Peace Organizations[414]

Canadian Catholic Organization for Peace and Development, www.devp.org

Canadian Centres for Teaching Peace, https://www.peace.ca

Canadian Institute for Conflict Resolution, https://www.cicr-icrc.ca/en/

Canadian Peace Alliance, http://www.acp-cpa.ca

Canadian Peace Research Association, https://cpra-arcp.weebly.com

Canadian Pugwash Group, https://pugwashgroup.ca

Canadian Unitarians for Social Justice (CUJS), https://cusj.org

Canadian Voice of Women for Peace, https://vowpeace.org

Canadian Yearly Meeting of the Religious Society of Friends (Quakers), https://quaker.ca

Caritas Canada, https://www.devp.org/en/aboutus/caritascanada

Cercle de Paix - Circle of Peace

Charity Village, https://charityvillage.com (includes an extensive list of related organizations)

Civilian Peace Service Canada, http://civilianpeaceservice.ca

Conscience Canada, www.consciencecanada.ca

Council of Canadians, https://canadians.org

Cultivons La Paix, http://cultivonslapaix.blogspot.com/

Educating for Peace, http://efpinternational.org

Global Peace Centre Canada, https://gpccanada.org

Group of 78, www.group78.org

Hiroshima Day Coalition, http://hiroshimadaycoalition.ca

KAIROS, https://www.kairoscanada.org

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[414]The list is compiled from various sources and may not be complete. Related government departments or agencies, university programs and courses in peace and conflict studies, as well as peace institutes are not included.

Mennonite Central Committee Canada, www.mcccanada.ca

Mennonite Church Canada, http://home.mennonitechurch.ca/

Nonviolence International Canada, http://nonviolenceinternational.net/wp/affiliates/north-america/canada/

Nuclear Weapons-Free Zone—Canada, https://www.un.org/disarmament/wmd/nuclear/nwfz

Pax Christi Canada, https://www.paxchristi.net/member-organisations/country/canada

Peace and Conflict Studies Association of Canada (PACS-Can), https://pacscan.ca/en/home

Peacebuild. The Canadian Peacebuilding Network, http://www.peacebuild.ca

Peace Brigades International Canada, https://www.pbicanada.org/index.php/en/

Physicians for Global Survival, https://pgs.ca

Project Ploughshares, www.ploughshares.ca

Science for Peace, https://scienceforpeace.ca

United Church of Canada, https://www.united-church.ca

Women, Peace and Security Network—Canada, https://wpsn-canada.org

Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, https://wilpf.org

World Federalist Movement-Canada, http://www.worldfederalistscanada.org

APPENDIX E.

Motion M-163. Women, Peace and Security Ambassador[415]

HOUSE OF COMMONS
CHAMBRE DES COMMUNES
CANADA
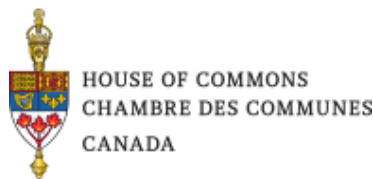
42nd Parliament, 1st Session

Borys Wrzesnewskyj - Private Members' Motion **M-163**

WOMEN, PEACE AND SECURITY AMBASSADOR

Text of the Motion:

That the House:

(*a*) recognize that Canada has a rich tradition of peacekeeping, peace-making and peacebuilding;

(*b*) recognize that Canada is a world leader in the promotion of human rights and peace, having crafted the wording of the United Nations Declaration of Human Rights, envisioned the creation of the United Nations Department of Peacekeeping Operations, championed the Convention on the Prohibition of the Use, Stockpiling, Production and Transfer of Anti-Personnel Mines and on their Destruction (the "Ottawa Treaty") and initiated and led on the Responsibility to Protect doctrine;

(*c*) recognize that the government drafted Article 2 of the North Atlantic Treaty, which calls on member states of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization to contribute to the further development of peaceful international relations, including by seeking to eliminate conflict and promoting conditions of stability and well-being;

(*d*) recognize that harmful practices and social norms, including among women, that uphold gender hierarchies and other intersecting forms of marginalization and exclusion or condone violence are often exacerbated during conflict and that women and men must be equally committed to changing attitudes, behaviours, and roles to support gender equality;

(*e*) acknowledge that overcoming insecurity and achieving sustainable peace are daily concerns for these communities and that women and girls suffer disproportionately in these conflict settings but remain almost entirely excluded from the processes that build peace;

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[415]The complete motion can be found at https://www.ourcommons.ca/Parliamentarians/en/members/Borys-Wrzesnewskyj(25468)/Motions?sessionId=152&documentId=9617522 (accessed November 1, 2018).

(*f*) recall resolutions adopted by the UN Security Council, notably Resolution 1325 (2000), which reaffirm the important and consequential role in women's engagement in preventing and resolving conflicts, in peace operations, in humanitarian response, in post-conflict reconstruction, and in counter-terrorism, and countering violent extremism;

 (*g*) acknowledge Canada's own challenges, including gender-based violence and underlying gender inequality and work to develop a framework to implement the Women, Peace and Security agenda domestically; and

(*h*) reaffirm Canada's commitment to build on our recognized accomplishments and enhance our leadership role in advancing the cause of peace domestically and throughout the world by calling on the government to develop a plan to appoint a Women, Peace and Security Ambassador to:

> (i) promote research and studies relating to root causes of and preconditions leading to violent conflict and to conflict resolution and prevention, for respect for women's and girls' human rights and to conditions conducive to peace,

> (ii) support the implementation of education, training and counselling in non-violent conflict resolution,

> (iii) initiate, recommend, coordinate, implement, and promote national policies, projects and programs relating to the reduction and prevention of conflict and empowerment of women and girls and the development and maintenance of conditions conducive to peace,

> (iv) encourage the development and implementation of gender and peace-based initiatives by governmental and non-governmental entities including engaging with stakeholders, educational institutions and civil society,

> (v) lead the implementation of the Canadian National Action Plan on Women, Peace and Security,

> (vi) promote gender equality and the integration of gender perspectives into peacebuilding and peacekeeping,

> (vii) review and assess the Departments' yearly Action Plan reporting.

History

Placed on Notice 2018.01.30 -- Debated 2018.09.20

Joint Seconders (7) Jointly seconding a private Member's motion is a formal way for up to 20 Members to show support for the motion before it is called for debate. They are displayed in the order they were received by the Clerk of the House. Elizabeth May (Saanich—Gulf Islands), Michael Levitt (York Centre), Celina Caesar-Chavannes (Whitby), Pam Goldsmith-Jones (West Vancouver—Sunshine Coast—Sea to Sky Country), , Robert-Falcon Ouellette (Winnipeg Centre)

APPENDIX F.

Letter of Introduction: Victor Kliewer

Department of Peace and Conflict Studies
Arthur V. Mauro Centre for Peace and Justice
at St. Paul's College
70 Dysart Road, University of Manitoba, Winnipeg, MB R3T 2N2 Canada

Letter of Introduction: Victor Kliewer

Date: October 2018
To: Interview/Conversation participants
Subject: Canadian Department of Peace

Friends:

      With this letter I should like to welcome you to an interesting and challenging conversation about the development of a Canadian Department of Peace (DOP) and the program to promote the department by the Canadian Peace Initiative (CPI).

      I am enrolled in the joint Master of Arts program in Peace and Conflict Studies of the University of Manitoba/University of Winnipeg. I have completed the required courses and am presently researching the material for my thesis. The thesis relates to the Canadian peace movement and more specifically the DOP.

      The focus of our conversation is to review the history of the DOP and the continued potential for its establishment. It seems to me that a DOP can have many potential benefits, domestically for Canada and also internationally, but I will appreciate hearing your perspectives!

      This research project has been approved by the Joint-Faculty Research Ethics Board of the University of Manitoba. Should you have any questions or concerns about the project, please feel free to contact the Human Ethics Coordinator, Pinar Eskicioglu, at 208 – 194 Dafoe Road, University of Manitoba, Winnipeg MB R3T 2N2, telephone 204-474-7122 or email at humanethics@umanitoba.ca.

      I am looking forward to making your acquaintance and hearing your thoughts! If you would like further information, please feel free to contact me: home telephone_____, mobile phone/text _____, or email at_____.

With best wishes,

Victor Kliewer

APPENDIX G.

Consent Form for Interview Participants

Department of Peace and Conflict Studies
Arthur V. Mauro Centre for Peace and Justice at St. Paul's College
70 Dysart Road, University of Manitoba, Winnipeg, MB R3T 2N2 Canada

Research Project: "The Canadian Department of Peace: History and Potential"

Researcher: Victor Kliewer (T.:_____; E.:_____)
Advisor: Dr. Neil Funk-Unrau (T.:_____; E.:_____)

This form is part of the process of informed consent. It should give you the basic idea of what the research project is about and what your participation will involve. Thank you for your participation!

This study is being conducted as part of my Master of Arts thesis requirement at the University of Manitoba/University of Winnipeg. My thesis deals with the Canadian peace movement and, in particular, with the possibility of establishing a Canadian Department of Peace (DOP) in the federal government. This specific study investigates the history, present status, and future potential of the DOP. I plan to finish the research by January 2019 and complete my thesis by June 2019. Aside from the thesis, my research may be used in an article in a related peace journal or a conference presentation.

In this context, I am inviting you to participate in one or two interviews of about one hour each. I will take notes of our conversation and will forward a working transcript to you for your approval. The notes and any further publication of the material will not include any personally identifying information. All records will be kept in a secure, password protected file in my home; all data will be destroyed at the end of the study, but no later than December 31, 2019. I will be happy to provide you with a brief summary of my thesis (2-3 pages) via mail or email if you indicate your interest below.

Your participation in this study is voluntary with no cost to you; there are no risks involved. There is no remuneration or any other direct benefit to you.

Your signature on this form indicates that you have understood the information regarding your participation in the research project and agree to participate. This does not waive your legal rights or release the researcher or involved institutions from their legal or professional responsibilities. You are free to withdraw from this study at any time and/or refrain from participating in any aspect without prejudice or consequence. Should you decide to withdraw, I would immediately destroy any information you have already given, provided that it can be identified and that the thesis has not yet been submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies. If you need any further clarification, please feel free to contact me.

This research has been approved by the Joint Faculty Research Ethics Board at the University of Manitoba. If you have any concerns about the project, you may contact the Human Ethics Coordinator at 204-474-7122 or humanethics@umanitoba.ca. A copy of this form will be given to you..

_____   _____
Participant/s Signature   Date

_____   _____
Researcher's Signature   Date

_____ Please send me a written summary of the thesis at_____ (address).

APPENDIX H.

Guiding Questions for Interview

Victor Kliewer Thesis: "The Canadian Department of Peace: History and Potential"

Questions for Discussion

- How familiar are you with the topic of the Canadian Department of Peace (DOP)?
- Have you been involved in past discussions about the DOP?

- How do you evaluate the significance of the DOP?
- How strong is the support for the DOP among the Canadian population?
- What steps have been and/or could be undertaken to promote the DOP?
- What are the biggest obstacles to the implementation of the DOP?
- What resources/resource people are available to support the DOP?
- Are you satisfied with the last proposed Bill (Bill C-373) introducing the topic of the DOP to Parliament in 2011? What additions or changes would you suggest?
- How do you assess the possibility of the Bill's reintroduction/acceptance in Parliament?
- Is there anything else you'd like to say about the DOP, related to the past history or the future?

- Are you familiar with the motion to establish a "Women, Peace and Security Ambassador" (private member's bill by Borys Wrzesnewskyj, Sept. 20, 2018), also announced by Foreign Affairs minister Chrystia Freeland? What is your evaluation of this position?

APPENDIX I.

List of Interview Participants

[E = Email, T = Telephone, P = In-Person]

Saul Arbess, retired professor of cultural anthropology, director of CPI, Victoria [E, T]

Gordon Breedyk, CPSC, Ottawa [E, T]

Balwant (Bill) Bhaneja, retired diplomat, DFAIT senior policy advisor, CPI co-founder, Ottawa [E]

William (Bill) Blaikie, MP for Elmwood-Transcona, 1979-2008, Winnipeg [E, P]

James Christie, professor and dean, University of Winnipeg, leader in ecumenical, interfaith, and global democracy organizations, Winnipeg [E, P]

Tim Donais, professor at WLU and Balsillie Centre, Waterloo; PACS-Can chair [E, P]

Theresa Dunn, CPI, Ottawa [E, T]

Marlene Epp, professor and dean, CGUC, Waterloo [E, P]

Lowell Ewert, work with humanitarian relief, professor at CGUC, Waterloo [E, T]

Cesar Jaramillo, executive director, Project Ploughshares, Waterloo [E, T]

Gerry Labossiere, accountant, formerly Project Peacemakers, Winnipeg [E, P]

Mary Lou MacPhedran, principal of Global College/University of Winnipeg, Senator, Winnipeg/Ottawa [E]

MaryAnn Mihychuk, MP for Kildonan-St. Paul, Winnipeg/Ottawa [E, P]

Richard J. Moore, conflict resolution facilitator, mediator, Ottawa [E, T]

David Newman, human rights lawyer, Winnipeg [E, P]

Mike Nickerson, Sustainability Project, supporter of CPI (Ontario) [E]

Dean Peachey, professor of conflict resolution and dean, MSC; executive director, Global College, University of Winnipeg, Winnipeg [E, P]

Anne Pearson, religious studies professor, McMaster University, Hamilton [E]

John Peters, retired professor and dean, Winnipeg [P]

Edmund Pries, professor of global studies, WLU, Waterloo [E, P]

Rebekah Sears, Mennonite Central Committee Canada, Ottawa Office [E, T]

Metta Spencer, sociology professor, president of Science for Peace, editor of *Peace Magazine*, Toronto [E]

Evelyn Voigt, CPSC, Ottawa [E, T]

Borys Wrzesnewskyj, MP for Etobicoke Centre, Etobicoke ON [E]