

use of force. Rather, I believe we are on the threshold of a new pact, one that is deeply rooted in democratic systems, in which force is always governed by law and subject to civil and criminal liability, even when it is exercised by legitimate authorities.

What we need to do is to affirm that the sovereignty of states is compatible with two facets of interdependence: the requirements of intervention, whether voluntary or mandatory; and accountability for the abuse of power and force. Today I will discuss the second facet: accountability. Just as some countries make a name for themselves by exporting luxury goods, Canada is one of a small group of nations that aim to export certain ideals, as well as our emphasis on the rule of law, due process and integrity. Leaders can only be held personally accountable for very serious criminal acts within a process that calls for a large measure of integrity and fairness.

Clearly, even before deciding the minutiae of international criminal procedure, the conditions calling for legitimate criminal sanctions must first be exported. Without those prerequisites, international justice would become an additional forum for alienation, or worse still, a source of conflict, possibly violent conflict, in itself.

Equally important is the need for concrete involvement in this undertaking. Canadians are rightly proud of the pre-eminent role that Canada has played in peace-keeping, not only because of our spectacular diplomatic success in promoting that model, which earned Lester B. Pearson the Nobel Peace Prize in 1957, but also because of our ongoing commitment on the ground. Ever since Pearson's initiative, when Secretary of State for External Affairs, to quell the outbreak of the conflict between Egypt and Israel, which led to the deployment of an international force under the aegis of the United Nations, UN peacekeeping operations have grown in number and sophistication, and Canada's commitment has been unwavering. To date, more than 100 000 Canadians have taken part in over 40 missions. It would therefore seem natural for that commitment to be expressed in an intellectual and material contribution, disproportionate if necessary, to building a justice system. The fundamental principles that make Canada's criminal law legitimate and effective are exportable, and they cannot be conveyed merely by advocating ideas at diplomatic meetings. They must be promoted by commitment to the issue and actual presence on the ground. This calls for a plan of action that encompasses the major themes of Canada's global presence and reflects Canada's wealth of the necessary raw materials: intellectual capital, humanism and audacity.

In his excellent book entitled *Stay the Hand of Vengeance: The Politics of War Crimes Tribunals* (Princeton University Press, 2000), Gary Bass skilfully addresses the