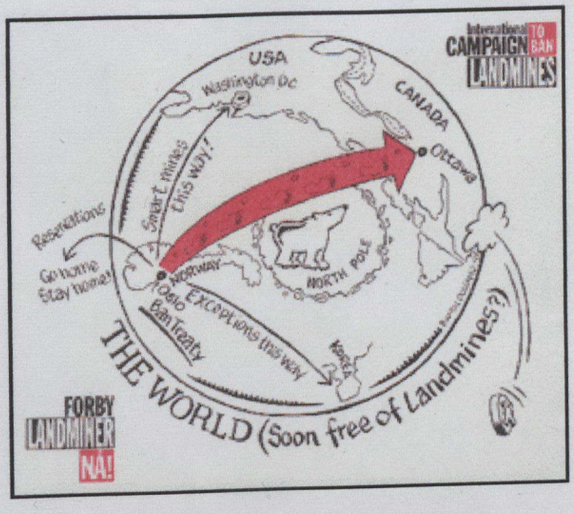
Canada and the Land Mines Treaty

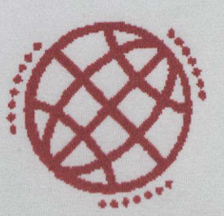


The Road to Ottawa

Presented by Media Awareness Network

and the

Canadian Centre for Foreign Policy Development



http://www.screen.com/mnet/eng/med/class/teamedia/peace/landmine.htm

The Road to Ottawa

Introduction and Background

Level: Grades 9 - 11

This two-part unit is designed to help students understand the roles played by non-government organizations (NGOs), the press, and the Internet in influencing public perception and shaping foreign policy agendas, on specific issues.

Part One: Grassroots Movements explores the strategies employed by non-government organizations to foster public awareness and create political change during the land mine treaty campaign. Highlighted is the Internet's role in raising public awareness and uniting NGOs around the world.

Part Two: Land Mines and the Media explores the decisions made by journalists and editors in bringing the story of the land mines treaty movement to the public.

Background

For Students:

The following materials provide background reading on the land mines movement.

- the article "Defusing the Demon" and
- the handout "Where the Mines Are".

For Teachers:

Teachers wishing to examine the issues surrounding land mines and the land mine treaty movement in more depth may wish to use the following resources.

- Canada's Department of Foreign Affairs' Introduction to the Ottawa process
- The detailed Chronology of the movement to ban land mines, from the Physicians for Global Survival, Canada website.
- Selected Resources containing a listing of videos, books, reports, articles, music and web sites that relate to the land mines treaty movement.

And Now for ... The Lessons!

Part One: Grassroots Movements

Part Two: Land Mines and the Media

DEFUSING THE DEMON

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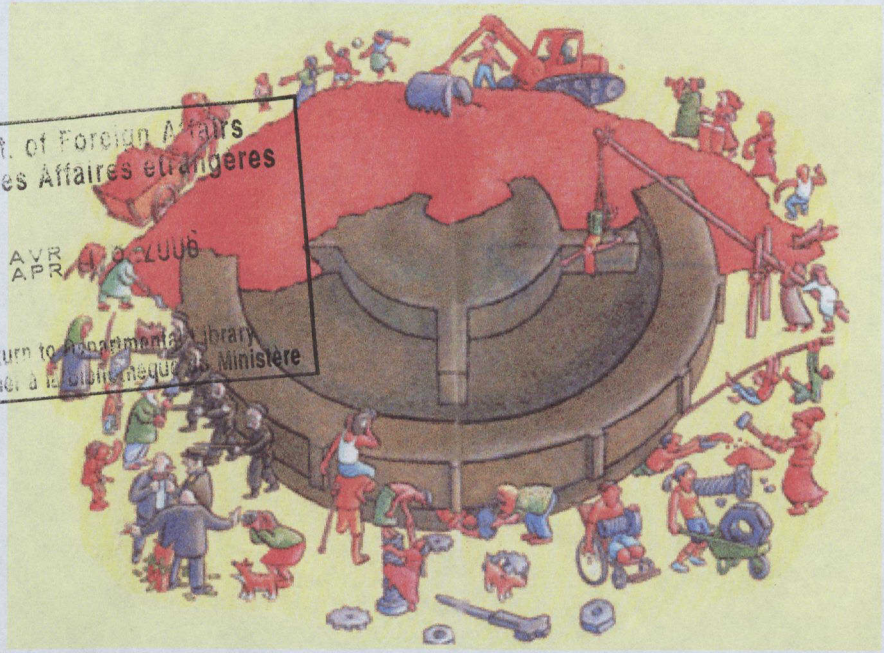


How landmines became such a hit in wars around the world – and how a gathering storm of protest has moved us closer to a ban.

BIRTH OF A KILLER

The first land mines were designed to stop the battle tank, that scourge of trench warfare, during World War One – they were effectively just buried artillery shells with exposed fuses. The development of the lightweight explosive TNT in the 1920s made the first reliable anti-tank mines possible. During World War Two 300 million of these were used, more than two-thirds of them by the Soviet Union. Designed to explode under the weight of a vehicle, these mines were often removed by enemy troops on foot. As a result armies began protecting their anti-tank minefields by using small metallic or glass containers with about half a kilo of explosive which could be activated by the pressure of a footstep. From improvised hand grenades to the German "Bouncing Betty", a mine that sprang to the height of two metres before spraying its victims with hundreds of steel balls, the antipersonnel mine had come into its own.

GARBAGE AND BUTTERFLIES

After the Second World War mine technology advanced rapidly and in the early 1960s the US unleashed its sophisticated 'remotely delivered' mines or 'scatterables' on Laos and then Cambodia, in a vain attempt to stop the movement of soldiers and provisions from North to South Vietnam. Scattered from the air, these mines (nicknamed 'garbage' by the crews carrying them) landed on the ground without detonating. Weighing a puny 20 grams, they were capable of taking off the foot that stepped on them. The randomly scattered mines could not be mapped and US Forces often suffered heavy casualties when retreating through areas previously mined by their own pilots. A decade later the Soviet Union also used random targeting during its invasion of Afghanistan and millions of PFM-1 'butterfly' mines settled gracefully to the ground awaiting victims.

ETERNAL SENTINELS

Today a plague of land mines has enveloped the world's conflict zones, with an estimated 110 million antipersonnel mines in the ground and an equal number in military stockpiles. Most have been supplied by Northern producers to countries thousands of miles away, where political and economic instability are common. Cheap and easy to use, they are the favourite weapons in civil wars and wars of insurgency, used by governments and guerrillas alike. These 'eternal sentinels' stand guard long after the conflicts have ended and kill and maim without mercy or discrimination.

COWARD'S WAR

After the Vietnam War, senior US military officials attested to the inability of land mines to stave off an attack,

while stressing the horrific injuries they had caused their own troops. In fact between a fifth and a third of all US deaths during the War were caused by these weapons. The earliest calls for a ban, however, grew out of the experience of non-governmental organizations (NGOs) in Afghanistan and Cambodia, where the high rates of injury and death amongst returning refugees presented a crisis of unprecedented proportions. In 1991 Human Rights Watch and Physicians for Human Rights published the first detailed study of how land mines were actually being used in *The Coward's War: Land Mines in Cambodia*. The book made a strong case for humanitarian demining, which aims to make the land completely safe for human use – a far cry from stock military mine-clearing techniques.

THE BALL STARTS TO ROLL

October 1992 marked the real beginning of the International Campaign to Ban Land Mines when six NGOs combined their separate initiatives: Handicap International, Human Rights Watch, Medico International, Mines Advisory Group, Physicians for Human Rights and Vietnam Veterans of America Foundation. None of the six groups on the steering committee of the International Campaign came from the disarmament community. There was also at first a notable lack of indigenous organizations from mine-affected countries who were hard-pressed enough to deal with the everyday realities confronting them. But by 1995 the Campaign had embraced a multitude of groups from all corners of the world – and been given a huge boost when the International Committee of the Red Cross overcame its usual reluctance to deal with 'political' issues and launched its parallel, well-documented campaign. Attention focuses on the political initiatives and conferences but it is the tireless efforts of people on the ground – starting humanitarian mine-clearance, organizing support for those injured by mines, exposing the horrors of mine warfare – which have brought a ban closer.

LAWS AND INTENTIONS

In March 1995, Belgium became the first country to legislate a domestic ban on the production, procurement, sale and transfer of land mines and their components and technology, despite opposition from its armed forces. Previously it had been a leading mine exporter, and, while a declining market and the receding threat from the Eastern Bloc were probably factors in the decision, there is no denying the value of Belgium's example. Austria and Ireland have followed suit. At the regional level, governments from Central America and the Caribbean have announced their intention to create mine-free zones. Southern Africa is starting to talk along the same lines.

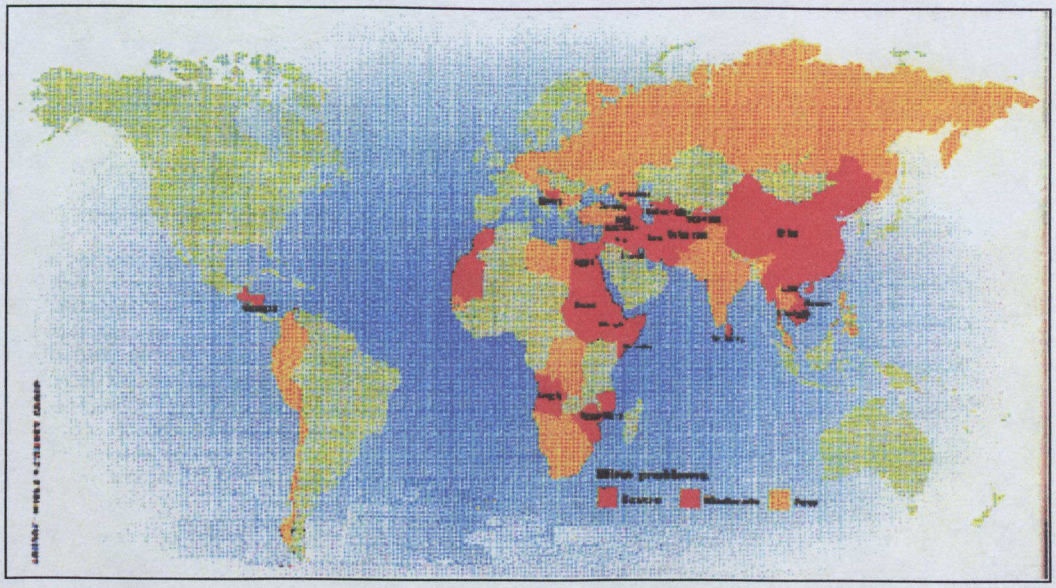
TREATIES AND TURNAROUNDS

If warfare were conducted according to agreed principles, then land mines would be illegal. The Geneva Convention and its two Protocols outlaw the use of weapons that do not distinguish between combatants and civilians and which cause needless injury. However, armies around the world haven't lost sleep over such proscriptions. In 1995-96 the review conference of the 1980 Convention on Certain Conventional Weapons Protocol II brought together the world's biggest land mine producers and users as well as supporters of a comprehensive ban. The review worked (and got stalled) by consensus and thus achieved very little that would limit the use of land mines. It did, however, get foreign and defence ministries talking about mines and forced top soldiers, who had viewed them as conventional components of their arsenals, to reassess their utility against the wider humanitarian costs (not to mention the political heat).

THE OTTAWA PROCESS

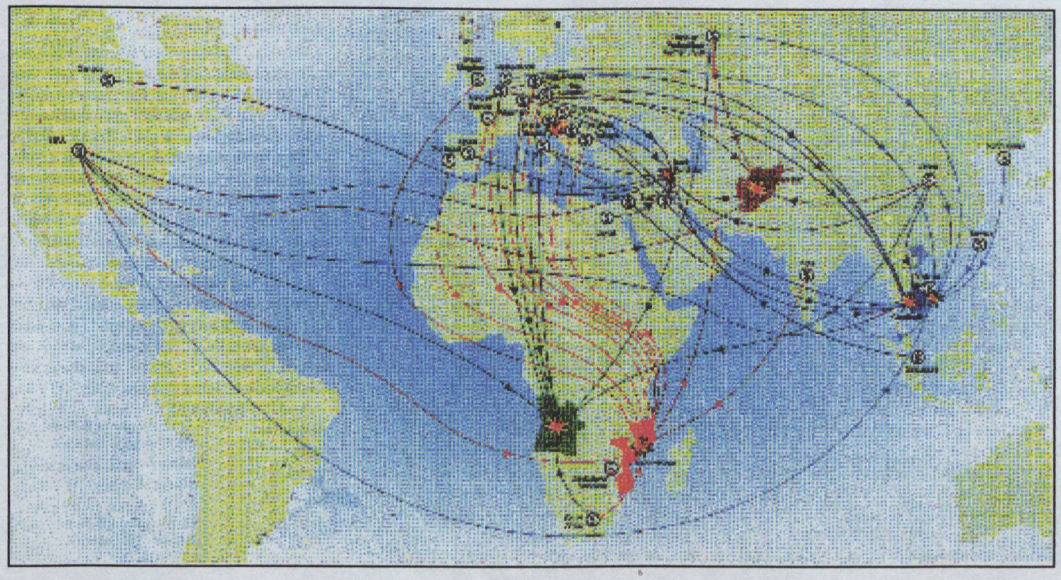
Bypassing the failure of consensus politics, a Canadian initiative in October 1996 convened an historic conference in Ottawa. The 50 governments who fully participated signed a declaration recognizing the urgent need to ban antipersonnel land mines. At the end Canadian Foreign Minister Lloyd Axworthy boldly announced his country's willingness to hold a treaty-signing conference in December 1997, thus imposing a definite time-scale. The Ottawa Process, which has included NGO input, has brought real hope of a widespread ban regardless of whether or not countries opposed to it, such as China and Russia, follow suit. Currently 97 countries support the Ottawa Process. If a substantial ban materializes in December, then attention will need to focus on the gargantuan task of demining the world and destroying the existing stockpiles – to say nothing of support for the people whose lives have been devastated. Mine clearance is expensive and former producers may not exactly be eager to pay for it. A worldwide ban is still some years away.

Where the Mines Are



This map shows the severity of land mine infestation (both antipersonnel and anti-tank) in the world. Some of the less affected countries (like Belguim and Netherlands) have land mines left over from the Second World War.

Where the Mines Came From



In most arenas of conflict, the mines used were not indigenously produced. This map illustrates the sources for the land mines in a handful of countries where the problem is particularly severe. In Bosnia the mines came mainly from the former Yugoslavia.

Reprinted, with permission, from *The New Internationalist*, No. 294/September 1997.

INTRODUCTION

Civil society around the world, through collective effort, has put the issue of a ban on anti-personnel (AP) mines on the global agenda. The energy, creativity and strength of this effort has brought us to the Ottawa process, a process well on the way to concluding a treaty banning AP mines in December of this year. The partnership between the International Campaign, governments and international agencies on this issue has been the unique strength of the Ottawa Process.

People around the world have waited too long for a ban on anti-personnel mines. In Asia, one of most heavily mined regions of the world, this issue is real, devastating and vast. Countries such as Cambodia, Laos, Vietnam, Myanmar, Afghanistan, Sri Lanka and the Koreas, painfully endure the problem of AP mines each day.

Cambodia, with an estimated 2000 minefields, and hundreds of casualties per month, has one of the highest proportions of physically disabled people in the world. In Vietnam, 1 in 250 people are amputees. In Afghanistan, 1 in 10 adult males have been involved in a mine incident. Even in Korea, there has been recent casualties, due to rain which washed mines from a marked minefield into unmarked areas.

Thanks to the surging momentum of world public opinion, those who thought they were power-less, have become powerful. And an extraordinary coalition of the global public, non-governmental organizations, the media, international community and governments are working on the agenda set so courageously by the International Campaign to Ban Landmines and the ICRC many years ago.

Canada continues to work with this diverse community of those committed to realizing the goal, this year, of an international ban on the use, production, stockpiling and transfer of AP mines.

Canadian interest in this issue comes from direct and tragic experience. Canada's Department of National Defence has identified landmines as the single greatest threat to our overseas military operations. On June 21, 1994, a Canadian peacekeeper, Master Corporal Mark Isfeld, was killed while removing land mines in Croatia. His death was all the more tragic because it was unnecessary. The mine that killed him had been planted months or years before, and had remained waiting all that time for its victim — ally or enemy, child or mother — for landmines are the only weapon where the victim pulls the trigger. At least one other Canadian soldier has died and dozens have been wounded since 1992.

These are some of the reasons why Canada is committed to a ban on AP mines — to take speedy practical action to ban a weapon that continues to kill and maim relentlessly.

A treaty banning AP mines will not be some abstract instrument of international law, not just a political declaration — there have been already far too many of those. It will have immediate meaning and impact on the lives of people everywhere.

Last May, just over one year ago, the countries signatory to the Conventional Weapons Convention met to amend and strengthen Protocol II, on AP mines. After long and difficult debates they did succeed in negotiating enhanced restrictions on the use of AP mines.

It was in the course of these negotiations that a very small group of countries — literally a handful — met in Geneva, under the tutelage of the ICRC and the ICBL to discuss what more could be done to reduce the

devastating humanitarian consequences of these weapons.

It was then that Canada decided that a total ban on AP mines was the only way to deal definitively with the AP mine crisis.

Canada offered its help to those who had already been working for so long to bring this issue to the top of the global agenda. In October, Canada hosted the first ever meeting of NGOs, international organizations and governments to discuss astrategy for banning AP mines. How much interest there would be was literally unknown.

But the international collective effort prevailed. ICBL partners — with Mines Action Canada and around the world — and the ICRC worked relentlessly to build interest and support for the October meeting. When the twenty country mark was reached, the momentum kicked in — the concern became the accomodation of these countries at the conference centre.

It was an inspiring gathering of 350 people from 75 countries, the UN, UNICEF, DHA, the ICRC and Federation of Red Cross Societies and, most importantly, dozens of NGOs representing hundreds of organizations worldwide.

At the conclusion of that meeting, Minister Axworthy issued his challenge to the global community: to return to Ottawa in December 1997 to sign a convention banning AP mines. Many delegations, even those supportive of a ban, were initially shocked by the this ambitious timetable. But they realised, as had Canada, that there existed not only real momentum for a ban, but a special window of opportunity that had to be exploited.

The shock soon turned to delight and enthusiasm amongst ban supporters. It truly catalyzed national and international action and concentrated minds in a way that had been missing previously. And it provided a clear framework within whichNGOs, governments and international agencies have been able to work effectively.

This then, is the Ottawa Process -- a diplomatic "fast track" designed to reach the goal of an AP mine ban by the end of this year.

The Canadian approach through the Ottawa Process is very simple:

- first: to take urgent action to fulfil the mandate given by the 156 countries which supported a resolution at the last UN General Assembly calling on the international community "to pursue vigorously an effective, legally-binding international agreement to ban the use, stockpiling, production and transfer of antipersonnel mines ..." At this point, halfway measures would not be considered. Use, above all, is the problem. Use must be banned.

- second: this effort is primarily humanitarian in nature; blinding laser weapons were banned entirely under the existing international humanitarian law instrument of the CCW. AP mines are not strategic weapons systems. They do not need to be treated like nuclear or chemical weapons. An effective AP mine ban can be negotiated quickly and simply. There are many precedents. Elaborate verification provisions are neither necessary nor feasible.

- third: all countries which share the Canadian objective of a total ban are invited to join in. The Ottawa Process is transparent and open to all -- but it will be hostage to none.

Why do we need an Ottawa Process?

The global landmine crisis is like a patient that is hemorrhaging. Before anything else can be done, the bleeding must be stopped and the patient stabilized. A ban on AP mines will do this, and provide the opportunity to deal effectively and definitively with the enormous challenges of assisting and rehabilitating the victims and clearing the existing mines.

With the spate of successful meetings held over the past several months, Canada is confident that a ban will be achieved this year. The coalition of the committed grows every day.

For example, in Harare, in early June, the 53 states meeting at the Summit of the OAU committed themselves to an African AP mine free zone. In the same week, in Lima, the OAS General Assembly reaffirmed the commitment of the 34 countries of the hemisphere to the goal establishing the Western Hemisphere as an AP mine free zone. The Foreign Ministers of the Central American countries and the Caribbean Commonwealth have already declared that their regions will be AP mine free by 1999.

And at the June (1997) conference in Brussels — which drew representatives from 155 countries and more than 100 NGOs — the movement experienced yet another breakthrough when 97 governments expressed their public support to the Ottawa Process by signing the Brussels declaration — a political declaration expressing support for the following:

- a comprehensive ban treaty - covering use, stockpiling, transfer and production;

- formal diplomatic negotiations to take place in Oslo from 1 - 21 September;

- forwards to the Oslo negotiations the draft Austrian treaty -- initially prepared by Austria and enhanced and refined under their meticulous pen in an extensive multilateral and bilateral consultative process which included the international experts meetings in Vienna and Bonn attended by more than 110 countries;

- the objective of signing, before the end of 1997, an AP mine ban treaty in Ottawa.

The Brussels Conference, like the others in the Ottawa Process focussed on all three dimensions of the AP mine challenge — what Canada has been calling the integrated agenda: the ban; victim assistance and mine clearance. At that conference, Canada was gratified to hear voices of support from world leaders such as the Secretary-General of the UN, Kofi Anan, Desmond Tutu, and former US President Jimmy Carter.

Brussels was both a breakthrough and a turning point, where the collective committed set their compasses on a heading of true north: a December signing in Ottawa from December 2-4. In the few months, since Brussels, several other governments have joined the movement and expectations are rising that the numbers will continue to grow over the months ahead.

In the last eight months there has been an unprecedented level of activity in support of a ban. Not only have there been meetings in Africa and the Americas, the Swedish government hosted a gathering of countries from Central and Eastern Europe; Turkmenistan hosted a conference in June of Central Asian governments, and in July the ICRC and Government of the Philippines drew together Asia-Pacific representatives in Manila to discuss the issue.

In most cases, it is not governments that host or initiate these meetings. Civil society is the driving force behind them as was the case for this gathering and the one in New Delhi in August. The truly unique aspect of the campaign is the amazing partnership amongst publics, NGOs, international organizations and governments in working together to achieve the common goal of a ban.

While the momentum exists and all the signals are positive, there is still an enormous amount of work to be done in the coming months, especially in Asia, where support is the most limited. To date, fewer than a dozen Asian countries are on board - the Philippines, New Zealand, Malaysia, Cambodia, Nepal, Papua New Guinea and the Solomon Islands and Vanuatu. Many others are potential supporters and NGOs are being counted on to help add their strength to this movement.

The Ottawa Process is entering a new and crucial phase. Although countries that share the goal of a ban on AP mines are being encouraged to join in the negotiations on the mine ban treaty in Oslo, it is recognized that there are some who will not yet be able to come forward.

This is unfortunate. But it is neither unexpected nor unprecedented. Some would prefer to negotiate within the Conference on Disarmament in Geneva where some important countries — Russia, China, India, Pakistan, who have chosen not to participate in the Ottawa Process — could be engaged. This too would be the preference were it possible. Regrettably, consensus in the CD on the issue of a comprehensive ban is long way off. The CD is a closed club of only 61 countries. Many of the countries most committed to a ban — from mine-affected states such as Angola and Cambodia to Ireland and Malaysia — are not members of the CD.

It is important to engage producers and exporters in this effort. Indeed, an interesting dynamic has developed: the momentum generated by the ban campaign has already had a fundamentally positive effect on the positions of several key producers. India and Pakistan have imposed or maintained comprehensive export moratoria. China has said that it has not exported AP mines since 1994 and Russia has a limited export moratoria in place. We hope that these countries can be convinced to permanently cease their AP mines exports.

Canada believes that we must continue to work in every available fora — from the CD to the ASEAN Regional Forum to the OSCE; the OAS to the Commonwealth and Francophonie — to universalize support for the Ottawa Treaty and to strengthen the norm it will establish.

Ultimately, governments must make their own calculation of the costs and benefits of AP mines. Canada recognizes that the decision to give up AP mines is not always a quick or easy one. In considering this issue, these countries are being encouraged to read the ICRC study undertaken by a group of distinguished former military officers in which they determine, after reviewing 26 armed conflicts, that:

- "even when used on a massive scale, [AP mines] have usually had little or no effect on the outcome of hostilities," and

- that AP mines have rarely been used "correctly" whether by developed armies, third world armies or insurgents.

The conclusion of the treaty in December, however, is only the first step.

An Ottawa AP mine ban treaty will establish a clear, new international legal norm against AP mines. It cannot be ignored. Even if there is not universal adherence to the treaty at the outset, as with every other treaty negotiated, it will have the effect of establishing not only a legal norm for those who sign it; but a moral and political restraint on production, transfer and — most importantly — use for those outside the regime.

Canada realizes that the Ottawa Treaty will not solve, overnight, the AP mine problem. It won't. But it will give the world a fighting chance to tackle the millions of mines already in the ground and the millions of people already victims. It will give the world the solid foundation upon which to argue and cajole and lobby,

energetically and with determination, for universal adherence to the treaty.

Canada is privileged to be playing a role in helping the world achieve a ban on AP mines — to be working with the extraordinarily committed and prescient leaders of NGOs communities who have galvanized civil society and forged a new and unique partnership with governments to achieve the ban.

In working together in the Ottawa Process, we believe that we may be making history in both substance and process. We will negotiate and sign a multilateral treaty banning an entire category of weapons in the shortest time ever. We will achieve this goal using a new sort of multilateralism: one which draws on the common energies and vision of governments and civil society. This new approach to multilateral diplomacy may well have lessons worth applying in other areas of the international agenda.

In a few months there will be a ban on AP mines. The world is halfway there and already more than 100 countries support the ban.

The carnage and destruction must stop. People must be given new hope.

"When we meet in Ottawa this December to sign a global ban treaty, it will represent only a first step -- but an absolutely crucial one -- in bringing this tragedy to an end." Lloyd Axworthy recently on the Ottawa Process

We hope to see many of you in Ottawa on December 2 to begin the process of putting an end to AP mines.

Thank you.

John English on Banning Anti-Personnel Mines

(Edited from a speech)

July 1997

Chronology of the Movement to Ban Landmines

91/01 Women's Commission for Refugee Women and Children calls for a ban on landmines in testimony before US Congress.
91/09 The Coward's War: Landmines in Cambodia jointly issued by Asia Watch and Physicians for Human Rights. At the same time, the two organizations call for a ban.
91/10 Prince Sihanouk, in addressing the UN at the signing of the Cambodian peace agreement, calls for a ban.
91/11 Vietnam Veterans of America Foundation, Washington, and Medico International, Frankfurt, agree to jointly launch a campaign of advocacy to bring together NGOs in a coordinated effort to ban landmines.
92/01 Greece ratifies the 1980 Convention.
92/02 1,400 citizens bring a petition to the Australian government which calls for a ban on the manufacture and use of landmines.
92/05 Handicap International launches its campaign with the French edition of The Coward's War. Along with Mines Advisory Group (UK) and Physicians for Human Rights, HI issues a call to "Stop the Coward's War" and begins to gather signatures in support of that call.
92/07 Slovenia ratifies the 1980 Convention.
92/10 Handicap International (HI), Human Rights Watch (HRW), Medico International (MI), Mines Advisory Group (MAG), Physicians for Human Rights (PHR), and Vietnam Veterans of America Foundation (VVAF) meet in New York and agree to coordinate campaigning efforts and to co-sponsor the first NGO Conference on Landmines in London in 1993.
92/10 President George Bush signs into law the one-year Leahy-Evans landmine export moratorium.
92/10 The International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) in a statement to the United Nations suggests that "serious thought be given" to applying the 1980 Convention to non-international armed conflict. The ICRC also publishes its booklet "Mines: A perverse use of technology."
92/10 The UN Departments of Humanitarian Affairs and Peace-Keeping Operations host the first in a series of meetings with UN departments and NGOs to share information on mine clearance and legal controls over the use of mines.
92/10 Middle East Watch publishes its report on landmines in Kurdistan, Hidden Death.
92/11 German national NGOs begin a series of meetings to coordinate the German national campaign and produce uniform campaigning materials.
92/11 The German government submits its instrument of ratification of the 1980 Convention to the Secretary General of the UN.
92/11 Niger ratifies the 1980 Convention.
92/11 Physicians for Human Rights issues its report: Hidden Enemies: Landmines in Northern Somalia.
92/11 Swedish NGOs begin public meetings on landmines.
92/12 The European Parliament passes a resolution calling on member states to ratify the 1980 Convention; make it applicable to internal conflicts; and to declare as an emergency measure a five-year moratorium on the export of mines and training to lay them and to prioritize mine clearance and funds for it.
93/01 Latvia ratifies the 1980 Convention.
93/02 HI and the French Institute of International Relations co-sponsor a symposium on landmines which is attended by over 100. At the symposium, the Foreign Ministry announces that a letter has been sent to the Secretary General officially requesting a review conference of the 1980 Convention.
93/02 HI presents 22,000 signatures in support of its call to "Stop the Coward's War" to President Mitterand during his visit to Cambodia. Mitterand officially recognizes France's "voluntary abstention" from the export of landmines and calls upon other states to do the same.
93/02 Africa Watch issues its report Landmines in Angola.
93/02 The Czech Republic ratifies the 1980 Convention.
93/02 Medical Action for Global Security, a UK affiliate of IPPNW, holds a seminar on mine injuries at the

Royal College of Surgeons. The audience of over 60 includes medical professionals, mine manufacturers and military and political representatives.
93/04 The ICRC holds a three-day symposium on landmines in Montreux bringing together 60 representatives of governments, the military, mine producers and clearance specialists and NGOs to discuss a range of possibilities to alleviate suffering caused by landmines.
93/05 Schiebel Elektroniche and the Austrian government hold a three-day symposium in Vienna regarding effective rehabilitation and repatriation in countries damaged by war. The primary focus is landmines.
93/05 German NGOs hold a day-long seminar on landmines in Bonn. They begin work to build a sensor minefield which will be used throughout Germany to build public awareness about landmines.
93/05 The first NGO International Conference on Landmines is held in London bringing together 50 representatives of 40 NGOs to strategize on building the campaign to ban landmines. HI, HRW, MI, MAG, PHR and VVAF are recognized as the Steering Committee of the Campaign and VVAF as the coordinator.
93/05 Slovakia ratifies the 1980 Convention.
93/06 The Swedish Red Cross initiates a campaign of public awareness about the international arms trade, initially targeting antipersonnel landmines, with the release of its book, Selling Weapons -- A Deadly Business.
93/06 British NGOs hold the first in a series of meetings to coordinate work on the British landmines campaign.
93/09 The Swiss Government hosts a governmental conference on the protection of war victims, which deals in part, with landmines.
93/09 The US State Department issues its report on international demining, Hidden Killers: The Global Problem with Uncleared Landmines, as mandated by US law.
93/09 UNICEF Geneva decides to give priority attention to the issue of landmines and asks National Committees to give serious consideration to advocacy for the cessation of production of landmines. UNICEF Germany holds a press conference in Bonn and calls for a ban on landmines.
93/09 The Netherlands enacts a moratorium on the trade in landmines which restricts trade to those countries which are parties to the 1980 Convention.
93/09 New Zealand NGOs which had begun work on landmines convene the inaugural meeting of the New Zealand Campaign Against Landmines.
93/09 New Zealand ratifies the 1980 Convention.
93/09 The Leahy amendment to extend the US moratorium on the export of landmines for a period of three years passes the US Senate by unanimous vote.
93/10 The UN General Assembly passes a resolution on mine clearance which includes the consideration of "the advisability of establishing a voluntary trust fund" to finance programs related to mine clearance.
93/11 HRW/PHR release their 536-page report on landmines. Landmines: A Deadly Legacy covers production and trade, international law and mine clearance among other issues.
93/11 Australian NGOs hold a day-long seminar on landmines in Parliament, which is introduced by the Foreign Minister. One week later, the Australian Defense Force Academy hosts a second, one-day landmine seminar.
93/11 Bosnia/Herzegovina deposits its instrument of succession to the 1980 Convention.
93/12 The UN General Assembly adopts a resolution calling for a review conference of the 1980 Convention. It provides for a governmental expert group to prepare for the review conference and which will consider NGO participation in the group.
93/12 The UN General Assembly adopts a resolution calling for a moratorium on the export of antipersonnel landmines.
93/12 The UN General Assembly adopts a resolution on children and war which calls for a study to protect children in war and from the effects of indiscriminate weapons of war, especially anti-personnel mines.
93/12 Italian NGOs launch the Italian campaign with a workshop in Rome with NGOs from the Campaign Steering Committee.
93/12 Spain ratifies the 1980 Convention.

93/12 Croatia deposits its instrument of succession to the 1980 Convention.
1993 Sweden's Bofors announces that for "moral" reasons it will stop manufacturing antipersonnel landmines as well as the export of fuzes and explosives to buyers who might use the material to produce such mines.
94/01 Radda Barnen launches its campaign against landmines with the release of its report, "Mines and Children -- A Catastrophic Combination."
94/01 The ICRC holds a three-day seminar of military experts from 16 countries to "closely study the military use of anti-personnel mines and possible alternatives. . ."
94/01 UNICEF Geneva hosts a two-day consultative meeting on landmines. Attended by over 70 participants, the meeting is a serious step in the continuing development of UNICEF's work on landmines.
94/02 The first session of the expert group preparatory to the review conference of the 1980 Convention meets in Geneva. China
is the only country to block participation of any kind by NGOs in the meetings. The question of NGO participation is held over
until the second session to meet in May.
94/02 At a press conference prior to the expert meeting, the ICRC's president declares that from a "humanitarian point of view" a "world-wide ban on anti-personnel mines is the only truly effective solution and that blinding as a method of warfare has to be outlawed now."
94/02 Spain announces a renewable one-year moratorium on the export of APMs.
94/03 In a statement before the Human Rights Commission in Geneva, the executive director of UNICEF, James Grant, adds his voice to that of the ICRC and calls for a ban on landmines.
94/03 Belgian NGOs launch a campaign against landmines.
94/03 Irish NGOs launch a campaign against landmines.
94/03 South Africa's Defense Minister announces a ban on the marketing and export of landmines.
94/03 Greece announces a moratorium on the trade of landmines.
94/03 At a meeting of the international Committee on the Reconstruction of Cambodia in Tokyo, First Prime Minister Norodom
Ranariddh announces that Cambodia will prohibit the importing and laying of landmines, effective immediately.
94/04 The Slovak Republic announces a landmine export moratorium.
94/04 The Arms Project of HRW releases a new country report on landmines, Landmines in Mozambique.
94/04 The Council on Foreign Relations holds a one-day seminar on landmines entitled, "Clearing the Fields: Solutions to the
Landmine Crisis." At the seminar, both the Secretary General of the UN and Cyrus Vance, former US Secretary of State, call for a ban on landmines. Papers presented will be released in book form.
94/05 The Swiss government announces landmines can only be exported to countries which are party to Protocol II of the 1980
Convention.
94/05 The Steering Committee of the NGO International Campaign to Ban Landmines holds its Second International Conference on Landmines in Geneva, with the logistical support of UNICEF Geneva, which is attended by more than 110 representatives of over 75 NGOs.
94/05 Argentina declares a five-year moratorium on the export, sale or transfer of APMs, noting that it was "the basis for the
development of future actions aimed at achieving a permanent regime of control of these types of devices."
94/05 The second session of the expert group to prepare for the review conference of the 1980 Convention is held in Geneva. UNICEF and UNHCR call for a complete ban on landmines at these sessions.
94/06 The Canadian government ratifies the 1980 Convention.
94/06 Germany announces a three-year moratorium on the export of APMs.
94/06 The Vatican Council for Justice and Peace releases a document about the arms trade and in it calls for the banning of

landmines.
94/06 The Swedish Parliament decides that Sweden "should declare that an international total ban against antipersonnel mines is the only real solution to the humanitarian problem that the use of mines causes. Sweden should therefore propose solutions in order to achieve such a ban."
94/06 Chief of the Swedish Army, General Ake Sagren says that APMs could be done away with and that the Truppmina 10, one of the most common Swedish mines, could be banned immediately. Swedish Joint Chiefs do not support the statements.
94/06 Senator Patrick Leahy introduces a bill in the U.S. Senate that would require a one-year moratorium on the production and procurement of APMs by the US government. The bill does not go to a vote.
94/06 A report on the military utility of landmines commissioned by the U.S. Defense Department concludes that the utility of landmines in high intensity conflict does not override consideration of landmine arms control.
94/07 The Israeli government announces a two-year moratorium on the export of APMs and offers "its know-how, assistance and training in mine clearance."
94/07 Fiat announces it will sell its shares of Valsella to Borletti, the original owner of Valsella. It does not announce that it owns 50% of Borletti.
94/07 The British government announces an indefinite moratorium on the export of mines that "cannot be made safe after they have been planted." Britain also proposed a "code of conduct" for supplier countries which would ban the export of APMs which do not self-destruct or neutralize.
94/08 The Italian Senate passes a motion ordering the government to ratify the 1980 Convention, to enact an export moratorium, to activate the "necessary legal instruments" to cease mine production in Italy, and to promote demining in contaminated countries. The government indicates that it has not authorized exports since November of 1993 and "formally undertakes to observe a unilateral moratorium" and to "ready the necessary instruments for stopping production of such devices" in Italy.
94/08 The third expert session to prepare for the review conference is held in Geneva. Sweden officially proposes that Article 6 of Protocol II be amended to prohibit the use, development, production, stockpiling or transfer of APMs and that states
destroy such weapons. The proposal attracts support from Austria, Ireland and Mexico. Estonia submits a proposal similar to that of Sweden.
94/09 The first meeting of the Canadian landmines campaign is held in Ottawa. The campaign -- Mine Action Canada (MAC) -- calls upon the Canadian government to ban the use, production, trade, and stockpiling of APMs.
94/09 The Italian Landmines Campaign holds three days of action in Brescia, Italy -- home of Valsella mine producer. Thousands participate in a 17-kilometer march toward the plant and in a special session the town council of Castenedolo (where the plant is sited) votes unanimously to join the Landmine Campaign.
94/09 A memorandum from the Italian Foreign Ministry notes that the Italian moratorium will remain effective "until the entry into force of a possible new international regime regulating the export and production of antipersonnel mines."
94/09 The UN Secretary General submits his report on mine clearance, as supporting documentation of the need for a demining trust fund. In it he notes that the "best and most effective way" to solve the global landmine problem is a complete ban on the use, production and transfer of all landmines.
94/09 In his address to the United Nations, U.S. President Clinton calls for the "eventual elimination" of landmines.
94/10 The U.S. State Department holds a briefing for NGOs to describe the outlines of its proposed landmine control regime. The NGO community informs the government that it views the regime as a step backwards from the now-stated goal of the eventual elimination of landmines.
94/10 The Czech Republic announces a three-year moratorium on the export of landmines.
94/11 The Dutch Minister of Defense announces to Parliament that they will destroy 423,000 stockpiled landmines and that AP mines will be considered similar to chemical weapons with an ultimate goal of a total ban.

94/12 The Italian Chamber of Deputies ratifies the 1980 Convention, with binding language calling upon the government to support the Swedish position at the review conference.
94/12 The UN General Assembly passes resolution A/C.1/49/L.19 which calls for more states to enact export moratoriums and for the eventual elimination of landmine.
94/12 Russia announces a three-year moratorium on mines which do not self-destruct and which are not detectable.
95/01 The U.S. State Department holds a press conference announcing the release of its new edition of its landmines report, "Hidden Killers: The Global Landmine Crisis." In the report's preface Secretary of State Christopher re-states the U.S. goal of the eventual elimination of landmines.
95/01 The fourth and final session of expert preparatory sessions for the review conference is held in Geneva. A "Rolling Text" with suggested amendments to the Convention has been prepared; full consensus on main issues under discussion has not yet been reached.
95/02 Belgium ratifies the 1980 Convention.
95/02 The National Research Council of the National Academy of Sciences holds an international seminar on research for mine detection equipment.
95/02 The UK ratifies the 1980 Convention.
95/02 The Africa, Caribbean, Pacific-European Union Joint Assembly passes a resolution calling for a global ban on use, production and export of APMs.
95/02 The ICRC hosts a seminar on the 1980 Convention from representatives from east and northern African countries in Addis Ababa. It is the first of four-such meetings to be held for African countries.
95/03 At a landmines hearing at the British House of Commons, Cambodian amputees present 280,00 signatures collected in Cambodia calling for a ban to the British Prime Minister and asks the UK to take a leadership role in banning landmines.
95/03 Belgium becomes the first country to pass domestic laws to ban landmine use, production, procurement, sale and transfer, including components, parts and technology.
95/03 The U.S. ratifies the 1980 Convention.
95/03 Ireland ratifies the 1980 Convention.
95/03 The Irish Campaign sponsors a series of landmines events in Dublin, including testimony before the Joint Committee on Foreign Affairs. Subsequently, the Joint Committee sends a formal resolution to Parliament and the Minister for Foreign Affairs urging the government to ban the use, production and trade of landmines.
95/03 Israel ratifies the 1980 Convention.
95/03 The European Parliament holds two days of public hearings on landmines.
95/03 The ICRC and the OAU hold a meeting on the 1980 Convention in Harare. The meeting is opened by Nobel Laureate Archbishop Tutu who calls for a ban on APMs.
95/04 The Spanish Landmines Campaign holds its first meeting.
95/05 Pope John Paul II calls for a "definitive end to the production and use" of APMs at the 50th anniversary meeting of Pax Christi in Assisi, Italy. In a message of support to the Cambodia Landmines Conference, the Vatican Secretariat of State reinforced the Pope's call for "a permanent ban of this type of weapon."
95/05 Romania ratifies the 1980 Convention.
95/05 The European Council of Ministers announces that no APMS will be exported outside of EU territory.
95/06 The Cambodia Campaign to Ban Landmines and the NGO Forum on Cambodia host a three- day international conference on landmines attended by more than 400 people from 42 countries, representing NGOs, governments, the UN, demining organizations and landmine victims.
95/06 The German Parliament passes two motions. The first calls upon the government to press for the prohibition of non-detectable and remotely-delivered mines without self-destruct mechanisms, for restrictions or prohibitions on sale and trade of landmines, for expansion of scope to internal conflict, and to support verification mechanisms at the review conference. It also asks the government to work toward a worldwide ban on APMs. The second motions asks the government to support humanitarian mine clearance.

95/06 On the 30th anniversary of the first recorded landmine incident in the country, the Faulty of Arts at University Eduardo Mondlane in Maputo, in conjunction with Human Rights Watch, holds a one-day seminar on landmines attended by more than 100 representatives of NGOs, embassies, mine clearance organizations, the government, the military and the press.
95/06 The Norwegian Parliament unanimously adopts a binding resolution calling upon the government to work for a complete ban on APMs in connection with the review conference.
95/06 The South African Ministry of Defense announces that it is "investigating the implications" of converting its export moratorium into a total ban.
95/06 The European Parliament overwhelmingly approves a resolution and report calling for a complete ban on APMs and blinding laser weapons.
95/06 The Council of Ministers of the Organization of African Unity adopts a resolution calling upon member states to support a common African position in favor of a total ban on landmines.
95/06 The US and UK host a meeting in Budapest attended by 31 countries for ongoing discussions regarding the proposed US/UK landmines control regime. The two countries present a 12-point program that would bind signatories to cut stocks of conventional APMs and not export them. Stocks would be replaced with self-destruct mines. The US and UK call for another meeting after the review conference. Neither India nor China, among others, attends the meeting.
95/07 Romania announces a one-year moratorium on the export of APMs.
95/07 The South Africa Landmines Campaign is launched in support of the International Campaign to Ban Landmines. The press conference marking the launch is addressed by Archbishop Tutu as well as Dr. Ian Phillips, an ANC member of parliament.
95/07 The UN Department of Humanitarian Affairs sponsors and "International Meeting on Mine Clearance" in Geneva to raise money for its demining trust fund and to help raise awareness of the landmine crisis. In his opening statement to representatives of governments, UN agencies, demining organizations and NGOs, the Secretary General called for a total ban on APMs. Of the $75 million the UN hopes to raise for the trust fund, $20 million was pledged with an additional $7 million, including in-kind contributions, to establish "standby capacity" for UN demining activities. In her speech to the meeting, UNHCR's Sadako Ogata called for a total ban and announced that UNHCR would not knowingly purchase products from companies that sell or manufacture APMs or their components.
95/08 The Afghan Campaign to Ban Landmines is officially launched in Kabul. Participants in the launch include the Acting Prime Minister and the Acting Defense Minister. In a separate meeting the Afghan Campaign is assured by the Deputy Foreign Minister that Afghanistan will support a total ban at the Vienna Review Conference.
95/08 A bill introduced by Senator Patrick Leahy which would impose a one-year moratorium on the production of landmines in the US overwhelmingly passes the Senate.
95/08 The Australian campaign holds a national landmines awareness day as a lead-up to the Vienna Review Conference.
95/09 The Common Security Forum holds a day-long seminar on the review conference at King's College. Participants include, among others, chairman of the upcoming review conference, Ambassador Molander.
95/09 The Canadian campaign holds a day-long seminar on landmines in Ottawa.
95/09 The UK Working Group on Landmines holds a weekend of action marking the opening of the Vienna Review Conference. A special landmines service is held a Westminster Cathedral.
95/09 The Vietnam Veterans of America Foundation holds a press conference in Washington to release, "After the Guns Fall Silent: the Enduring Legacy of Landmines," its socio-economic report on the impact of landmines. The report is also released in the UK and at the Review Conference.
95/09 The German Campaign holds a press conference in Bonn to mark the opening of the Vienna Review Conference.
95/09 The South Africa Landmines Campaign holds a landmine awareness day to mark the opening of the Vienna Review Conference.
95/09 The Irish Campaign holds a series of actions to mark the opening of the Vienna Review Conference.

95/09 The Review Conference opens in Vienna. At the conference AUSTRIA announces that it has renounced the use of APMs by its military and has already destroyed military stocks. Its definition of APMs does not include command-detonated munitions, e.g., Claymore. Additionally, FRANCE announces that it is banning production and destroying stocks.
95/09 At the review conference, Germany announces that it is not producing APMs. Subsequently, in October, Foreign Minister Klaus Kinkel demands "the global prohibition and banishment of antipersonnel mines." Further, he recommends that Germany set an example and "take away all antipersonnel mines." He also states that "We have decided in the Cabinet that Germany shall not export any more antipersonnel mines. Neither do we manufacture any more antipersonnel mines here."
95/10 The Review Conference does not reach consensus and agrees to suspend proceedings. Two additional sessions are planned for 1996.
95/10 Mozambique's President states that Mozambique is prepared to head an international campaign against production, export and use of mines.
95/11 Switzerland announces a change in policy in favor of a complete and immediate international ban on landmines. It has also renounces the use of APMs by its armed forces; Claymore mines may only be used with remote control mechanisms and not with tripwire. All other APMs have been destroyed.
95/11 The ICRC, together with national Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies, launches for the first time in its history an international media campaign to mobilize the public and stigmatize antipersonnel landmines.
95/11 In South Africa, the Portfolio Committee on Foreign Affairs of the National Assembly recommended that a ban on AP mine production, transfer and use be incorporated into South African law.
95/12 The Philippine President announces support for a comprehensive ban on AP mines. He also states that the Philippines' existing stock of mines will be disposed of, and that the Philippines has not produced mines and will not produce
them in the future.
95/12 The Islamic Conference calls for an immediate ban of APMs.
96/01 An amendment based on the Leahy landmine bill is signed into law. The bill places, in three years, a one-year moratorium on the use of APMs, "except along internationally recognized borders or in demilitarized zones" in marked and guarded minefields.
96/01 The week-long session of the review conference to discuss "technical issues" convenes in Geneva. In an unexpected change of policy, Canada announces an immediate moratorium on use, production, trade and export of APMs. A bill calling for a total ban is tabled in Parliament.
96/01 The ICBL convenes a meeting of pro-ban states during the session and agree to work toward a framework for an immediate ban rather than the "eventual elimination" of landmines.
96/03 A bill is introduced in the Irish Parliament to ban landmines.
96/03 The Dutch Minister of Defense announces a ban on the use of APMs and the destruction, in a joint operation with Belgium, of stocks. In making the announcement he says, "The Dutch government sees its decision to abolish anti-personnel mines as an important contribution to the international efforts to tackle the worldwide problem of landmines. This step is a breach of a long-standing tradition within the Dutch armed forces. The Dutch government makes this drastic step considering the growing protests in Dutch society and in Parliament against the large scale misuse of these weapons." Following this statement, the Minister of Foreign Affairs announces on March 21 in Parliament that the Dutch government will not allow APMs to be exported from the Netherlands. The Netherlands already had a selective moratorium prohibiting landmine export to countries that had not ratified the CCW. On 2 April 1996, a resolution calling for a bill banning the production of APMs was passed by a unanimous vote of the Lower House of the Dutch Parliament.
96/03 It is announced that the Pentagon has begun an expedited review of its policy against the banning of APMs. It is indicated that the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff leans toward their elimination. Work toward a ban intensifies in the US. The VVAF sponsors two full-page ads in the New York Times calling on the President to ban landmines now. The second ad is a letter to the President supporting the ban signed by retired General Norman Schwarzkopf and 14 other high-ranking officers.
96/03 In a vote of 110 to 43, the Swiss Chamber of Deputies adopts a bill supporting a ban on antipersonnel

mines. With this vote, the Swiss Parliament accepts one of the primary demands of the Swiss Campaign to Ban Antipersonnel Mines, backed by a petition of over 150,000 signatures: the inclusion of a total ban on antipersonnel mines in the federal law on materials of war.

96/04 In response to the ICBL questionnaire, Congo, Honduras and Jamaica delcare their support for an immediate ban.

96/04 The Australian government announces the indefinite suspension of the use of APMs noting that "Only in the case of a substantial deterioration in our strategic circumstances, in which Australia's security was under threat...would suspension be reviewed."

96/04 The German Defense Minister announces that Germany will no longer use, produce or export APMs, and that all stocks will be destroyed.

96/04 Croatia suspends the use of APMs on 19 April 1996. At the CCW review conference, they express their support for a total ban on APMs.

96/04 The United Kingdom states that it will "lend active support to efforts to agree to a total international ban" on APMs, it will destroy nearly half of its existing stocks, it will make its limited export moratorium comprehensive and would forgo use "except in exceptional circumstances." It also announces a review of plans to acquire new self-destructing mines.

96/04 New Zealand renounces the operational use of antipersonnel mines by their armed forces. This reflects the Government's concern at the "horrific and ongoing effects of landmines world-wide, particularly on innocent civilians." The Army will continue to maintain its professional expertise in mine clearing operations .

96/04 Luxembourg renounces use of mines in the first week of the CCW Review Conference.

96/04 Leichestein renounces use of mines in the first week of the CCW Review Conference.

96/05 On the final day of the CCW review conference, Bulgaria announces a three-year moratorium on the export of all APMs.

96/05 During the closing plenary session of the CCW review conference, Portugal announces their support for a total and immediate ban and renounces use, declares no production or export and that it has begun destruction of stocks, except a small number of mines for training deminers. They reserve the right in exceptional circumstances to change their position.

96/05 During the closing session of the CCW review conference, Angola, France and Malta declare their support for immediate,
comprehensive ban.

96/05 In response to the ICBL questionnaire, Fiji and Haiti delcare their support for an immediate ban.

96/05 Singapore notifies the Secretary General of the UN that, effective immediately, it will not export "dumb" mines for a period of two years. In its press statement announcing the moratorium, the Permanent Mission to the UN notes that Singapore "shares the view of several countries that it is not practical to have a blanket ban on all types of APLs as many countries still
see the need for APLs for legitimate self-defense purposes."

96/05 On the final day of the CCW review conference, South Africa announces a unilateral suspension of the use of APMs. Their export moratorium is also converted to a permanent ban on exports.

96/05 President Clinton announces his "new" landmine policy. The policy includes three main elements: 1. an end to use of "dumb" mines by 1999 except in Korea; 2. continued use of so-called "smart" mines indefinitely until an international agreement is reached; 3. negotiate an international agreement to ban antipersonnel mines. The US Campaign and International Campaign to Ban Landmines reacted in anger to the policy announcement condemning it as no real change because it contains no substantive actions to eliminate all antipersonnel mines and no time-frame to enact its goal of a total ban.

96/06 The Danish Ministry of Defense announces that Denmark will "unilaterally refrain from using antipersonnel mines in the Danish defense." Further, in noting that the CCW review had produced "no major break-through towards a ban" and that the next review conference would not take place until 2001, the press release stated that "the Danish Government has deemed it necessary to take concrete action in order to send a clear and non-ambiguous political signal."

96/06 The Philippine Senate ratifies the 1980 UN Inhumane Weapons Convention and its Annexed Protocols, including the Landmines Protocol.
96/06 The final communiqu of the June meeting of the G7, held in Lyon, France, called for a ban of APMs. "We call upon all states to spare no effort in securing a global ban on the scourge represented by the proliferation and the indiscriminate use of antipersonnel landmines." G7 leaders also "welcomed the moratoria and bans already adopted by a number of countries on the production, use and export of these weapons." Italy's Foreign Minister Lamberto Dini said, "most countries intend to apply an embargo on the production, use and export of antipersonnel mines." Additionally, Japan's Foreign Minister indicated Japan's intent to host a conference in early 1997 to look at ways to support UN-led demining operations and to help mine victims.
96/06 The Organization of American States (OAS), which met in Panama City from 3 to 7 June for its 26th General Assembly, discussed the question of anti-personnel mines as one of the problems of concern to the Western hemisphere, and adopted a resolution providing for the establishment of a hemisphere-wide zone free of all landmines. The resolution urges States to declare a moratorium on the production, use and transfer of all anti-personnel mines and to ratify the CCW and its amended Protocol II. It further provides for the opening of a register at the organization's General Secretariat, to record information on existing stocks, the current mine clearance situation and follow-up activities after each session of the General Assembly. This text is in line with a resolution recently adopted by the Central American Parliament .
96/07 More than 250 representatives from 48 states and more than 20 international and non-governmental organizations meet in Copenhagen from 2nd - 4th July for the International Conference on Mine Clearance Technology. The conference concentrates on two themes: standards for humanitarian mine clearance and technology for mine clearance.
96/07 In a letter to the SG, Germany announces a seven-point action program on APMs. The program includes calls for an international ban, mine clearance and awareness programs, and the participation of NATO and the WEU in efforts to tackle the
problem.
96/07 Israel announces an extension of its export moratorium and vows to work to a permanent global export ban.
96/08 In an opinion article on 10 August the Swedish Minister of Defense suddenly states his support for a ban. In subsequent interviews, he clarifies that a ban on use will be implemented immediately, and that stocks will be destroyed within three years "in good time before next UN disarmament conference on landmines in year 2001."
96/09 The Finnish government announces a decision to stop the upgrading of their non-detectable APMs (in May, they had said they would spend 2 million Finnish marks, about 400,000 US dollars, on making them detectable in accordance with the new detectability requirement of the amended CCW). Also, the government says now that it is fully committed to the goal of an immediate international ban on APMs. They are not yet prepared to implement a unilateral ban, but they have decided to make an official study on alternatives to APMs and their costs. The study is expected to be completed in 1997.
96/09 The six Central American presidents announce that they will ban the use, production and trade of APMs making Central America, effectively, the first mine-free region.
96/09 At the UNGA, Italy's Foreign Minister announces that Italy "is committed...to definitely giving up the production and export of antipersonnel landmines." He also notes that Italy will begin destruction of stocks and promote further restrictions on operational use. He also proposes the start of "timely international relations" leading to the final ban of APMs. He notes that the decision is the result of pressure from Parliament and Italian public opinion.
96/09 Organizing work for the 4th International ICBL Conference on Landmines: Toward a Mine Free Southern Africa begins. NGOs throughout the region are working together on the conference, to be held 25-28 February 1997 in Maputo, and hosted by the Mozambique Campaign.
96/09 The Zambia Campaign to Ban Landmines is launched.
96/10 The Ottawa Conference to promote the pro-ban movement opens. To mark the opening of the

Conference, landmine campaigns hold events around the world. The Zimbabwe Campaign is launched, with the participation of the Canadian Ambassador to Zimbabwe. Canadian Foreign Minister Lloyd Axworthy proposes signing a Land Mines Convention in one year to make Anti-Personnel Landmines illegal.

97/02 South Africa bans landmines on the eve of Maputo Conference.

97/03 Mozambique bans anti-personnel landmines at the Maputo Conference.

97/05 New British Government comes out in support of International Campaign to Ban Landmines

97/06 Germany and France join Britain in support of International Anti-Personnel Landmine ban.

97/06 G8 leaders agree on the urgent need for a Landmines Convention.

97/12 Scheduled second Ottawa Conference to sign the Anti-Personnel Landmines Convention.

Selected Resources

The following is a selection of resources related which focus on the effects of antipersonnel (AP) mines and the need for a ban. For ordering information, use the hyperlinks or the addresses that are provided.

Videos/Books/Reports/Articles/Photographs/Teaching Aids/Music/Websites/Useful Contacts

Videos

Ban Land Mines: The Ottawa Process
Planet Pictures, 1997

Commissioned by the Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade (Canada), this five-minute video, available in English or French, gives a visual overview of the effects of AP mines and the growing support for the Ottawa Process. To order a copy of this video phone: (613) 944-4000 or fax: (613) 944-4500.

A Footstep Away

A BBC Horizons film documentary on the Mines Advisory Group demining operations in Kurdistan. It is well presented and easily understood. Contains some graphic scenes. Copy available on loan through *Physicians for Global Survival*, 145 Spruce St., Suite 208, Ottawa, Ontario, K1R 6P1, Canada. Tel: 1 (613) 2331982. Fax: 1 (613) 2339028.

Land Mines: The Deadly Legacy
International Committee of the Red Cross, 1993

This video covers every aspect of the problem of antipersonnel mines. Scenes filmed in Cambodia, Afghanistan and Somalia show mineblast victims, the surgical and orthopedic treatment they are receiving and mine clearance operations. The President of the ICRC and a number of surgeons call for a ban on the use of antipersonnel mines. CR 0274. Running time: 7 minutes, 30 seconds. Available in English or Arabic.

This video can be ordered through the International Committee of the Red Cross web site.

A Manmade Epidemic
International Committee of the Red Cross, 1997

Most people who fall victim to antipersonnel land mines suffer in agony, often alone. More than half die on the spot or in transit; still others receive inadequate medical care. Prevention efforts — demining, education and ultimately a ban — are important. CR 0361. Running time: 9 minutes, 30 seconds. English, French, International soundtrack.

This video can be ordered through the International Committee of the Red Cross web site.

Land Mines in Cambodia
Ophidian Films/International Committee of the Red Cross, 1995

Millions of mines lie buried in the countryside of Cambodia. These insidious weapons kill and maim people every day, impoverish the country by preventing farmers from cultivating their fields and turning areas that would otherwise be at peace into virtual war zones. They will only become safe again once the mines have been removed — a long, painstaking and dangerous task. CR 0328. 14 minutes. Available in English, French, German, Italian and Spanish.

This video can be ordered through the International Committee of the Red Cross web site.

Books, Reports and Articles

After the Guns Fall Silent: The Enduring Legacy of Landmines by Shawn Roberts and Jody Williams. Washington, D.C.: Vietnam Veterans of America Foundation, 1995. This book assesses the social and economic impact and human cost of landmines. English, 554 pages.

Anti-Personnel Land Mines: An Annotated Bibliography Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade. Ottawa: 1996. Contains references to United Nations, European Union and Organization of African Unity resolutions, declarations and reports, scholarly publications, Internet sites and other items of interest. English, 114 pages. The document is out of print, but is available on the Department's Web Site.

Anti-Personnel Mines: An Overview 1996 by the International Committee of the Red Cross. Geneva: 1997. This comprehensive document covers the social, medical and economic impact of mines and discusses types of mines, mine clearance, military utility, production and trade, current law and conventions and the ICRC's support for the Ottawa Process.

Anti-Personnel Land Mines: Friend or Foe? A study of the military use and effectiveness of anti-personnel mines by the International Committee of the Red Cross. Geneva: 1996. This study examines the military case for continued use of these weapons in light of their employment in actual conflicts since 1940, whether by professional armed forces, by insurgents or in counterinsurgency operations. The study's conclusions were drawn by a meeting of active and retired senior military commanders from a variety of countries and were unanimously endorsed by all participants in their personal capacity. 75 pages, photos. Available in English, French and Spanish. Ref. 0654.

Hidden Killers: The Global Landmine Crisis by the United States Department of State, Bureau of Political-Military Affairs. Washington, D.C., 1994. A report to the U.S. Congress on the problem of uncleared landmines, and on the U.S. strategy for demining and mine control. English.

Landmines: A Deadly Legacy from Human Rights Watch and Physicians for Human Rights. New York: 1993. An overview of the AP mine problem including country case studies on Angola, Cambodia, El Salvador, Iraqi Kurdistan, Mozambique, Nicaragua and northern Somalia. English, 510 pages.

The Land Mines Crisis: A Humanitarian Disaster. Boutros Boutros-Ghali, Foreign Affairs, vol. 73, no. 5 (September/October 1994), pp. 8-13. In his article on land mines, the former UN Secretary-General proposes an international convention that would ban the production, sale and trade of landmines and place them in the same category as chemical and biological weapons.

Mines antipersonnel : la guerre en temps de paix. Handicap International. Brussels: Éditions GRIP/Complexe, 1996. The political, strategic, socioeconomic, legal and humanitarian aspects of the AP mine issue. French, 100 pages.

Photographs

The International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) maintains a catalogue of photographs that can be borrowed at no cost and used with attribution, or bought for a nominal fee.

Teaching Aids

Children at Risk Tool Kits: Land Mines

This package contains stories, background information, presentation outlines, colour overheads, handout sheets, program information, suggestions for action, a resource list and a video. It can be ordered through World Vision Canada, Development Education Department, 6630 Turner Valley Road, Mississauga, Ontario, L5M 2H2, Canada. Phone: 1 (905) 821-3030. Fax: 1 (905) 821-1354. Cost: C$10. English.

Land Mines Trust Walk and Land Mines Labyrinth

A simulation activity and a board game that teach children about the landmine issue. A publication is included in this kit. English and French. Sample kit available free.

Music

Bruce Cockburn, "Mines of Mozambique" On *The Charity of Night* album, 1996, High Romance Music, Ltd. Distributed by True North Records, 501 - 151 John Street, Toronto, Ontario, M5V 2T2, Canada.

Websites

Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade (Canada)

International security and disarmament section: English or Français

This site contains information on issues of the AP Mine Ban: Progress Report newsletter, AP mines annotated bibliography, Canadian Disarmament Digest.

Vietnam Veterans of America Foundation/International Campaign to Ban Landmines (ICBL)

Lots of information here: countries that have enacted export moratoria, destroyed stocks, renounced use and prohibited production of AP mines; ICBL coming events and the 750 participating organizations worldwide; chronology of the movement to ban land mines, 1991-1996; land mines updates; detailed information about the U.S. campaign, and further resources.

International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC)

A comprehensive site including: numerous landmine publications on-line; photographs available for

use; radio, TV and print ads.

A Catastrophe for Children

UNICEF text about how the use of AP mines violates the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child; it outlines particular dangers and effects of mines related to children and discusses types of mines, manufacturers, mine awareness and demining.

Human Rights Watch (U.S.A.)

An American NGO site which exposes U.S. mine manufacturers and contains a well-written section on the global land mine crisis.

Mines Action Canada/Physicians for Global Survival (Canada)

Contains a chronology of government and NGO action on the landmines issue, as well as an analysis of various meetings in the Ottawa Process. Plans to include a database on country positions on signing an AP mine ban by December 1997.

Humanitarian Foundation of People against Landmines/Menschen Gegen Minen (Germany)

This searchable Web site in English and German concentrates mainly on humanitarian demining. Includes the Demining News Forum, seminar information, a library of English and German information and 100 links to other demining sites.

One World Online (Britain)

Land mines section contains up-to-date discussion papers and online news. Includes video clips and full background.

Handicap International (France)

A compendium of land mine information and resources available in French.

United Nations Demining Database

Selected UN documents and resolutions, demining reports and landmine links, latest news, including recent landmine casualties by country.

Norwegian People's Aid (NPA) — International Demining Activities (Norway)

A site focusing on demining and the NPA — one of Norway's largest non-governmental organizations.

Land Mine Injuries in Eritrea (Norway)

A comprehensive report on the physical and socioeconomic effects of land mines, with detailed data and case studies from Eritrea.

Address Directory for the Politicians of the World

Mailing address for every nation's leaders.

Useful Contacts

International Campaign to Ban Landmines

c/o Vietnam Veterans of America Foundation
2001 S Street, NW, Suite 740
Washington, D.C. 20009 U.S.A.
Tel: 1 (202) 4839222
Fax: 1 (202) 4839312

E-mail: banminesusa@vi.org
or on the Internet at http://www.vvaf.org/landmine.html

Provides information on how to contact antipersonnel mine ban campaigns in 40 countries, and information on current campaign events.

International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC)

Communication Department
Division of Public Information
19, av. de la Paix
CH - 1202 Geneva
Switzerland

or on the Internet at http://www.icrc.org/icrcnews/48fe.htm

Information and publications, videos and photographs on mines, humanitarian demining.

Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade (Canada)

For information about the Ottawa Process.

Non-Proliferation, Arms Control and Disarmament Division (IDA)
Lester B. Pearson Building
125 Sussex Drive
Ottawa, Ontario
K1A 0G2 Canada

Media: 1 (613) 995-1874

To be placed on the mailing list for AP Mine Ban: Progress Report:

1 (613) 944-1268

To order the video Ban Landmines: The Ottawa Process:

Phone: 1 (613) 944-4000
Fax: 1 (613) 944-4500

This Resource List is courtesy of the Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade (Canada)

The Road to Ottawa

Part One: Grassroots Movements

Level: Grades 9 - 11

Objective

Using the land mine treaty campaign as an example, this lesson helps students to understand the strategies employed by non-government organizations to foster public awareness and create political change. Students will also appreciate the significant role that the Internet plays in modern grassroots movements.

Learning Outcomes

Students will:

- understand the strategies employed by NGOs to foster public awareness and create political change
- understand the importance of the Internet's role in promoting public awareness and advocacy amongst the general public, and in uniting NGOs around the world

Preparation and Materials

Note: Prior to this lesson, students should be familiar with the material provided in the Background to this unit.

- For teaching reference, download *The Players*
- For classroom use, photocopy handouts
  - *"The Lady with a Cause"*
  - Group Assignment Sheet
  - *New Technology & Grassroots Movements*
- Photocopy enough copies of *Land Mines Labyrinth* for groups of four or five students to play
- Make overhead transparencies:
  - *Land Mines Posters - 1*
  - *Land Mines Posters - 2*
  - *Postcard Campaigns*
  - *Stickers and Buttons*

The Lesson

Classroom Discussion

To recap the background reading for this lesson, *Defusing the Demon*, ask your students:

- What's a "non-government organization"?
- What are some examples of NGOs?
- Which NGOs were initially involved in the International Campaign to Ban Land Mines?
- Why do you think there were no indigenous NGOs from mine-afflicted countries in this original group?
- Why was the International Red Cross' anti-land mine campaign a boost to these groups?

Who are the players involved in successful lobbying around an issue? Using the land mines treaty movement as an example, create a web on the blackboard to show which players have been involved in advocacy action on this issue. *The Players* can be used as a guide.

- Ask your students to identify the importance of, and the role played by, each group.
- What about unsigned nations?
    - Which are they?
    - How do they connect to the other players?
    - How do non-complying countries such as China, India and the United States compromise the effectiveness of this treaty?

Campaign Strategies

Have your students form small brainstorming groups.

- Imagine that you are an anti-land mine organization planning your campaign.
- What strategies might your organization use to protect individuals living in mine-afflicted countries, and to foster public support for your cause?
- Consider the types of media you might use to get your message to the public.
- What are the advantages of the medium/media you have selected? What might be some disadvantages?

Once students have brainstormed, record their strategies on the board. (*Strategies may include: poster contests; petitions; letter-writing and postcard campaigns; celebrity patrons; lessons to create awareness of this issue in non-afflicted countries; lessons to warn individuals in afflicted countries of the dangers of land mines; televised public service announcements; radio public service announcements; feature items on the land mines issue in magazines, newspapers and television; the creation of a website; poster and sticker campaigns.)*

Place the transparency *Land Mine Posters - 1* onto the overhead projector. These posters are from the United Nations and the Mines Advisory Group. Ask students:

- What is the purpose of each of these posters? (*The Mines Advisory Group poster is meant to teach people in mine-afflicted countries to recognize various types of mines. Note how they are simply drawn, almost symbolic in order to transcend literacy and language barriers. The UN's poster "Danger!! Mines!!" could be used as a warning and as an issue awareness tool. The purpose of the "Ban Land Mines Now!" poster is to foster public opinion for the land mine treaty movement.)*

Compare these posters to those that are shown in the second overhead transparency, *Land Mine*

Posters - 2. These posters, courtesy of Mines Action Canada, are the result of anti-mine poster competitions involving elementary school children around the world.

- What are the advantages of this type of promotional campaign? (*It gets children involved in the issue, it promotes advocacy among young people, it reinforces the idea that this is an issue for people of all ages and cultures.)*

Postcard and letter-writing campaigns also play a significant role in giving voice to public concern over issues such as land mines. Place the third transparency, *Postcard Campaigns*, onto the overhead projector.

- What advantages might a postcard campaign have over a traditional letter-writing campaign? (*The graphics make these postcards powerful messages in themselves. Many people are more likely to use this method of advocacy because the text is ready-made)*.
- How might a letter-writing campaign that asks individuals to write their own letters be more, or less, effective? (*There is a less "manufactured" feel to letters that are written by individuals and they seem to carry more weight than the "rubber stamp." However, fewer people may be inclined to compose and write their own letters.)*

Another medium for promoting a cause is stickers. Place the *Stickers and Buttons* transparency onto the overhead projector. Ask your students:

- What are the elements of an effective sticker?

Public awareness and education is an important element in a successful campaign. Divide your class into small groups and let your students play the *Land Mines Labyrinth*, produced by World Vision Canada.

- How is this game effective in teaching children in non-affected countries the dangers of land mines?

Another educational resource is the *Land Mines Trust Walk*. In this tactical exercise, blindfolded children must navigate a "mine field" that has been set outdoors. Through this experience, they can discover first-hand how easily one can become a victim of land mines.

What about creating awareness within mine-inflicted countries?

- What might be some of the difficulties faced in warning people in mine-inflicted countries about the dangers of land mines? (*Often, these countries are war-torn, making it difficult to get government cooperation in operating mine-awareness programs. In some countries people have limited, or no, access to radio and television. Literacy rates among indigenous peoples may be limited. Some mine-infested areas are isolated and are difficult to access. Some governments do not permit women to attend mines awareness training.)*
- How might relief organizations attempt to counter these obstacles? (*Aid groups try to reach people in schools, health clinics, refugee camps. In order to accommodate varying literacy levels, methods of teaching include repetition of key messages, the use of pictures, models and other props. Local 'teachers' are trained to continue the work of aid organisations. 'Mine committees' are formed in villages, with elders encouraged to take on the role of teaching villagers to recognise and mark mined areas and to pass the information on to the proper authorities. Some organizations even resort to the use of*

loudspeakers on trucks to reach women cloistered in family compounds!)

The media provide an important tool in swaying public opinion and creating awareness on specific issues. Magazine and newspaper articles, documentaries and public service announcements all play important roles in the 'selling' of a cause.

- What might be included in a press-kit supplied by your organization to the media?

Another tool used by grassroots campaigns such as the land mines treaty movement is the connection of a cause or issue with a celebrity spokesperson, or patron. Distribute *"The Lady With a Cause"* to students.

- Do you think Diana was a good choice as an ambassador for this issue? Why or why not?
- Do you agree with the author on the extent of Diana's influence on other nations?
- What effect has Diana's death had on the land mine treaty movement?

In exploring the land mines treaty movement students are offered an excellent model in the use of both traditional and new media to implement change. Distribute *New Technology & Grassroots Movements* to students.

- What are the advantages of new media such as email and the Internet to grassroots organizations?
- What are the disadvantages?
- Do you think that the use of new media will overshadow traditional forms of media used to promote issues such as land mines? Why or why not?

Group Assignment

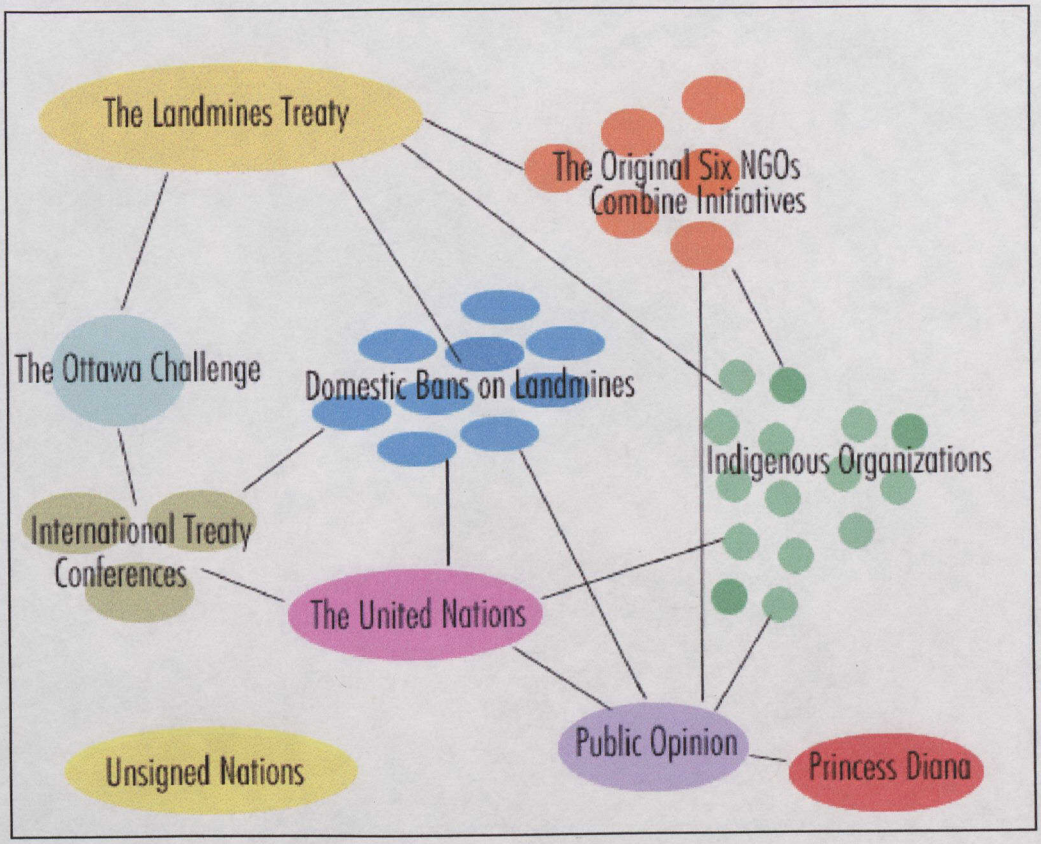
- Divide your class into four or five groups.
- Distribute the *Group Assignment Sheet* to students.

When students have completed their promotion campaigns, they will present their strategies to the class. Materials created by students can be displayed on class bulletin boards.

Computer Assignment

One of the most interesting aspects of the land mines treaty movement has been the use of the Internet by NGOs to promote this cause. The Vietnam Veterans of America Foundation offers students an excellent example of activism on the Internet. Other websites (listed in the Resource Guide for this unit) also provide examples of how modern NGOs are using new technology to garner public awareness and support. A group of students from your classroom could be assigned to survey existing websites that deal with the land mines issue, and prepare a report on the strategies used in their online campaigns.

The Players


The Landmines Treaty
The Original Six NGOs Combine Initiatives
The Ottawa Challenge
Domestic Bans on Landmines
Indigenous Organizations
International Treaty Conferences
The United Nations
Public Opinion
Princess Diana
Unsigned Nations

The Lady with a Cause

D'ARCY JENISH
Macleans Magazine, September 15, 1977
Used with permission.

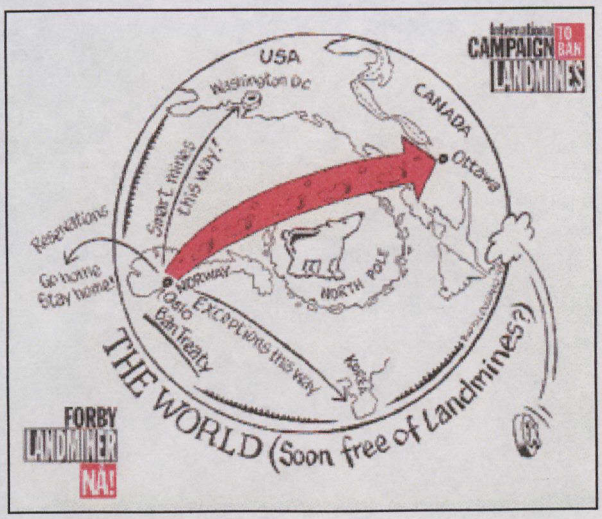
As a patron of humanitarian causes, Diana never stuck with the easy ones. The Princess of Wales embraced children with leprosy, comforted people dying of AIDS, and worked on behalf of the homeless. Earlier this year, she put her name and prestige behind on of the toughest of all; the campaign, championed by Canada, to rid the world of land mines. Left buried beneath old battlefields—often near villages—the hidden explosives kill or injure an estimated 26,000 people annually, most of them civilians, many of them children. Last week a few hours after Diana's death, delegates from more than 100 countries assembled in Oslo, Norway, to begin negotiating a treaty aimed at banning land mines for good. The 400 participants observed a minute of silence in honor of the dead princess, and some readily acknowledged that her involvement had convinced many governments to send representatives. "It notched it up a dozen levels," said Jill Sinclair, director of the Canadian foreign affairs department's disarmament division. "It just gave it a whole new aura."

Diana's timely intervention was invaluable to the so-called Ottawa Process—the political initiative, led by Foreign Affairs Minister Lloyd Axworthy, to reach a treaty banning the manufacture, sale and distribution of anti-personnel mines by the end of this year. It began when Ottawa hosted an international conference on the issue last October. Axworthy, who has been nominated for a Nobel Peace Prize for his efforts, ended the meeting by challenging participants to return to Ottawa this December to sign an anti-land mine pact. But the idea quickly ran into opposition from the Clinton administration and Britain's now-defeated Conservative government, as well as two key land mine producers, Russia and China. The chances of gaining a comprehensive and effective treaty seemed unlikely—until Diana became involved.

In the nine months before her death, she made three highly public gestures to support the Ottawa Process. Last January, she visited the southern African nation of Angola and posed for photos with children who had been maimed by exploding mines. In mid-June, she attended a glitzy, $7,000-a-plate Washington fund-raiser and, in a remark aimed at the Clinton administration, said: "In the name of humanity, ban land mines and make the world a safer place." Three weeks before her death, she toured Bosnia, again posing with youthful victims of exploding mines, although this time much of the media interest focused on her budding relationship with Dodi Al Fayed.

The anti-mines campaign had already been building momentum, said Sinclair, but Diana's trip to Angola was a turning point. Britain's Labour government, elected in May, quickly threw its support behind the Ottawa Process, and the Clinton administration agreed in late August to send representatives to Oslo. The American delegation has stipulated that the United States will not sign the treaty unless it exempts South Korea, where U.S. forces have laid thousands of mines near the demilitarized zone separating South and North Korea. Canadian and other officials acknowledge that there will be tough negotiations before the gathering ends on September 19. And whatever document emerges will not apply to Russia, China and India, which refused to participate in the negotiations. But longtime activists say they are astonished at how much progress has been made. Pinpointing a key

reason, many delegates have suggested that the treaty be named after the Princess of Wales.



The Road to Ottawa

Group Assignment

In this assignment you represent a Non-Governmental Organization that is planning its campaign to lobby for public and governmental support for its cause.

In order to complete this assignment, your group must:

1. Decide on which humanitarian issue your organization is lobbying for.

2. Create a campaign for your cause, using the land mines treaty movement as your guide. (Groups will submit a framework for their campaign for approval, before beginning this project.)

Groups will be evaluated on the following criteria:

- Background research
- Diversity and depth of strategies implemented (be prepared to explain the reasons why you have chosen these strategies)
- Creativity
- Presentation to class

New Technology & Grassroots Movements

Jubilant anti-mines activists Jody Williams, Celina Tuttle and Valerie Warmington celebrate as Foreign Affairs Minister Lloyd Axworthy and Prime Minister Jean Chrétian look on.
Photo: Wayne Cuddingham, The Ottawa Citizen

This is good news, even beyond the value of the actual ban on anti-personnel mines, for it shows the world working in a different way. The original initiative came not from governments, but from non-governmental organizations that had to deal with the mine victims. The treaty was pushed not by the great powers, but by smaller countries that do not share their obsessions. And in the end, the great powers will come along too.
Gwynne Dyer

The Road to Ottawa is a Cinderella story for our times, and a testament to the power of ordinary people uniting to implement change. It is unprecedented that in only two short years, a significant international agreement is within reach due to individual, non-government effort. The land mines treaty movement has forever banished the traditional image of men in pin-striped suits in faraway corridors of power establishing foreign policy. It *was* a politician, Canada's Foreign Affairs Minister Lloyd Axworthy, who pushed the envelope by establishing a deadline for a global treaty on land mines, but it was the united effort of hundreds of worldwide NGOs that created the momentum necessary for the Axworthy challenge to succeed.

Ironically, this grassroots victory would not have been possible, had it not been for advances in technology that have revolutionized the ways in which NGOs operate. Through the World Wide Web and email, once-isolated groups are now able to rally around a particular issue very quickly. The Internet permits groups to share strategies, resources and information more efficiently than anyone could have imagined even ten years ago. In the case of the land mines treaty movement, what began as a group of Vietnam veterans seeking to foster international support for the elimination of land mines, rapidly expanded into a united front of veterans groups and humanitarian organizations from around the world, with the clout to force politicians to listen.

LAND MINES LABYRINTH

Produced by WORLD VISION CANADA Development Education Department 1-800-268-1650, ext.383

Most Canadians are not likely to experience the daily terror of living in an area sown with land mines. Yet for millions of people living in the countrysides of Asia and Africa, the fear of losing a limb, their life or their livelihoods to undetected plastic explosives is a daily reality.

Land Mines Labyrinth is an educational board game which helps you to experience the effects of land mines that not only maim and kill. They keep men, women and children away from food-producing fields and forests. Land mines keep people on the edge of survival.

Each player rolls the die. Highest number starts.

Each player decides at the START which path to take — through the forest to gather firewood and food or to the field to help grow food.

Players follow the instructions of the spaces on which they land.

Note: Each time a player lands in the hospital, s/he collects an "artificial limb" which will be deducted from the score at the end of the game.

Depending on time available, play ends when:
- the first player reaches finish
- all players reach finish
- players finish a pre-determined number of rounds

Scoring: First player to finish receives 25 bonus points. If play ends when all players reach finish, succeeding players receive 10 points each. Each player deducts 5 points for each "artificial limb" collected upon landing in the hospital.

OBJECTIVE — For players to successfully negotiate their way through mined areas and to reach the finish with the highest points total.

GROUP SIZE — 4 to 5 players per game

LOCATION — On the floor or at tables

TIME — 10 to 30 minutes

MATERIALS — Die, various coins for playing pieces, instruction sheet, game cards sheet, artificial limbs sheet, game sheet.

PREPARATION

1. Photocopy set of 4 sheets (one set for every 4 to 5 players)
2. Cut out cards
3. Cut out paper artificial limbs

LAND MINES	LABYRINTH CARDS	YOU FORGET WHICH PATHS ARE SAFE TO TAKE. **MOVE BACK TWO SPACES.**
VILLAGE FIELDS WERE MINED BY GOVERNMENT SOLDIERS LAST WEEK. **MOVE BACK FOUR SPACES.**	YOUR SCHOOL HAS BEEN CLOSED FOR THE PAST TWO YEARS BECAUSE OF MINES ON THE PREMISES. **LOSE A TURN.**	YOU HAVE LOST YOUR LEGS AND BECOME AN EXTRA BURDEN ON YOUR FAMILY. YOUR BROTHER MUST LEAVE SCHOOL TO WORK. **LOSE A TURN.**
YOU ARE INJURED BY A NEARBY MINE EXPLOSION. EVENTUALLY YOU RECOVER. **LOSE A TURN.**	YOU'VE SET OFF A MINE AND HAVE LOST YOUR FOOT. **MOVE BACK TWO SPACES.**	YOUR FATHER HAS LOST A FOOT AND HIS SIGHT. HE BECOMES AN ALCOHOLIC. **MOVE BACK THREE SPACES.**
YOUR FRIEND HAS STEPPED ON A MINE. THREE HOURS LATER HE ARRIVES AT THE HOSPITAL. ONE ARM AND ONE LEG ARE AMPUTATED. **MOVE BACK FOUR SPACES.**	WAR CONTINUES. REUNION WITH YOUR MOTHER IS DIFFICULT. SHE HAS NO PROPER I.D. TO VISIT YOU AND YOUR SISTER. SHE HAS TO TRAVEL ALONG RURAL BACKROADS WHERE THERE ARE MANY MINES. **LOSE A TURN.**	YOU SEE A SKULL AND CROSSBONES SIGN MARKING EXISTING MINES., YOU DO NOT LEAVE YOUR PATH. **MOVE AHEAD ONE SPACE.**
YOU SEE A SKULL AND CROSSBONES SIGN MARKING EXISTING MINES. YOU DO NOT LEAVE YOUR PATH. **MOVE AHEAD ONE SPACE.**	YOUR BEST FRIEND MOVES AWAY TO LIVE WITH RELATIVES AFTER HER PARENTS DIE IN A MINE EXPLOSION. **MOVE BACK TWO SPACES.**	THE WAR IS OVER. YOU AND YOUR FAMILY RETURN TO YOUR VILLAGE. IN THE NEXT THREE MONTHS, 91 VILLAGERS STEP ON LAND MINES. **MOVE BACK FOUR SPACES.**
FOR TWO YEARS YOUR PARENTS HAVEN'T BEEN ABLE TO WORK THE FIELDS BECAUSE THEY ARE MINED. PRESENTLY YOUR FATHER WORKS IN A TOWN FAR AWAY AND RETURNS HOME ONCE A MONTH. YOU STAY BEHIND WITH YOUR MOTHER AND THREE BROTHERS. **LOSE A TURN.**	THE AREA WHERE YOU ONCE GATHERED BAMBOO SHOOTS WAS MINED FOUR MONTHS AGO. YOU LOSE INCOME FROM SALES OF BAMBOO SHOOTS AT THE MARKET. **MOVE BACK ONE SPACE.**	THERE IS A CEASEFIRE. U.N. TROOPS CLEAR ROADS. YOU ARE REUNITED WITH YOUR MOTHER. **MOVE AHEAD TWO SPACES.**
YOUR SCHOOL REOPENS AFTER THE AREA HAS BEEN DEMINED. **MOVE AHEAD TWO SPACES.**	IN TWO DAYS MINES ARE REMOVED FROM AN AREA WITH MANGO TREES. FOOD AND INCOME WILL BE INCREASED. **MOVE AHEAD THREE SPACES.**	NO MINES HERE. WATCH OUT AS YOU HEAD OUT INTO LESS FAMILIAR TERRITORY. YOU'RE SAFE THIS TIME. WATCH YOUR STEP!

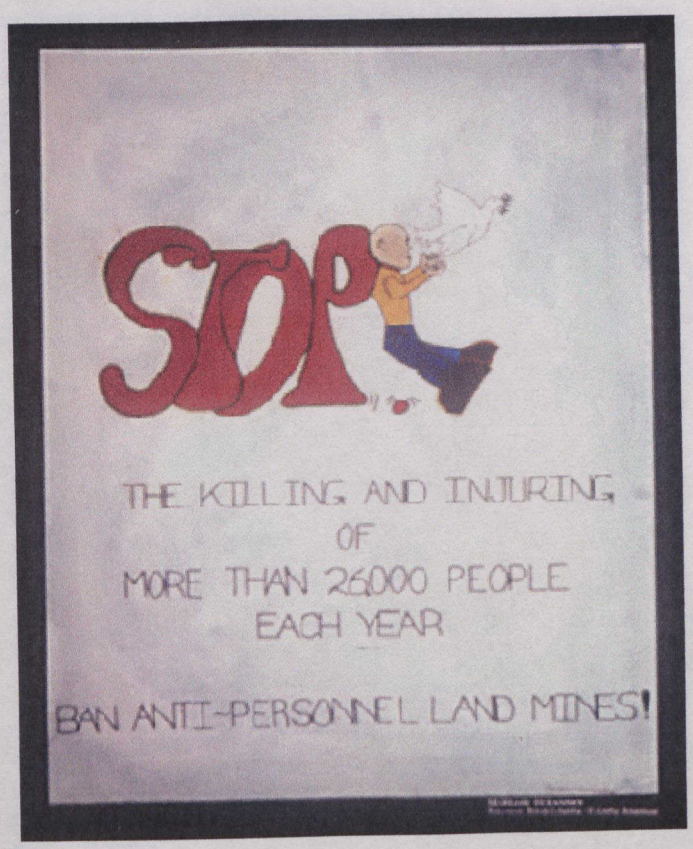
YOU'VE HEARD A RUMOUR THAT A NEIGHBOURING FIELD HAS BEEN MINED. YOU WATCH FOR SIGNS. STAY ON WELL-WORN PATHS. **MOVE AHEAD ONE SPACE.**	YOUR ONLY COW IS LOOSE. IT IS GRAZING IN A SUSPECT AREA. **YOU WAIT ONE TURN** AND SEE.	YOU ARE FITTED WITH AN ARTIFICIAL LIMB SEVERAL MONTHS AFTER YOUR LEG STUMP HEALS. YOU'RE LUCKY -- YOU LIVE NEAR A REHABILITATION CENTRE. **STAY PUT.**


LAND MINES LABYRINTH
START
Take a card
Take a short cut.
You have learned about safe paths. Move ahead one space
SAFE SPOT
Take a card
SAFE SPOT
MINE!
Take a short cut.
Take a card
There are mines in your mango grove. You lose source of nutrition and income. Lose a turn.
A mine explodes 25 metres away. You are injured Go to the hospital.
MINE! Start again.
Your family loses its only ox to a mine. Move back one space.
UN deminers have been in your area for 6 months. Move 1 space.
Take a shortcut
Take a card.
Take a card
Take a card
You walk on well-worn paths. Move ahead one space.
HOSPITAL
Lose one turn. Collect two "artifical limbs. Leave hospital via "safe spot" on either path.
You walk on well-worn paths. Move ahead one space.
SAFE SPOT
SAFE SPOT
MINE! Start again.
Take a short cut.
Take a card
MINE! Start again.
Your foot is blown off by a mine. Because it takes 5 hrs to reach the hospital, infection sets in. Your leg is amputated below the knee. Stay at the hospital.
Take a card.
Take a card
MINE! Start again.
MINE! Start again.
SAFE SPOT
TAKE a CARD
SAFE SPOT
The best firewood area was mined last week. Move back one space.
Your field was mined by guerrillas. You can't plant crops. Move back two spaces.
Take a card.
Take a card.
FINISH
✗ = MINED
? = NOT SURE
✓ = DEMINED

Photocopy and cut out one set of "artificial limbs" for each "Land Mines Labyrinth" being played. Place cards beside game board.

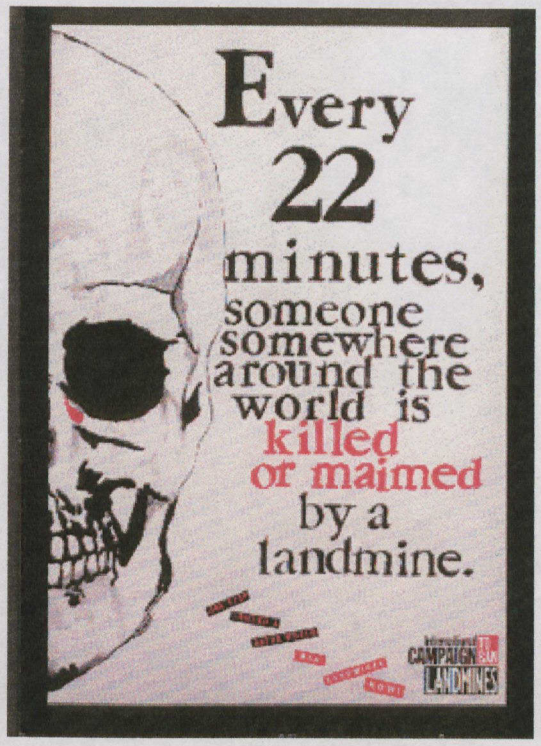
Land Mines Posters - 1

Land Mines Posters - 2



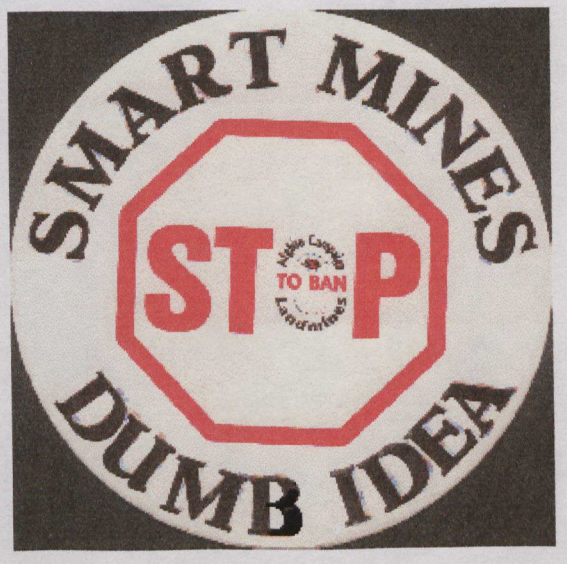
Postcard Campaigns

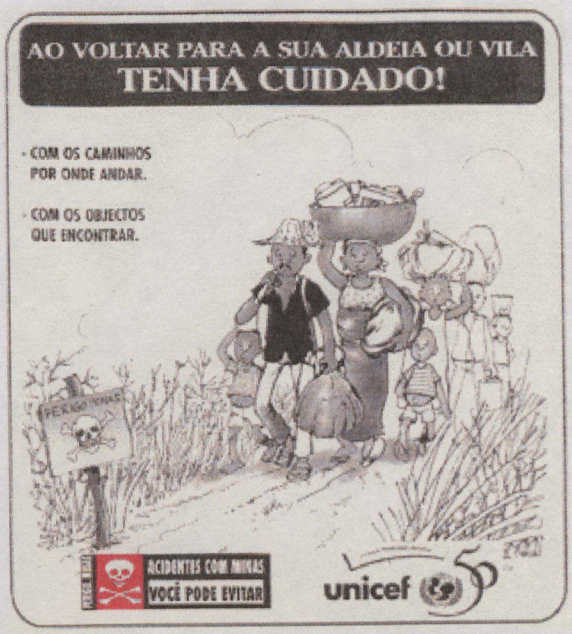
To: Dr. Boutros Boutros-Ghali,
UN Secretary-General

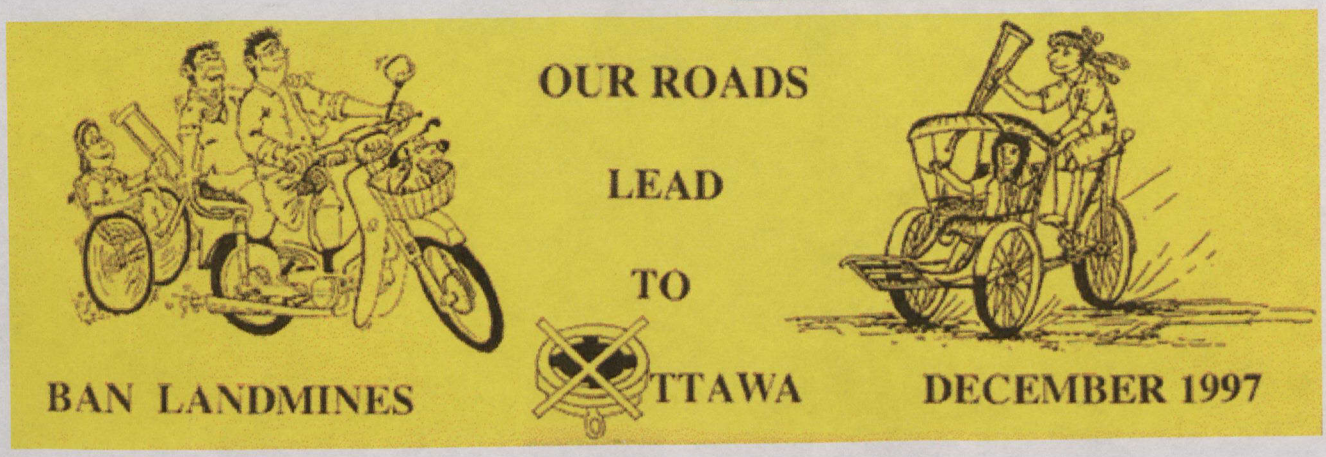


To: President Clinton

Stickers and Buttons







The Road to Ottawa

Part Two: Land Mines and the News

Level: Grades 9 - 11

Objective

Using the land mine treaty campaign as an example, this lesson helps students to understand the decision-making process by which journalists and editors bring stories to the public.

Learning Outcomes

Students will:

- appreciate the decision-making process by which journalists and editors tackle subjects such as land mines.
- understand the role played by the press in influencing the public's perceptions towards an issue such as this.

Preparation and Materials

For Activity One

- Photocopy assignment *Reporting on the Conference*
- Photocopy handouts
  "Countries fail to set deadline on ban" (for half the class)
  "Conference ends with a bang" (for half the class)
  How to Detect Bias in the News

For Activity Two

- To complete this assignment individually, online, go to http://www.screen.com/mnet/eng/med/class/teamedia/peace/photo.htm
- To complete this assignment off-line, photocopy assignment sheet *A Picture Says a Thousand Words* and the accompanying handouts

  Photo 1 & Article
  Photo 2 & Article
  Photo 3 & Article
  Photo 4 & Article
  Photo 5 & Article
  Photo 6 & Article

For Activity Three

- Photocopy handouts
  Reporting the Issue
  News Judgment
- Photocopy newspaper articles
  "World leaders move toward land-mines ban"
  "Countries show support for land-mine ban"
  "Countries fail to set deadline on ban"

The Lesson

Activity One — **Bias and Point of View**

- Distribute handout *Reporting on the Conference* to your students.
- Distribute articles *"Countries fail to set deadline on ban"* to half your class and *"Conference ends with a bang"* to the other half.
- Once students have completed their handout questions, ask for volunteers to read each article aloud.
- Using the student's answers, discuss and compare the two articles.

Distribute *How to Detect Bias in the News* to students and review techniques that permit bias to creep into an article. Ask your students

- Can you detect any of these biases in the two articles relating to the land mines conference?
- Journalists are expected to let the facts speak for themselves. Which article do you think offers the most balanced perspective on the outcome of the conference?
- Is it possible to report on the outcome of this event in a totally unbiased way? What factors would be included in such an article?

Activity Two — **A Picture's Worth a Thousand Words**

This assignment can be done in several ways:

- Individually, online at http://www.screen.com/mnet/eng/med/class/teamedia/peace/photo.htm
- Individually, with the assignment and a set of hard-copy articles and photographs for each student, or
- By pinning several sets of the six articles and photographs on the wall or board for students to refer to as they complete their assignment sheet.

Distribute assignment sheet *A Picture Says a Thousand Words* to students, and the accompanying articles and photographs: Photo 1 & Article, Photo 2 & Article, Photo 3 & Article, Photo 4 & Article, Photo 5 & Article, and Photo 6 & Article

- Ask students to complete the questions on their assignment sheet for each photo.
- Discuss answers as a class.

Activity Three — **Reporting the Issue**

Distribute the handouts *Reporting the Issue* *"World leaders move toward land-mines ban,"* *"Countries show support for land-mine ban,"* and *"Countries fail to set deadline on ban"* to students. Using journalist Juliet O'Neill's experiences and articles, let students examine and discuss the progression of this story. Points for discussion may include:

- The role of the journalist
- The role of the editor
- News judgment relating to these stories
- The use of graphics and photographs
- Bias, if any
- Whether this issue is hard news, soft news, or both, depending on changing circumstances
- The functions of each of these articles

Review the handout *News Judgment* with students, asking for examples from current news to illustrate each key factor. Ask your students

- How do these factors relate to the land mines treaty story?

Independent Assignment — **Different Perspectives**

On the Vietnam Veterans of America Foundation website, the International Campaign to Ban Land Mines features a New York Times article explaining the American government's position in refusing to sign this treaty — "One Step at a Time: Why Washington Likes Land Mines" (http://www.vvaf.org/landmine/us/updates/events97/nytimes.html).

Students can use this article in a number of ways:

- Read and analyze the methods used in this article to argue against the banning of land mines
- Compare this article to the editorial response that followed it six days later, "Stop Stalling on Land Mines" (http://www.vvaf.org/landmine/us/updates/events97/nyt8_26.html)

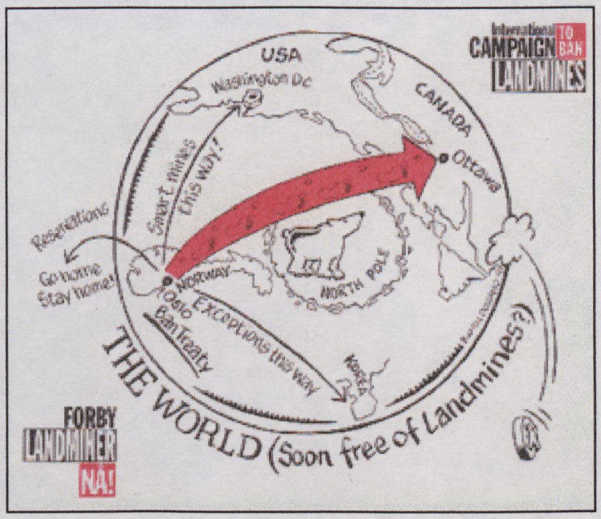
Independent Assignment — **Photojournalism**

Students who are interested in photojournalism and its role in fostering awareness, might like to look at J.F. Housel's gallery of land mine photos, "Angola...The Lingering Effects of War," at the CARE U.S.A website (http://www.care.org/devrescenter/housel/index.html).

Extension Activity

Have students monitor the continuing coverage of the December 1997 signing of the Land Mines Treaty and its implementation.

Reporting on the Conference



The Ottawa Conference of October 1996, entitled "Towards a Global Ban on Anti-personnel Mines," brought together 50 participant and 24 observer states to discuss a strategy for achieving a global anti-personnel mine ban. This gathering was just one in a series of international forums on the issue, and it was known that no official declaration would be achieved during the conference. The conference did, however, result in the Canadian Foreign Minister's challenge to delegate nations to ratify a treaty within 14 months. At the time of the challenge, few people knew how successful *The Ottawa Process* would become.

Read the newspaper article that you have been given and answer the following questions regarding the "slant" taken by its writer:

1. Judging only by the article that you have read, has the conference been a success or a failure?

2. What elements of the story support your opinion?

3. Choose five key points made in this story to support your opinion.

Land Mine Conference

Countries fail to set deadline on ban

Canada disappointed, Axworthy plans to urge treaty by next year

The Ottawa Citizen
Section A2, Sunday October 6, 1996
Reprinted with permission

By Juliet O'Neill
Foreign affairs correspondent for The Ottawa Citizen

Fifty countries issued a declaration calling for "the earliest possible conclusion" of a treaty banning anti-personnel land mines Saturday, but they failed at an Ottawa conference to agree on a deadline or a negotiating forum.

Defying such countries as the United States, which says it isn't ready to commit to a deadline, Foreign Affairs Minister Lloyd Axworthy, host of the conference, attempted to salvage the outcome by challenging the countries to return to Canada in December 1997 to sign a treaty ban that would come into effect in the year 2000.

Axworthy won sustained applause, over-the-top praise and a standing ovation from many delegations when he made the surprise announcement that he would write the foreign ministers of all 50 countries asking them to sign a ban treaty in 14 months.

However, he had not consulted delegates in advance about the proposal and could not say at a news conference how many countries were unofficially backing the idea or how many he expected would sign during a first round.

Half a dozen countries had been singled out at the conference for defying convention and unilaterally banning the mines altogether — Germany, Sweden, Belgium, Norway, Germany, the Philippines, Switzerland and Austria. Austria circulated draft treaty language at the conference. About 40 countries have called for an immediate ban and dozens, including Canada, have taken partial measures, unilaterally banning mine exports, halting production and destroying some stockpiles. Canada has had a moratorium on production, exports and use since January and is reducing a stockpile of 90,000 by two-thirds.

"I am convinced that we cannot wait for a universal treaty," Axworthy told the delegates. "I am convinced that we can start now, even though we may have to proceed with a treaty that does not, in the first instance, include all of the states of the world. ...The challenge is to the governments assembled here to put our rhetoric into action."

The Canadian proposal got the telephone blessing of United Nations Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali and praise at the conference from Cornelio Sommaruga, president of the International Committee of the Red Cross, and from Jody Williams, leader of the 650-member coalition of non-government organizations waging an international campaign to ban land mines.

Sommaruga declared the conference "the beginning of the end of anti-personnel land mines" and Williams told the delegates that Axworthy's challenge showed courage, leadership, vision and "true

global leadership."

The cheap weapons kill someone every 20 minutes somewhere in the world and have put huge swathes of farmland out of commission in Cambodia, Angola, Mozambique, Bosnia and many other countries.

There are an estimated 110 million land mines in 69 countries — the sinister legacy of dozens of armed conflicts that kill and maim civilians decades after wars end.

Conference ends with a bang

Axeworthy challenges nations to set land-mine treaty deadline

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Ottawa — Foreign Affairs Minister Lloyd Axworthy abandoned traditional diplomacy and challenged delegates at an international conference here to return to Ottawa within a year to sign a treaty that would ban anti-personnel mines by the year 2000.

In a surprise move, Mr. Axworthy announced that Canada would convene another meeting in December of 1997 to conclude a pact to forbid the use, production or export of land mines. Speaking forcefully to the delegates, Mr. Axworthy stated that the Ottawa Declaration is a "strong and clear call for urgent action toward a global ban" that would "go beyond grand statements of principle and prove that we are now ready to take concrete steps" in dealing with the issue of land mines. Mr. Axworthy said he decided to introduce this time-frame when it became clear the momentum on the issue would be lost if the Ottawa conference ended with no target date.

This unexpected move was a direct challenge to the United States and several other countries that have refused to endorse a timetable. U.S. delegates said that despite Mr. Axworthy's challenge, they were not prepared to set a target date for a ban.

All the countries at the conference had to pledge themselves to the ultimate goal of a global ban. Russia, which has used mines in Chechnya, attended as an observer, while China, Iraq and Israel stayed away. However, the reservations of these countries did not dampen the optimism of pro-treaty nations, who see an international treaty banning anti-personnel mines as a widely-supported platform from which to urge nations that have not yet done so, to sign a treaty.

Axworthy won sustained applause, over-the-top praise and a standing ovation from many delegations when he made the surprise announcement that he would write the foreign ministers of all 50 countries asking them to sign a ban treaty in 14 months.

Said Mr. Axworthy, "Ladies and gentlemen, we have a straightforward choice. We can, as Senator Leahy said, remove 100 million mines, 'an arm and a leg at a time', or we can act." Cornelio Sommaruga, the President of the International Committee of the Red Cross, described the outcome of the three day international strategy conference as "the beginning of the end of the global epidemic of anti-personnel landmines." Mr. Sommaruga said the ICRC and the entire International Movement of the Red Cross and Red Crescent warmly welcomed the historic political commitments undertaken by fifty countries in the Ottawa declaration and the impressive list of concrete engagements outlined in the plan of action.

"We leave this Ottawa conference," said Mr. Sommaruga, "with the confidence that the unspeakable suffering of mine victims has finally touched the conscience of leaders of governments. We now have a firm message of hope for the victims of antipersonnel mines and for their children and grandchildren that the suffering from this plague will be eased"

NEWS:

NOT JUST BLACK & WHITE

How to Detect Bias in the News

At one time or other we all complain about "bias in the news." The fact is, despite the journalistic ideal of "objectivity," every news story is influenced by the attitudes and background of its interviewers, writers, photographers and editors.

Not all bias is deliberate. But you can become a more aware news reader or viewer by watching for the following journalistic techniques that allow bias to "creep in" to the news.

1. Bias through selection and omission

An editor can express a bias by choosing to use or not to use a specific news item. Within a given story, some details can be ignored, and others included, to give readers or viewers a different opinion about the events reported. If, during a speech, a few people boo, the reaction can be described as "remarks greeted by jeers" or they can be ignored as "a handful of dissidents."

Bias through omission is difficult to detect. Only by comparing news reports from a wide variety of outlets can this form of bias be observed.

2. Bias through placement

Readers of papers judge first page stories to be more significant than those buried in the back. Television and radio newscasts run the most important stories first and leave the less significant for later. Where a story is placed, therefore, influences what a reader or viewer thinks about its importance.

3. Bias by headline

Many people read only the headlines of a news item. Most people scan nearly all the headlines in a newspaper. Headlines are the most-read part of a paper. They can summarize as well as present carefully hidden bias and prejudices. They can convey excitement where little exists. They can express approval or condemnation.

4. Bias by photos, captions and camera angles

Some pictures flatter a person, others make the person look unpleasant. A paper can choose photos to influence opinion about, for example, a candidate for election. On television, the choice of which visual images to display is extremely important. The captions newspapers run below photos are also potential sources of bias.

5. Bias through use of names and titles

News media often use labels and titles to describe people, places, and events. A person can be called an "ex-con" or be referred to as someone who "served time twenty years ago for a minor offense." Whether a person is described as a "terrorist" or a "freedom fighter" is a clear indication of editorial bias.

6. Bias through statistics and crowd counts

To make a disaster seem more spectacular (and therefore worthy of reading about), numbers can be inflated. "A hundred injured in aircrash" can be the same as "only minor injuries in air crash," reflecting the opinion of the person doing the counting.

7. Bias by source control

To detect bias, always consider where the news item "comes from." Is the information supplied by a reporter, an eyewitness, police or fire officials, executives, or elected or appointed government officials? Each may have a particular bias that is introduced into the story. Companies and public relations directors supply news outlets with puffpieces through news releases, photos or videos. Often news outlets depend on pseudo-events (demonstrations, sit-ins, ribbon cuttings, speeches and ceremonies) that take place mainly to gain news coverage.

8. Word choice and tone

Showing the same kind of bias that appears in headlines, the use of positive or negative words or words with a particular connotation can strongly influence the reader or viewer.

Excerpted from* Newskit: A Consumers Guide to News Media, *by The Learning Seed Co. This exercise is taken, with permission, from* News is Not Just Black and White, *a workbook produced by the Canadian Newspaper Association.

A Picture Says a Thousand Words

Part of the editorial process is deciding what image is best suited to accompany an article. Sometimes, the photo itself is news; for example, a photo of a tornado approaching a city, or police handcuffing a criminal suspect. The photo chosen to accompany Juliet O'Neill's background article on the land mines treaty movement was intended as a symbolic, rather than factual rendition of what land mines do to people. O'Neill's editor wanted an image that was powerful enough to draw readers into the article, yet not so severe that people would be deterred from reading.

Click on these thumbnail photos to see how each would look with the article and answer the following questions.

- What is the message in each photograph?
- Would this image draw you into the article? Why or why not?
- Which photo would you select to accompany the article? Why?

Photo # 1

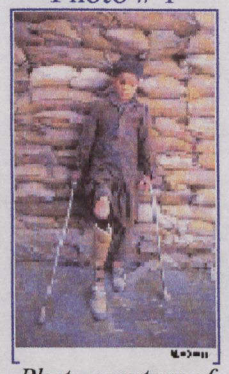


Photo courtesy of Robert Semeniuk

Photo # 2

Photo courtesy of The New Internationalist

Photo # 3

Photo courtesy of Robert Semeniuk

Photo # 4

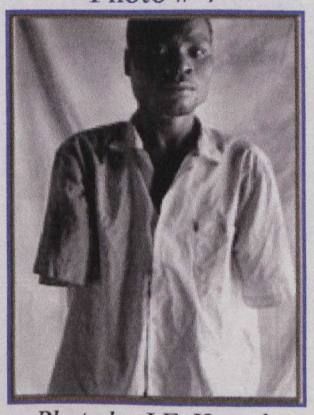


Photo by J.F. Housel courtesy of CARE

Photo # 5

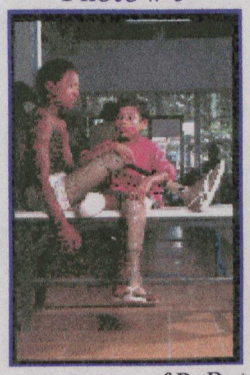


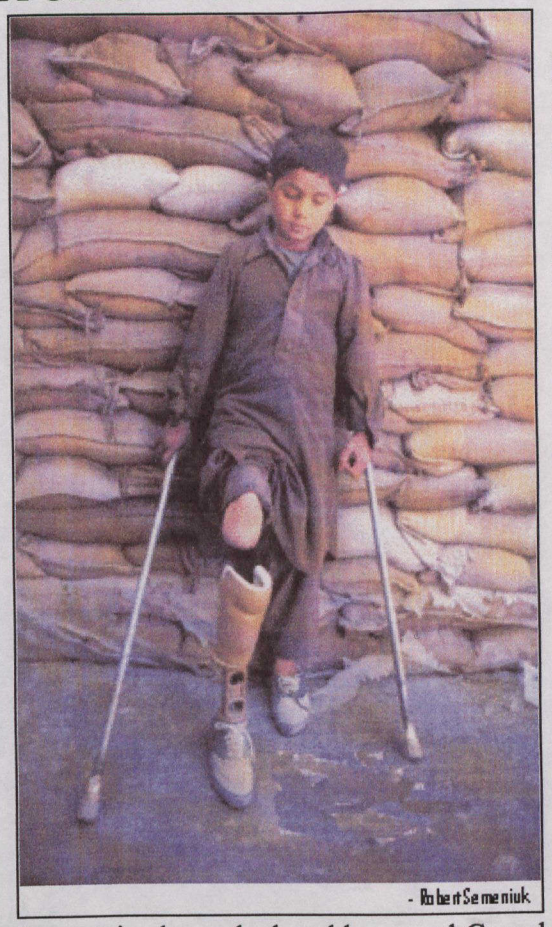
Photo courtesy of P. Dutoit, International Red Cross

Photo # 6

Photo courtesy of P. Dutoit, International Red Cross

Photo # 1

World leaders move toward land-mines ban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International Quandary: For many countries, including Canada, the desire to ban anti-personnel land mines runs afoul of defence departments and military instincts.

By Juliet O'Neill
Foreign affairs writer for The Ottawa Citizen

Canada's Foreign Affairs and Defence departments are at odds over anti-personnel land mines policy as the government prepares to host an international conference this week to plot strategy toward a global ban on the world's most insidious weapons.

Foreign Affairs officials, supporting a ban, are trying to take temporary comfort in the fact that many of the more than 60 countries sending delegates to the Oct. 3 to 5 conference are in the same boat, with defence departments wanting to reserve the right to use mines if necessary to protect their soldiers in a conflict.

However, in the months leading up to the conference, in which Foreign Affairs first expected only a dozen "frustrated" countries would be interested, the issue has taken off. Increasing numbers of countries have declared bans and Canada, the host, stands in the awkward position of not practising what it is preaching.

"The government looks rather hypocritical having this conference without being willing to take bold steps themselves," says New Democrat MP Bill Blaikie, whose office has been helping activists blitz the cabinet with faxes calling for a change in policy to heighten Canada's credibility on the issue. "I hope the conference will embarrass the government into acting. Land mines cause carnage long after a conflict is over and it's our guys, our peacekeepers, crawling around on their bellies out there cleaning this up."

Canada, whose peacekeepers have an international reputation for demining expertise, has had a moratorium since January 1996 on production, export and use of mines. But a Canadian stockpile of 90,000 mines is not being destroyed, small quantities of new mines have been purchased for mine detection research and the moratorium can be lifted in the event the military needs to use them. Canada has not laid mines since it was last engaged in a land war — the Korean conflict four decades ago.

Photo # 2

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Photo # 5

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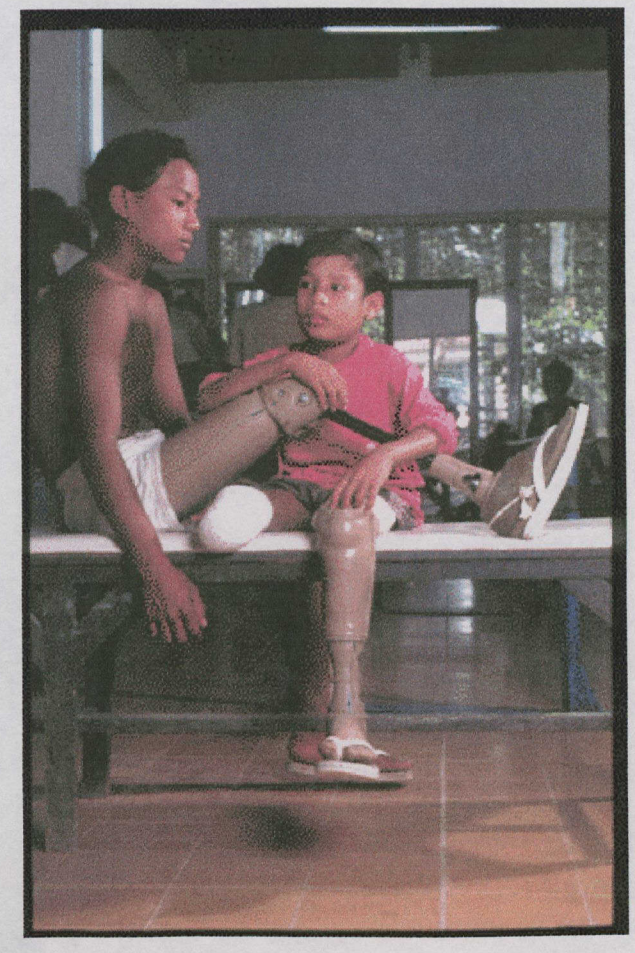

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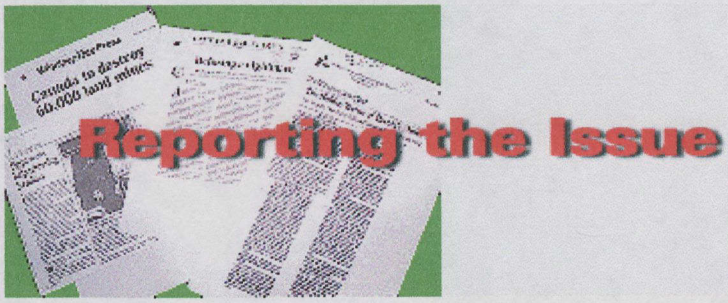


The Journalist's Perspective: One Reporter's Story

Juliet O'Neill, Foreign Correspondent
The Ottawa Citizen

When reporting on an issue, a journalist must remain unbiased.

In tackling the land mines treaty movement, Juliet O'Neill chose to focus on the foreign policy and politics surrounding defense and land mines in various countries, and the diplomatic effort for, and against, an international anti-personnel mine ban.

The following is a brief chronology of how she approached this story.

Pre-1996 Conference

O'Neill found out about the land mines conference while researching another story. She thought that it would make a good article, and her editor agreed. Her original article, *"World leaders move toward land-mines ban"*, included background material on the issue, information about the upcoming conference, and an introduction to non-governmental organizations such as *Mines Action Canada,* which were also planning activities around the conference. O'Neill wrote the article and her editor chose a photograph to accompany her writing from materials provided by *Mines Action Canada.* A map of the world, outlining land-mined countries, and a schedule of public events related to the conference completed the story. The whole piece took up over three-quarters of a page.

During the Conference

Once the conference was underway, space shrank. O'Neill wrote a smaller article describing the first day of the conference entitled *"Countries show support for land-mine ban"*. Southam artist Paul Perreault, on his own initiative, researched the treacherous task of de-mining. The result of his effort was the graphic depiction of "The delicate task of de-mining," which accompanied O'Neill's article and greatly enhanced its profile.

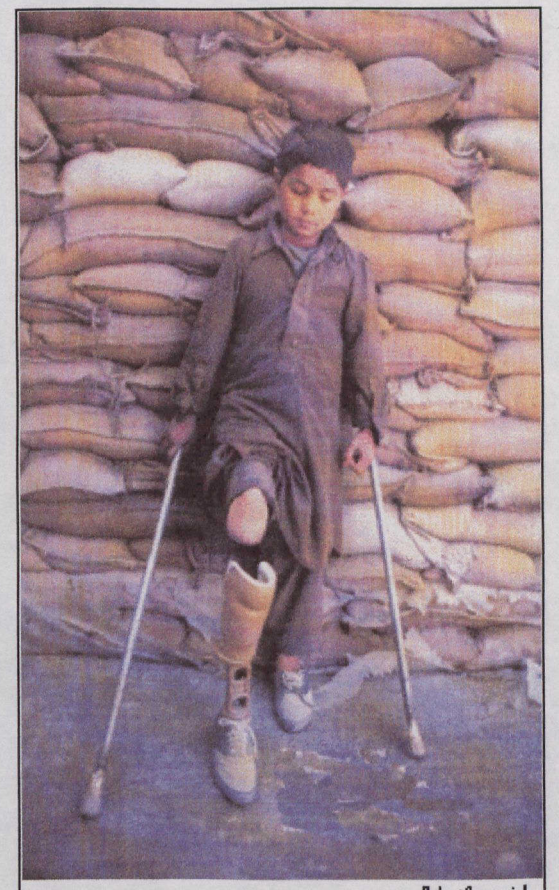
Post-Conference

Everyone knew from the beginning that there would be no agreement on this issue at the Ottawa conference, and therefore, no real story. O'Neill, however, felt that Lloyd Axworthy's challenge to the other nations *was* a story. Her editor disagreed and chose to have the conference's failure to arrive on an agreement as the main focus of her article, *"Countries fail to set deadline on ban"*. Two other reporters covering the conference chose the more optimistic slant.

The awarding of the Nobel Peace Prize, in October 1997, the reluctance of the United States to sign (and subsequent pressure to sign following the prize), the treaty signing in December 1997 and its subsequent implementation and challenges, have ensured continued press coverage on this issue.

World leaders move toward land-mines ban

The Ottawa Citizen
September 29, 1996
Reprinted with permission



Nine-year-old Wazir Hammond tries on his new prosthesis at a Kabul hospital.

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The Canadian military has been busy clearing land mines, particularly since the end of the war against the Soviet-led and backed government in Afghanistan. Female Canadian soldiers helped Muslim refugee women recognize unexploded mines and bombs. Since then, Canada has "de-mined" in Kuwait, Cambodia, Croatia and Bosnia.

While some Foreign Affairs officials question the need for real mines in training, Lt. Col. Normand Levert, involved in the Defence Department's proposal for a $30 million mine clearance system, says that "using live mines in training provides our guys with a whole lot of confidence in themselves."

Public knowledge about the devastation of land mines — ultra cheap weapons that do horrifying damage to innocent civilians for decades after a war has ended — has increased so much in recent months that the federal government has been a bit taken aback by the popularity of next week's conference, to which some countries are coming for fear of missing a politically fashionable event and into which humanitarian groups are throwing their energies.

"It's a popular cause," says Celina Tuttle, co-ordinating non-government activities around the conference. "At a grassroots level, people have become more aware of the issue and interest has just snowballed."

"This is a do-able issue," says Vancouver Liberal MP Herb Dhaliwal, who helped shepherd an endorsement of a ban through the Inter-Parliamentary Union conference last week in China, which abstained from the vote. China, the world's largest supplier of land mines, will not be attending the Ottawa conference.

Crash course

Mines Action Canada and other coalitions of humanitarian policy and development groups have organized an array of events to coincide with the conference, providing a kind of crash course on landmines, which:

- Kill an estimated 10,000 people each year.
- Have left an estimated quarter of a million people disabled.
- And have turned huge swathes of agricultural land into "no man's land" in Cambodia, Angola, Mozambique, Bosnia, Croatia and many other countries.

While a plastic land mine that can last for decades, if not centuries, can be purchased for as little as $3, the cost of removal can reach into the thousands of dollars. And survivors need thousands of dollars worth of surgery and prosthetic care.

International Red Cross official Roberta Walker says land mines increase the cost of delivering food and medical aid by hundreds of times because planes have to be used. Trucks would be blown up. "And this is rather gross, but a land mine victim needs a lot more blood than a victim of a gunshot wound."

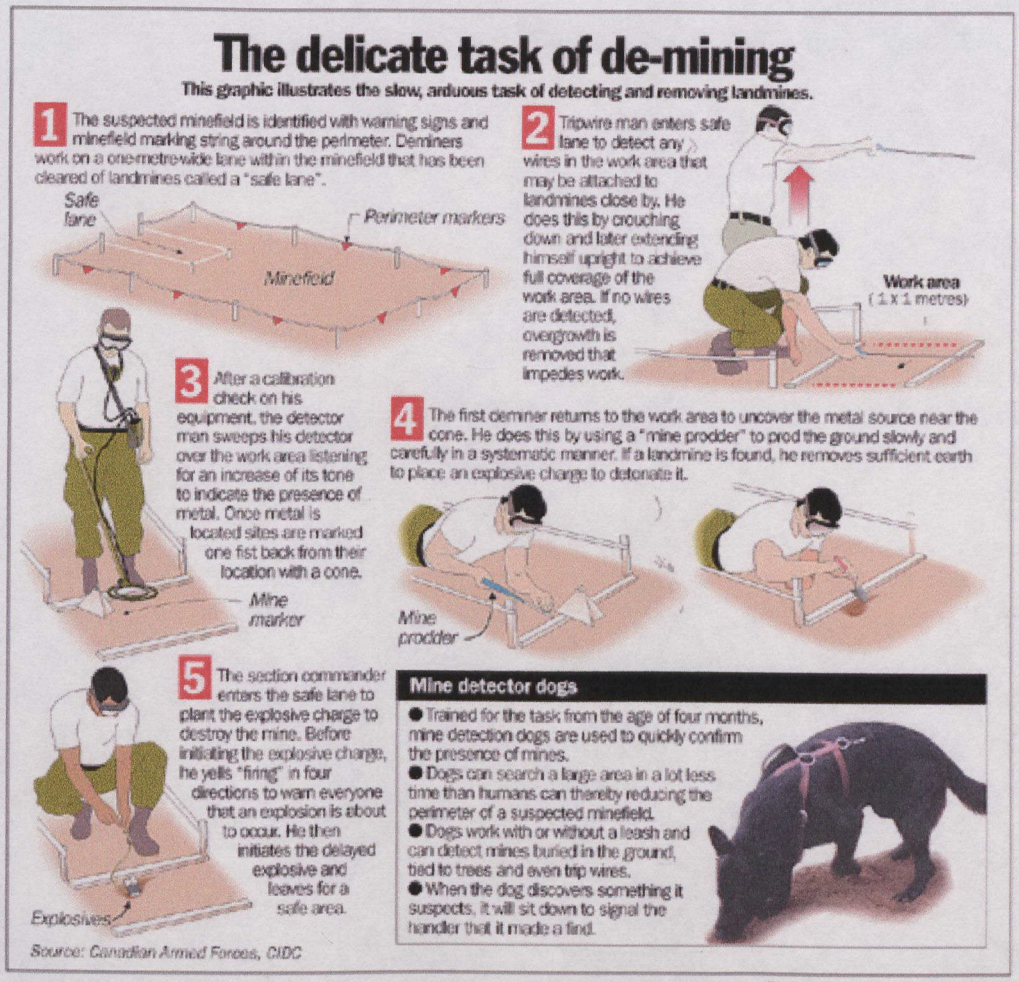
There are an estimated 110 million anti-personnel land mines laid in 69 countries and about as many in stockpiles around the world, with production totaling about five million annually. Italy, another major producer, was expected to announce a ban pledge before the conference.

"A ban is only the beginning," says Linda Tripp of World Vision Canada. Government officials suggest Canada will reconsider its policy if and when there is a global ban treaty to sign — one of the aims of the conference.

Even when that day comes, experts note that guerrilla groups and unofficial armies won't feel bound by such treaties any more than they feel bound by the Geneva Convention rules of war that armies flout by using land

mines.

The gap between the theory and practice of existing international law — Geneva Convention rules barring attacks on civilians and banning methods of war that cause unnecessary suffering — is a point that will be made at the conference by Cornelio Sommaruga, president of the International Committee of the Red Cross.



PAUL PERREAULT/Southam Newspapers

Countries show support for land-mine ban

By Juliet O'Neill
Foreign affairs writer for The Ottawa Citizen

Almost 50 countries declared support Thursday for a global ban on anti-personnel land mines, in a stunning display of enthusiasm for a proposal dismissed as "outrageous and far-fetched" just two years ago.

But the Ottawa conference, at which delegations from country after country endorsed a ban and boasted of unilateral steps toward land mines disarmament, appears headed towards disagreement on the how and when of negotiating a global ban treaty.

Chris Moon, a former British soldier maimed in a land mine explosion in Mozambique 18 months ago and a leader of the International Campaign to Ban Land Mines, challenged the governments to negotiate a treaty ban by the year 2000 instead of relegating their pledges to "the diplomatic disarmament dustbin."

U.S. Senator Patrick Leahy, a leading politician in the ban campaign who tells of Cambodians clearing their land mines "an arm and a leg at a time," told a news conference he would love to return to Washington with the year 2000 target for Congress, even if the U.S. government isn't prepared to meet the commitment. "I think 2000 is do-able and wise," he said.

A U.S. government delegation member said that the United States is not ready to agree to target 2000. And conference chairman Ralph Lysyshyn, Canada's disarmament director, conceded that "the people around the table aren't ready to set a timetable."

Nor did some key countries agree with Canada's proposal for a "free-standing" treaty negotiation outside the traditional, permanent U.N. forum of the conventional weapons disarmament-by-consensus process in Geneva.

Canada's position is that if 50 or 60 countries sign on to a global ban treaty quickly, "it is worth having," Lysyshyn said.

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Land Mine Conference

Countries fail to set deadline on ban

Canada disappointed, Axworthy plans to urge treaty by next year

The Ottawa Citizen
Section A2, Sunday October 6, 1996
Reprinted with permission

By Juliet O'Neill
Foreign affairs correspondent for The Ottawa Citizen

Fifty countries issued a declaration calling for "the earliest possible conclusion" of a treaty banning anti-personnel land mines Saturday, but they failed at an Ottawa conference to agree on a deadline or a negotiating forum.

Defying such countries as the United States, which says it isn't ready to commit to a deadline, Foreign Affairs Minister Lloyd Axworthy, host of the conference, attempted to salvage the outcome by challenging the countries to return to Canada in December 1997 to sign a treaty ban that would come into effect in the year 2000.

Axworthy won sustained applause, over-the-top praise and a standing ovation from many delegations when he made the surprise announcement that he would write the foreign ministers of all 50 countries asking them to sign a ban treaty in 14 months.

However, he had not consulted delegates in advance about the proposal and could not say at a news conference how many countries were unofficially backing the idea or how many he expected would sign during a first round.

Half a dozen countries had been singled out at the conference for defying convention and unilaterally banning the mines altogether — Germany, Sweden, Belgium, Norway, Germany, the Philippines, Switzerland and Austria. Austria circulated draft treaty language at the conference. About 40 countries have called for an immediate ban and dozens, including Canada, have taken partial measures, unilaterally banning mine exports, halting production and destroying some stockpiles. Canada has had a moratorium on production, exports and use since January and is reducing a stockpile of 90,000 by two-thirds.

"I am convinced that we cannot wait for a universal treaty," Axworthy told the delegates. "I am convinced that we can start now, even though we may have to proceed with a treaty that does not, in the first instance, include all of the states of the world. ...The challenge is to the governments assembled here to put our rhetoric into action."

The Canadian proposal got the telephone blessing of United Nations Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali and praise at the conference from Cornelio Sommaruga, president of the International Committee of the Red Cross, and from Jody Williams, leader of the 650-member coalition of non-government organizations waging an international campaign to ban land mines.

Sommaruga declared the conference "the beginning of the end of anti-personnel land mines" and Williams told the delegates that Axworthy's challenge showed courage, leadership, vision and "true

global leadership."

The cheap weapons kill someone every 20 minutes somewhere in the world and have put huge swathes of farmland out of commission in Cambodia, Angola, Mozambique, Bosnia and many other countries.

There are an estimated 110 million land mines in 69 countries — the sinister legacy of dozens of armed conflicts that kill and maim civilians decades after wars end.

NEWS:

NOT JUST BLACK & WHITE

News Judgment

Trying to define what constitutes news is a delicate business. Some of the key factors include:

- **Impact:** Is the only factory in town closing down? That has a bigger impact than two people being laid off, so it's bigger news. A disaster is big news because of its impact, leaving people hurt and homeless.
- **Conflict:** A demonstration for animal rights in which people peacefully march and chant slogans is not a major news story. But if a confrontation develops between the protesters and a fur coat merchant, and someone gets hurt, it becomes a major story because the level of conflict has increased.
- **Prominence:** Are celebrities or politicians involved in a story? If so, it's a bigger story. A failed marriage in the Royal Family is a big headline around the world, but the same problems, if they happened to your next-door neighbour, wouldn't even make the local paper.
- **Proximity:** If your newspaper is in Timmins, Ontario, and a homeless person freezes to death on Timmins' main street one winter night, that's big news. But if your newspaper is in Whitehorse, Yukon, you are not as interested in a death in Timmins, because it isn't close to your readers.
- **Freshness:** News has a short shelf life. If a development happened an hour before the paper's deadline, it's bigger news than if it's 24 hours old.
- **Novelty:** There's a saying that "if a dog bites a man it isn't news, but if a man bites a dog, that's news." Human interest: Related to novelty. Stories about the 96-year-old who swims in the ocean every morning, winter and summer, or about the family with 20 foster children and how they cope, are of interest to readers.

These factors are all a part of news judgment.

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TO: US Campaign
FR: Jill Greenberg

Here is a not-so-complimentary article from Sunday's New York Times. Please see Caleb's note below regarding any letters you may want to send in response. Thanks.

Dear US Campaign Members:
Tim Rieser of Sen. Leahy's staff has asked me if campaigners could hold off from submitting letters or articles to the New York Times in response to today's (Sunday) article that gives such credence to US demands for exceptions to the Ottawa Treaty. He wants to make sure that the best response from the best possible source is what is provided to the NYT. I agree. Hope we can all wait a couple of days and see what he can put together. Best and congratulations for all the great work that made Clinton reverse course a bit and get involved in the Ottawa process.
Caleb Rossiter,
Demilitarization for Democracy

August 24, 1997

One Step at a Time: Why Washington Likes Land Mines

By STEVEN LEE MYERS

WASHINGTON-The problem with land mines, for those who would like to banish them, is that they work so well. They are cheap, deadly and durable. They are also indiscriminate. This year in Egypt a girl was killed by a mine apparently buried in the desert by Rommel's Afrika Korps in 1942.

Last week, under growing diplomatic pressure, the Clinton administration reversed itself and said the United States would at last take part in negotiations to ban the use of anti-personnel mines, joining more than 100 countries expected to gather in Ottawa in December to sign a ban treaty.

The reversal was hailed, but the administration went on to insist that it would not sign unless the treaty included two exemptions-one geographic, one technological-allowing the continued use of some mines.

At the urging of Pentagon strategists, the United States wants to keep using some one million of the most common kind of land mines to protect South Korea from an invasion by North Korea along the world's tensest, most heavily fortified border. It also wants to exempt a relatively new "smart" type of mine designed to destroy tanks.

The administration's position underscored the fact that for all their stigmatization as brutal, random weapons as strategically and morally obsolete as poison gas, land mines still have fiendishly effective purposes-even for the world's best equipped and most advanced military.

"The price of giving up land mines is thousands of lives," a senior administration official said bluntly.

Supporters of a ban question the Pentagon's justifications. They say the administration's position could stall or even scuttle the treaty negotiations by inviting other countries to seek their own exemptions.

"The diplomatic reality is that the U.S. mines have to go if the other countries are going to give up theirs," said Caleb S. Rossiter, director of Demilitarization for Democracy, an advocacy group in Washington that strongly supports a ban.

Anywhere from 80 million to 110 million land mines are buried in 68 nations, from Angola to Bosnia, Nicaragua to Cambodia. Egypt has the most, with an estimated 23 million, followed by Iran, with 16 million, Angola, with 12 million, and China, Iraq and Afghanistan, with 10 million each.

Land mines are estimated to kill or maim thousands of people a year, mostly civilians, long after the wars in which they were planted ended. And it is their random violence that gives impetus to the campaign to ban them. Given little chance of success when a handful of humanitarian groups began it a few years ago, the campaign has now attracted support from dozens of
governments, from groups like the Vietnam Veterans of America, and from celebrities including the Princess of Wales, Diana.

The controversy over the administration's position has obscured the fact that the United States, by law, stopped exporting land mines in 1992, and since last year has forsworn

the use of older land mines that, unlike "smart" mines, do not self-destruct after a certain period.

The United States now deploys the older mines only around its base at Guantanamo Bay in Cuba (where they are being removed) and in South Korea.

In the case of Korea, Pentagon strategists say anti-personnel mines are vital to thwarting any invasion by the 900,000 North Korean troops massed along the demilitarized zone.

And not in the way that might seem obvious, by laying a mine field deadly enough to discourage a frontal assault. Instead, the mines protect concrete anti-tank barriers on the first line of defense from North Korean demolition teams.

The Pentagon insists that without the mines the North Koreans might reach South Korea's capital, Seoul, before being beaten back. And the defense of South Korea is not just a U.S. mission, but a U.N. mandate, as administration officials noted in the face of criticism. Canada, the leader of the effort to draft a treaty banning the production, stockpiling and deployment of anti-personnel mines, would be called upon to fight, too.

Robert L. Cowles, director of the Pentagon's Office of De-Mining and Anti-Personnel Land Mine Policy, said Korea's unique circumstances qualified it for an exemption and would not automatically lead other countries to seek exemptions.

"Korea is a throwback," he said. "There's no place like it in the world."

At a time when the United States depends on lighter, more mobile forces to defend its interests around the world, the Pentagon has also concluded that it cannot do without the "smart" anti-tank mines. Under the treaty being considered, those mines would be banned because they incorporate anti-personnel mines, mainly to keep soldiers, who don't weigh enough to trigger the
anti-tank mines, from simply lifting them out of tanks' way.

These mines had their first test in battle against Iraq's armored divisions during the Persian Gulf war in 1991 and, according to Pentagon officials, proved devastatingly effective. "We dropped them behind the Iraqi units," one said. "When they realized they were surrounded, they surrendered, saving not only American lives but Iraqi lives as well."

Critics dispute these claims, saying the United States is using

exemptions as excuses for delay. Meanwhile, they say, U.S. soldiers could face mines overseas, as is happening in Bosnia.

"They're always going to be able to make an argument for using land mines," said Timothy Rieser, a spokesman for Sen. Patrick Leahy, D-Vt., who has led the fight in Congress against mines. "But we also have a huge amount to gain here. They are used against us."

# # # #

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1997: YEAR OF THE INTERNATIONAL BAN
BAN 'EM NOW- IT IS TIME FOR THE US TO GET
ON BOARD- 97 OTHER COUNTRIES HAVE DONE IT!
GET WITH THE PROGRAM PRESIDENT CLINTON!

TO: US Campaign
FR: Jill Greenberg
August 26, 1997

In case any of you did not see this today, the *New York Times* ran a great editorial.

Stop Stalling on Land Mines

This month the Clinton Administration rightly though belatedly decided to join more than 100 other nations working to adopt a draft treaty banning anti-personnel land mines. Regrettably, the Administration still insists on pressing for two Pentagon-sponsored exceptions that are likely not only to delay this Canadian-led initiative but, worse, to undermine the larger goal of drawing holdouts like Russia and China into a worldwide treaty.

Land mines were the leading cause of American military casualties in the Vietnam War. They also kill tens of thousands of civilians every year in places like Cambodia, Angola and Bosnia, and continue to kill and maim for years after the wars they were used in have ended. Simple to design and cheap to produce, they are poor countries' weapon of choice against sophisticated military powers like the United States. Veterans groups, human rights organizations and Vietnam veterans now serving in Congress helped persuade the Administration to join the Canadian effort.

Some important military powers, like Russia and China, are not taking part in these draft treaty negotiations. For most of this year, these and other holdouts have stymied a parallel attempt to negotiate a worldwide ban on land mines through the United Nations. The goal of the Canadian initiative is to create powerful moral pressure on these countries to drop their resistance.

Washington's negotiators are burdened by the Pentagon's insistence on two exceptions that could sabotage efforts to negotiate a worldwide treaty. One would permit continued American use of mines on the Korean peninsula. The other would create a loophole for anti-personnel mines sown in

conjunction with anti-tank mines.

President Clinton should reject both of these demands. Achieving an effective global mine treaty is a prime American interest. Preventing needless military and civilian casualties should take precedence over sparing the Pentagon the trouble of adjusting its contingency plans. These plans can be modified to conform to a land mine ban without compromising American security.

The case for a Korean exception is based on longstanding American plans to use land mines to slow a North Korean ground invasion of the South. Yet military analysts, including a former commander of United States troops in South Korea, Gen. James Hollingsworth, now argue that such use would be "a game plan for disaster," leading to unnecessary casualties among American troops and South Korean civilians.

The other exception the Pentagon wants would expand a provision in the present draft treaty that allows the deployment of some anti-personnel mines, under carefully circumscribed provisions, to protect anti-tank mines against tampering. Washington wants this loophole expanded so that it can continue to use an existing weapons system that airdrops anti-tank and anti-personnel mines together. The better solution would be to design new combination mining systems that do not require renegotiating the draft treaty.

If the United States persists in demanding the two exceptions, other countries will have no trouble finding comparable loopholes of their own. The coalition of veterans, activists and legislators that helped bring the Administration this far should sustain its efforts until Mr. Clinton stands up to the Pentagon's needless demands. The chance to save so many lives should not be further delayed.

# # # #

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