The University of Western Ontario

Canada and the World: 2009 and Beyond



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Canada and the World: 2009

The world has fundamentally changed since Canada's last foreign policy review. In light of the current international environment, it is necessary for Canadian foreign policy to be reassessed. Recent events indicate that international affairs are changing, and consequently Canada needs to adapt. The global economic downturn has confirmed our interdependence on other states, while at the same time exerting pressure to protect national interests. The Obama administration's mantra of change and some of its early decisions make it apparent that our close neighbour and most important ally is pursuing a new path in the international system. This realignment presents challenges and opportunities for Canada to explore. Currently the international community is in a state of transition and dislocation. With new centers of power emerging, the dynamic of the international system is more complex than the one we knew during the Cold War. Emerging new leaders on the international stage—such as China, India and Brazil—also compel a reconsideration of Canadian policies, alliances and strategies as their influence could affect us in the future. The longstanding commitment-capability gap in Canadian foreign policy needs to be reconciled. This review is thus an opportunity to re-evaluate our role in the international community and determine the areas in which we can make effective contributions.

Canadian foreign policy is a means through which Canadian values, principles, and ideals are promoted abroad. Respect for democracy, and the protection of human rights and freedoms are beliefs that are central to our national identity. We seek to project our principles internationally rather than impose them. Canada also espouses and respects policies of good governance, rule of law, peace and tolerance. We have been a forerunner in advocating a global consensus to protect the rights and dignity of all peoples. Multilateralism is a cornerstone of Canadian values. For this reason the government continues to support international cooperation with established organizations such as the United Nations, and new organizations like the G20. The growing interdependence of states is a source of vulnerability, but also of security and prosperity. The stability and security of every nation is as vital to our interests as it is to theirs. Therefore, there is no need to reconcile idealist, humanitarian objectives with realist, pragmatic goals because both are served through the promotion of our Canadian values and interests abroad.

So what is Canada's role in the international system? While Canada today is actively involved in world affairs, our resources are overstretched, which is a major reason why Canada is faced with a commitment-credibility gap. This policy review is an attempt to harmonize what is desirable with what is attainable. While the domestic issues we currently face will remain a priority, it is time to reassess Canada's foreign policy objectives. Canada will work through different avenues to promote our values while respecting the cultural differences of other nations. We promote peace through conflict prevention, with the aim of limiting inter and intra state conflicts, alleviating human suffering, and preventing environmental degradation. While these foreign policy aims may not necessarily be accomplished immediately, they are an indication of where we would like to go in the future.

Accomplishing these goals requires that we identify and analyze the contemporary challenges that we face domestically and internationally. Our main areas of focus include:

Economic Prosperity, the Environment, and Security. The section on economic prosperity addresses the issues created as a result of the current economic crisis and discusses the role that Canada will play. The section on the environment will focus on how to combat the environmental crisis the world is facing today. Increasing Canada's focus on environmentalism represents an important shift in priorities for Canadian foreign policy. The steps being taken to promote sustainable development will affect not only the lives of Canadians today, but will also improve the quality of life for future generations. The security section will focus on the on-going priority of Canadian national security, which is of the utmost importance because it involves ensuring the safety and well being of Canadian citizens. We acknowledge that the security of individuals within states has an impact on the stability of relationships between states. A secure international system will ensure a safer world, and thus, a safer Canada. Therefore, human security is also an inseparable aspect of international security. While recognizing that each of these subjects is complex and nuanced in its own right, none of these issues exist or function independently of one another. There are numerous ways in which Economic Prosperity, Environmental Sustainability, and Security are interconnected. We have included crosscutting themes to highlight this interdependence, and the need for balance that goes with it.

1.0 Economic Strategy

Introduction

Economic prosperity is fundamentally important to the future of Canada because it enables individuals within our country to achieve their full potential. The success of each individual in our nation contributes to the success of our country as a whole. Economic prosperity will underpin a high standard of living in Canada and keep our country relevant in a rapidly changing international environment. Increasing Canadian economic prosperity will improve the quality of life of Canadian citizens, and ensure that Canada has the resources available to uphold our commitments abroad. Achieving this will require an increase in international trade and investment through the establishment of new trade agreements abroad. The maintenance of a strong Canada-US trade relationship will also be integral to the future of Canada's economic prosperity. International investment is important not only for our prosperity but also for Canadian security. Economic opportunities in other regions of the world contribute to the improvement of human security, which is important for the stability of the international system. In light of the current global recession, it is important for Canada to take this opportunity to play a strong role in the restructuring of the international economic system. Through these initiatives we hope to improve Canadian economic security in the short term and ensure opportunities for future generations.

1.2 Economic Outlook for Canada 2009

As a result of the current international economic crisis, 2009 is going to be a challenging year. While Canada's system of controls has left us in relatively good shape overall, the steepness of the economic downturn has impeded Canada's trade performance significantly. According to the 2009 Canadian Economic Outlook, GDP is expected to contract by 0.5 percent in 2009 in contrast to the growth rates of 3.1 and 2.7 percent in 2006 and 2007 respectively. Exports have also decreased steadily from the end of 2008 to the present (Figures 1 & 2). The economic future is thus uncertain, and businesses are going to have to exercise caution because of uncertainty and volatility. Given the instability of these times, it is critical that the Canadian government responds with a sense of urgency to counter the crisis.

There are going to be a series of structural adjustments in response to the predicament we currently face. The ineffectiveness of established institutions must be addressed and appropriate reforms must be made in order to counter the threat these weak institution pose to the global economy. By structural adjustments, we are referring to measures taken by the Canadian government to help the economy to recover, and hopefully give individuals and companies the best chance to be successful. A clear example of this is the recognition that we are going to have to spend to get past this crisis. Deficits in its most recent budget aimed at addressing these issues should include:

- Enhancing federal programs that provide direct support to the unemployed.
- Providing increased financial support to low-income Canadians using existing tax based programs
- Funding programs for targeted workers who are directly affected by the slowdown.
- Ensuring that Canadian firms have access to credit.

Facing the Current Recession

Deficits are not detrimental at times like this as the consequences of inaction would result in further harm. This is also an opportune time to invest in alternate sources of energy that will hopefully reduce our dependence on the export of oil. However, while this diversification is important, it is necessary that we continue to support those industries that are vital to our current prosperity.

Internationally, we must continue to cooperate with our neighbours to the south. The recent panic over the implications of the "Buy America" clause in the bailout bill illustrates how invested we are in our neighbours to the south. While President Obama has indicated that Canada will be exempt from the protectionist measures, it is important to remember that our economic policy moves in tandem with that of the U.S. Energy will be looked at differently. Obama's campaign focussed to a certain extent on the environment and global responsibility. Thus, the oil sands will be approached differently. More generally, as the U.S declines, we will also experience declines in those parts of the country most linked to American markets. For instance those provinces that are more export-oriented and manufacturing-intensive (such as Ontario and Quebec) will be hardest hit due to the significant reduction in demand from the U.S.

Overall however, while the economy has been shaken, it still functions. Canada has room to manoeuvre and deal with the recession effectively due to its fiscal responsibility over the past decade. Projections have forecasted recovery taking anywhere from 2 – 5 years. While our fate is dependent largely on the actions of the U.S., history indicates that the economic relationship between the two countries will remain favourable, especially in times such as these. Protectionism is a threat to the recovery of the global economic system that Canada must actively try to avoid both domestically and within the international system. According to the OECD, protectionism means that consumers pay more, and that choice becomes more limited. While it may benefit certain sectors of an individual country's economy, the global market suffers as a whole because of it. Canada can work to undermine protectionism by making use of the economic forums that are currently in place by:

- Restarting trade talks, such as the Doha round, are a vital part of accomplishing this goal.
- Continuing to support Canadian individuals and business.

• Continuing to provide support for investment in other regions of the world, particularly markets in Asia and Europe, as diversification, openness and support will be the keys to weathering this economic storm.

Figure 1: Value of Canadian Exports and Imports in billions (CAD)

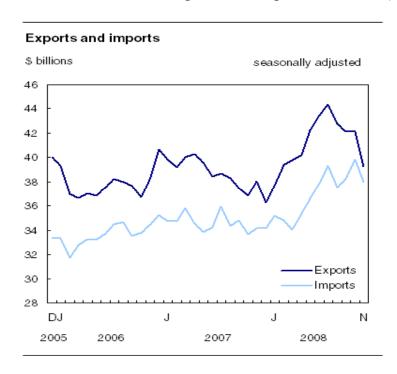
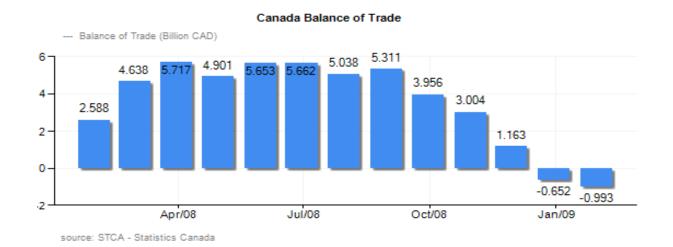


Figure 2: Canada's Balance of Trade in billions (CAD)



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1.2 Trade

The US Market

The importance of the Canada-US trade relationship cannot be overstated. In 2008, \$313.1 billion (80%) of Canada's exports went to the US. This included motor vehicles and spare parts, crude petroleum and natural gas, forest products, agricultural products, metals, industrial machinery, and aircraft. Canada's imports from the US were valued at \$248.9 billion (65%), and included motor vehicles and spare parts, industrial and electrical machinery, plastics, computers, chemicals, petroleum products and natural gas, and agricultural products. The relationship between Canada and the US is the closest and most extensive in the world. \$1.5 billion worth of goods cross the border each day.

Protectionism in the US is a major issue and threat to Canada's economic interests. If the US begins to pursue protectionism aggressively, a cycle of retaliation could begin that will severely hinder world trade, and undermine efforts to end the global economic crisis. History has shown us that the protectionist route will create an even longer recession, and this will make recovery that much more difficult. Canada must closely monitor developments and use all available resources to respond effectively to protectionist manoeuvre taken by any state that could impact international trade.

Crosscutting Issue: Canadian-American Relations

Economic Prosperity and National Security

The relationship between economic activity and national security do not need to compete, but can exist harmoniously. Globally, the tremendous trade which takes place between our two nations remains a remarkable example of the enduring cooperation between two states - generating about one million dollars a minute. In 2008, it was estimated that cross border trade supported approximately 7.1 million jobs in the United States. Canada is also the single largest exporter to 35 of the 50 American states. This deep and mutually beneficial economic integration is facilitated by continuing to have a safe and secure border. The Canadian government believes that we have been working to ensure safe trade through various joint programs that promotes cooperation between businesses and governments.

For Canada, the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) has provided an opportunity for economic growth and a rising standard of living. Strengthening trade and investment throughout North America has been a solid foundation for building Canada's

prosperity and will continue to do so. NAFTA has liberalized rules in several areas that include agriculture, services, energy, financial services, investment, and government procurement. Since 1994, trade between Canada and the US has grown by 265%. The Obama administration has stated that it does not plan to renegotiate NAFTA. Canadians must continue to recognize and trust that a strong, modern, and flexible NAFTA is important for the continent to maintain its competitiveness in a global marketplace. Although the next few years will present challenges to international trade, Canada will work with its NAFTA partners to continue to reduce the costs of trade within the region, and improve the overall competiveness of North America worldwide

400000 350000 250000 150000 100000 50000 US Rest UK Japan China India of EU

Figure 3: Value of trade in millions (C \$) with Canadian partners, 2008

The Asian Market

Asia has been growing economically for many years. It is home to roughly two-thirds of the world's population and approximately 40% of the world's trade. It is an important region for Canadian businesses because of the long-term potential that lies within it as well as changing patterns in world trade. China, India, Japan, and South Korea are the largest markets in the region today. It is crucial for Canada to continue to introduce measures (listed below) that will enhance trade between these states. Fully maximizing economic opportunities in Asia gives Canada more options in an interconnected global marketplace.

Canada's trade policy in Asia must become more focused on the region, more aggressive in approach and more innovative in application. This can be achieved by:

- Increasing market share. Today, Canada's share of the Asian market is two-thirds what it was ten years ago due to losses to new rivals and competitors. Canada's trade has not kept up with the pace of Asia's growth and the export activities of other countries
- Seeking free trade agreements with Asian countries (listed below are pending priority agreements with Asian states)
- Enhancing awareness of Asian opportunities, and the interest of Canadian businesses in the region
- Focusing on changing Canada's perception within Asia. Identify future leaders, and use new strategies to change existing impressions.

The American market has been, and will continue to be the centre of focus for Canadian businesses. Although the import/export statistics support this, the Government of Canada recognizes that Asia is important for expanding economic opportunities. This will work to guarantee that Canada is not left behind as parts of the world continue to grow. One way to do this is to seek free trade agreements with Asian states. Canada has proven that it can be engaged in bilateral discussions on issues of trade. Currently, Canada is in the process of concluding free-trade negotiations with India, Japan, and South Korea. Also, Canada is working towards creating a free-trade agreement with Indonesia, Singapore, and Vietnam. These agreements will not shift Canada's trade patterns in the short term. The quantity of trade will still be a relatively small percentage of Canada's overall amount. The long-term value lies in the development of these states that will work to increase standards of living. Although the benefits will not be felt immediately, Canadians will gain in the long run. Canada's top 10 exports to these Asian markets have been wood pulp, nickel, ores, mineral fuels, oil seeds, boilers, cereals, wood, electrical machinery, and meat.

The Government of Canada must continue to help Canadian businesses that are new to Asian markets to enable them to successfully penetrate these markets. A major problem is that accessing markets in Asia involves long-term commitments that many small Canadian businesses are unable to undertake. These businesses are reluctant to invest in Asia because doing business there is costly and success takes time. New methods of increasing cooperation amongst businesses on both sides of the Pacific are being considered to help facilitate change. Asia's long-term economic outlook is strong. Canada's economic relationship with Asia is an investment that will have long-term benefits, but measures must be taken now to allow this to happen.

The key Asian markets that Canada will be targeting are:

1. China: As one of the largest economies in the world with a population of over a billion, China has tremendous potential as a trade partner because of the large size of

their market. With an Air Services Agreement, and Canada-China Agreement for Scientific and Technological Cooperation already in place, Canada is working towards a bilateral agreement on foreign investment that will open new doors for Canadian companies.

2. India: With one of the fastest growing economies in the world, India is projected to be the world's third largest economy by 2050. A Canada-India Joint Statement, a Canada-India Agreement for Scientific and Technological Cooperation, and a Foreign Investment Promotion and Protection Agreement have already been concluded. Canada must take advantage of its multi-ethnic society to build stronger trade links with these states. Although the Canadian government has recently declared the Americas to be a priority, it is imperative that Canada continue to invest in the Asia-Pacific.

The Latin American Market

A major objective of the Canadian government is to re-engage in the Americas in order to create a secure and prosperous Canada within a hemisphere of increasing stability and opportunity. The Americas represent a substantial amount of trade and investment for Canada with a vast number of opportunities for Canadian businesses. Canada is the third-largest investor in the region and a major player in the mining industry. Existing free-trade agreements in Mexico, Chile, and Costa Rica have been successful in increasing trade and investment. These free-trade agreements are also important because of the labour and environmental agreements that accompany them, which ensure that core Canadian labour and environmental standards are met

The most recent free-trade agreements that have been negotiated in the Americas were with Colombia and Peru in 2008. The Canada-Colombia FTA was signed on November 21, 2008. In 2007, trade between Canada and Colombia totalled more than \$1.1 billion. Colombia is a strategic destination for Canadian direct investments including mining, oil exploration, printing and education. This FTA will stimulate the growth of our commercial relationship with Colombia and help Canadian businesses seeking preferential market access in Colombia. The FTA will also promote a more stable and predictable investment environment in Colombia. In addition to the FTA three other deals have been signed: the Labour Cooperation Agreement, to ensure the enforcement of labour standards; the Agreement on the Environment, to ensure the enforcement of environmental standards; and the Double Taxation Convention, to eliminate double taxation for individuals and companies from one country doing business or earning income in the other.

The Canada-Panama FTA was signed in 2008. Trade in 2007 with Peru represented \$2.4 billion dollars, and \$1.8 billion in Canadian direct investment. This agreement will remove

trade barriers that limit Canadian participation in the Peruvian market or make our exports less competitive, enhance market access for Canadian service providers such as mining, energy, and professional services, and create a secure and predictable environment for investors.

Currently, free-trade negotiations are pending with Panama, Dominican Republic, CARICOM, and the Central American Four, which includes El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras, and Nicaragua. It is important for the Canadian government to continue with the establishment of these agreements in order to live up to its commitment to re-engage within the Americas, to increase trade and investment, and to ensure that Canadian labour and environmental standards are respected. It also provides Canada with a greater opportunity to influence developments in security, democracy, human rights, and the rule of law in the Americas. Pursuing economic policies that promote trade diversification will help to deter the negative effects of protectionism and will expand our possibilities for economic growth.

The European Market

The most recent development in trade relations in Europe occurred in 2008 when a free trade agreement was signed with the European Free Trade Association (Iceland, Liechtenstein, Norway, and Switzerland). This group represents Canada's fifth-largest export destination. This is the first free-trade agreement developed with European countries and will benefit Canadian industry by eliminating or reducing tariffs on a wide variety of exports, particularly agricultural products. It will enable Canadian companies to strategically tap into the EFTA markets and indirectly into markets in the European Union. This is an important step towards diversifying Canada's trading partners and creating conditions that facilitate an increase in international trade.

Despite this advancement in Canada-European trade relations, the *most* important initiative that the Canadian government should be actively pursuing is the development of a comprehensive economic agreement with the European Union. The EU is Canada's second most important partner for trade and investment. Figure 4-5 demonstrates the level of Canada's trade and investment with the EU. Figure 6 demonstrates average rates of growth with our top EU trading partners over the last 5 years. For this reason the key priority for Canadian trade within Europe should be:

• Working towards furthering the development of a comprehensive Canada-EU trade agreement.

Figure 4: Bilateral Merchandise Trade with the EU

	2008 (C \$ billions)	% Change from previous year
Canadian exports to the EU	36.1	+ 3.5
Canadian imports from the EU	54.0	+ 9.5

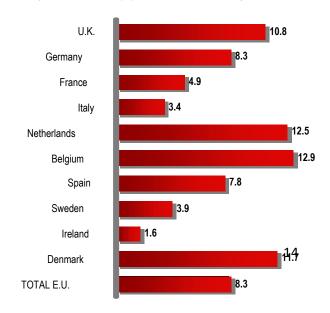
Figure 5: Cumulative Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) with the EU

	2007 (end of year, C \$ billions)	% Change from previous year
Canadian FDI in the EU	122.8	- 5.1%
FDI in Canada from the EU	139.1	+ 27.4%

Figure 6: Average Annual Trade Growth with Top E.U. Trade Partners

Canada's Trade with the E.U., 2003-2008

Average Annual Growth (%) of the Top* E.U. Trading Countries



1.3 Foreign Investment

Increasing Canadian foreign investment is essential to ensure that Canada remains competitive in today's global economy. Foreign investment increases Canada's competitiveness by revitalizing domestic industry and increasing the flow of goods and services between Canada and its trading partners. It is important to encourage Canadian companies to take advantage of foreign markets. It is also important to provide foreign companies with incentives to invest in Canada, to ensure that the economy remains strong. Foreign investment is an important platform through which Canadian values and interests, such as freedom, democracy, human rights, and the rule of law, can be promoted abroad. Investment agreements help to create a stable, transparent, and predictable climate for Canadian companies and individuals investing abroad.

Foreign Investment Promotion and Protection Agreements (FIPAs) help to ensure investment liberalization. Since 1990, twenty-three of these agreements have been brought into force around the world. These bilateral agreements are designed to protect and promote foreign investment through the establishment of legally binding rights and obligations.

Currently Canada is negotiating FIPAs with Bahrain, China, India, Indonesia, Jordan, Kuwait, Madagascar, Mongolia, Tanzania, Tunisia, and Vietnam. The agreements with China, India, Indonesia and Vietnam in particular demonstrate the government's commitment to expand Canadian influence into emerging markets. The major initiatives that should be undertaken with regards to foreign investment agreements are to:

- Create new investment agreements throughout the Americas, which is a region Canada is committed to reengaging in.
- Re-evaluate and renegotiate existing agreements that may be outdated and ineffective given the current economic climate.

In order to promote foreign companies investing in Canada, a proposal has been put forth to amend the Investment Canada Act. This amendment will mean that foreign takeovers by companies from WTO-member countries will be reviewed only if the enterprise value exceeds one billion dollars, as opposed to the current \$312 million in asset value. This change is being made to increase international investment within Canada, thereby creating jobs, increasing innovation and enhancing productivity. This increase will be phased in over four years and is predicted to help Canada emerge stronger from the recession. While it is important to create conditions to increase foreign investment in Canada, the Canadian government should also design policies to ensure legitimacy and transparency in foreign acquisitions. Canada has a great deal to offer foreign investors due to our proximity to the US market, educated work force, abundant natural resources, and well functioning economic and legal systems. Canadian policy should promote these assets, while also ensuring that regulation of international corporate takeovers is maintained.

1.4 Economic Restructuring

On the international stage there are two strands of focus in response to the global economic crisis, and while these two approaches are different, they are not necessarily at odds with each other. Rather, there is recognition that an effective response requires both of them working in concert. First, there has been a common recognition that the downturn occurred because of risks taken within the international community. As a result, there is need to restructure world economic institutions, and adjustments need to be made to financial regulation. Organizations such as the G8 and G20 have engaged in measures designed to address short-term concerns and long term goals. Canada should participate actively in such efforts as they have a stake in the recovery of the world system as a whole. Additionally, participation in the restructuring of the global system can provide opportunities for Canadian trade with countries that require our resources. Taking an active role will also allow Canada to shape the emerging system in a manner that can benefit it in the short and long terms. This is not to say that Canada's needs transcend those of the international community. Rather, it is valid to realize that would be to the detriment of the country *not* to be a part of a potentially significant alteration in the global economic system. Participation ensures that Canada can voice its needs, concerns, and opinions.

While open and interactive global systems can provide significant opportunities, from which everyone can benefit, it is important to realize that proper management is vital to the long-term survival of the international system. Canada is in a privileged position where we can constructively aid in the world's overall progress. As such, we have an obligation to ensure that the prosperity we enjoy will be available to future generations. This is the essence of Responsible Prosperity. While we may continue to reap the benefits of a system that has been effective for so long, we must also manage the system to ensure that another collapse will not occur, and that people will still have the opportunity to experience a higher quality of life. Again, Canada's role in this is critical. Not only can Canada help to ensure its own long-term security, but it has a lot to offer in terms of financial expertise and experience.

2.0 Environment Section

Today the world is faced with one of the gravest problems of our time - the environmental crisis. Since the 1980s there has been a growing awareness of the degrading environmental situation in Canada and abroad. Global warming is having an impact on all human life. The world is interconnected and it is important that states and individuals work together to face this problem. Environmental stability means ensuring adequate resources and achieving environmental conditions so that future generations can prosper. Canada must take an active

stance on the issues, matching the commitments of other global leaders in environmental policy. Sustainable development is the overarching principle behind Canada's environmental concern. Sustainable development means utilizing resources in a manner that aims to meet human needs while preserving the environment for future generations. Canada will focus on the fundamental goal of sustainable development by focusing on three key priorities: finding solutions to the problem of climate change, managing our natural resources, and improving Canada's energy policy.

With the impending expiration of the Kyoto Protocol, Canada will work with neighbouring states on the creation of a new climate change policy. We will cooperate with provincial governments, industries, and trading partners, to better manage our natural resources. Improving sustainable development at home and abroad is essential to the protection of the global environment. As a nation, Canada must move forward with the changing environmental circumstances of our time by standing behind our promises. Canada's strategy will have both an outward and inward focus, and will take a flexible approach by working through multilateral, bilateral, and domestic initiatives.

2.1 Climate Change

Natural systems throughout the world are being highly affected by climate change. The region that is being impacted the most is the Arctic, which will have its first ice free summer in 2040 if changes are not made. Some of the most adverse effects of climate change include: heat waves, severe storms, drought, extreme flooding, and spreading of disease. Many experts and scientists assert that to avoid danger, the increase in the average global temperature should not exceed 2 degrees Celsius. Climate change is not simply an environmental issue: it is a global security threat. What we do in the next 10 to 20 years will have a profound, and possibly irreversible, impact on the global climate. Canada will take an active role in both mitigation and adaptation efforts towards climate change. Canada will also pursue resolute climate change policy action over the next 10 to 15 years. The federal government will work with provincial governments to undertake these efforts both internationally and domestically.

Mitigation

There is an opportunity right now for Canada to forge its own climate change policy within the existing international framework. We face a number of challenges in reducing our greenhouse gas (GHG) emissions. Our northern climate, increasing population, high rate of economic growth, significant regional differences, large industrial sector, and natural resource production create unique challenges for the federal government. Canada will undertake mitigation efforts with an understanding that the cost will account for approximately 2% of the annual GDP.

Multilateral Initiatives

The multilateral initiatives Canada will pursue to combat climate change include:

- Taking an active role in the December 2009 Copenhagen negotiations to create a successor to the Kyoto regime.
- Upholding Canada's global obligations to climate change.
- Developing technological cooperation, whereby Canada will work alongside nations that are more advanced in environmental technology, to share and develop ideas.

True Emissions Reductions

Canada will also be committed to reducing its carbon emissions. Canada will abandon its intensity-based approach to emissions and use real emission reduction targets. NOTE: Intensity-based reductions cannot be integrated into carbon markets because they are set up to buy and sell true reductions. In order to reach emission reduction targets these are a few initiatives the government will pursue:

- The federal government will commit itself to true emission reductions of one quarter of the current levels by 2050.
- Canada will work with the US to develop a shared Cap and Trade Market.
- Canada will implement taxes which discourage greenhouse gas emissions.
- The federal government will use the money from these taxes to help invest in energy efficiency and provide rebates on energy efficient products.

Canada will continue to pursue its commitment to moving away from voluntary efforts to regulate greenhouse gas (GHG) emissions, and work towards developing government mandated regulations. The government will tackle this problem in two ways:

- The federal government will work with businesses to set new targets.
- Over the next 5 to 7 years Canada will establish a Certificate Trading Program, which is
 an industry based program that sets industry standards for renewable energy. The federal
 government will set standards for the percentage of renewable energy that every company
 has to use. A number of renewable energy credits will be allotted to each company,
 which the company can either use up or sell extra credits to other companies that have
 used up their own.

Developing Partnerships

Canada will also be committed to developing specific partnerships to help combat the climate change issue. Canada will work with the United States in particular to develop common energy and GHG strategies. The environmental crisis has created new opportunities for the Canada-US relationship. The federal government will be open to working closely with the US on environmental issues.

Fostering Awareness

Fostering awareness is another key priority for the Canadian government. Some of the initiatives that the government will actively pursue include:

- Providing information and education to provoke understanding and activism among Canadians on the growing environmental crisis. The 2009 Budget will provide \$10 million in 2009/2010 to sustain the governments annual reporting on environmental indicators such as clean air, clean water, and GHG reductions.
- Providing incentives and subsidies to encourage environmentally friendly action. For example, subsidies for the purchase of smart cars and hybrid cars.
- Extending Gas Tax funding to the provinces by adding approximately \$2 billion annually from 2011 to 2014. Gas Tax funding is available to local governments for projects that contribute to environmentally sustainable ventures, particularly cleaner water and air and GHG reductions.

Adaptation

The Canadian government realizes that the serious implications of climate change cannot be ignored. While mitigation efforts will help to minimize the effects of climate change, they will not wholly eliminate them. Canada needs to act promptly and responsibly to both implement and improve adaptive policies at home and abroad.

Domestic Adaptation

The federal government recognizes that adaptation must happen at the local and regional level. We will choose domestic adaptation options based on careful assessment of efficacy, risks, and costs. Some of the domestic adaptation initiatives the government will pursue include:

- Investing money into local governments, municipalities, private businesses, and individuals to manage the impact of climate change.
- Funding on-going climate change research with a focus on the impacts, sensitivity, and adaptive capacity.

- Continuing to work with partners in the academic sphere to improve modeling to project climate change impacts.
- Updating the federal Emergency Preparedness Plans to include potential impacts of climate change and set guidelines for provincial preparedness.

International Adaptation

Canada will not only be responsible for helping to combat the impact of climate change at home, but also around the world. Climate change is affecting a growing number of people, especially in developing countries. Climate change enhances the environmental insecurity of people in the developing world. Under-development and poverty are compounded by environmental change, which increases a country's vulnerability. Climate change will increase the risk of people being forced to abandon their home region due to the collapse of their natural support systems. This poses a number of security risks in the global environment.

Most developing nations do not have the capacity to implement effective adaptive measures, because they lack the necessary skills and funding. In order to aid these countries in the fight against climate change the Canadian government will pursue the following initiatives:

Finance

- Canada will remain committed to the adaptation proposals of the Bali Action Plan and will pledge to continue to support the adaptation financing plans of the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCC).
- Canada will pursue the G20/G8 to start addressing this important issue.

Security

- Canada will take an active role in development cooperation.
- Canada will help developing nations establish national emergency preparedness plans.
- Canada will work in partnership with federal governments and agencies to help developing nations better manage their natural resources in the wake of climate change.
- Canada will engage in global diplomacy and development efforts to contain climate induced conflicts.
- Canada will alter its development assistance to take climate change into consideration. Development adaptation to climate change is a way of reducing security risks.

1.2 Natural Resources

Canada is blessed with an abundance of natural resources – from rivers to lakes, extensive forests, wildlife to fisheries and farmland. Canadians are lucky to have such a rich

ecosystem. However, with this has come a cultural mythology that Canada hosts an endless amount of natural resources. In recent polls, 98% of Canadians have stated that nature is a necessity for human survival; academic studies confirm this popular belief. In light of this, Canada has a responsibility to protect natural resources, both at home and abroad. While we are passionate about our environment, Canada has been falling behind international standards when it comes to protecting our natural resources. To achieve a sustainable future for resources, Canada must cooperate with provincial and international governments, industries, and trading partners to better protect life on Earth. Domestic and international changes in policy will be necessary to not only protect the regions of the world that are experiencing environmental degradation, but also to project an active environmental image to the international community.

Domestic Needs

Water

While Canada is rich with fresh water compared to other nations, we have much less renewable fresh water than widely believed. Canada's freshwater is threatened by mismanagement, pollution, excessive withdrawals and climate change. While most water in Canada is under provincial jurisdiction, the federal government has drawn up guidelines for water use and maintenance. Unfortunately, these guidelines and suggestions to Canadian industries are unenforceable. This makes it necessary for the Canadian government to create and implement a comprehensive blueprint for our nation's water issues.

• To ensure provincial support, the federal government will work with provincial leaders to achieve sustainability. By accomplishing sustainability in each individual province, Canada will achieve an overall balance in water management, projecting an admirable image in environmental sustainability.

Forestry

Forest management and logging practices have become a larger issue for Canada over the past decades. Forests play a crucial role within climate change, which makes the protection of national forests an international issue as well. While we have a large resource base, we are the world leader in exports of forest products, largely produced through logging. The current rates of logging are higher than can be sustained in the long term. Boreal forests in Northern Canada, which are an important carbon sink, are being targeted for logging. The loss of national species and biodiversity through deforestation will have a great international impact. Canada cannot expect other nations to protect the environment if we are not willing to first make changes at home.

• By 2014, the federal government will work with provincial governments to reduce the deforestation impact on the environment of logging through a greater dedication to

management and replanting of areas that are already logging targets. This will work to protect Canadian forests for the future of the nation through sustainable logging practices.

Biodiversity

Biodiversity is the essence and variety of life on earth. One of the lasting consequences of abusing natural resources is species depletion. It is an international responsibility to ensure that human life on earth does not cause the sixth wave of extinction, and Canada must be more involved in this. Endangered species continue to disappear from protected areas because these areas are either too small or too isolated. In order to counter this threat to biodiversity Canada is committed to taking the following actions:

- Canada will increase the protection of our national parks by expanding the boundaries surrounding these parks. By creating a buffer zone surrounding the national parks, outside development can be contained, and the biodiversity in these areas will be further protected.
- Canada will work to transform 2% more of our national land into protected land by 2016. This will ensure that Canada has protected 12% of its land, which will improve our environmental reputation and preserve natural resources for future generations.

International Needs

Water

Canada sees the access to clean water as a fundamental human right. Clean water is also vital to Canada's new Human Security strategy and its emphasis on the 'Freedom from Want.' For Canada's strategies on clean water and how they fit within our larger Human Security strategy, see page **38**.

Agriculture

With the potential for a global food crisis, agriculture in an international context cannot be ignored. By supporting rural farms in developing and developed nations, and supporting locally grown food in stores, there can be sustainable supply and demand within the international markets. Growing locally saves money and lets the consumer know what they are receiving, based on pesticide and food production laws. This allows the consumer to make a more informed decision as to what they and their families are ingesting. As the environment changes, a better balance between food needs and fossil fuel costs that can sustain populations is necessary. As the world population grows, there is a greater challenge of feeding the people of the world, many of which continue to raise expectations of standards of living. Addressing this requires an international effort that does not end international trade,

but instead supports both national and international food sustainability. A measured balance is also needed between international and domestic export markets.

- World agricultural markets need to be examined to increase market access and production in developing countries.
- Through participation in Doha negotiations of the World Trade Organization, Canada can further work towards reducing subsidies while continuing to sustain trade and environmental standards.

Global Fisheries

Canada must participate in global fisheries management. It is not enough to focus only on national fisheries and coastlines, because much of the earth's marine population is endangered or extinct. Since the 1980s boom in the fishing effort, proportions of overexploited, depleted and recovering stocks have stabilized over the past decade. However, this is not to say that these stocks are at an adequate level. In order to grow, the fish stocks must be given time and space to repopulate. As of 2007, 28% of stocks yielded less than their maximum potential due to over-fishing, while 52% of stocks were fully exploited, with no room for any further expansion of the industry within that species. Reviews of the overall state of marine fishery resources verify that less than one quarter of the world's marine fisheries stocks are capable of any more production. Yet aquaculture industries continue to grow at a rapid rate.

- Strong management and regulation of these operations is needed by the entire international community to reduce the harm that exploitation of marine fisheries has already caused.
- The loss of any species impacts the global food chain and biodiversity, making it every nation's responsibility to protect and promote sustainable consumption. Canada is currently a part of the United Nations Fish Stocks Agreement, which supports the enforcement and monitoring of global fisheries.
- Canada must also work with international agreements and negotiations to make more progress on catch-share management strategies, which studies have proven to be a way to sustain and begin the reversal of global fisheries collapse.
- With new initiatives and in working with cooperating nations, Canada can make an impact on preventing a widespread global collapse of fisheries.

1.3 Energy Policy

Canadian energy and water usage is one of the highest per capita in the world. Canada's energy policy affects many other policy areas, such as economics and trade relations. Energy policies must not only take the environment into account, they must take into account how these

other areas will be affected. Canada must find the right balance between the environment, sustainable development, and how these areas will affect the economy.

With our heavy dependence on most fuel sources, especially fossil fuels, negatively effecting climate change, it is important that we strive to be more energy efficient. Increasing our usage of renewable or alternative fuels can help Canada achieve this goal. Canadian policies should strive to encourage energy efficiency both at home and abroad.

The Oil Sands

Improvements in Canada's energy policy will require some support from, or harmonization with, the U.S. Not only is the U.S. Canada's largest energy trading partner, it is also our closest neighbour, sharing a great deal of our geography and, with that, many of our environmental problems.

 Canada will work with the U.S. to harmonize environmental and energy policies where possible.

The Canadian oil sands are one area where we need to improve. Canadian oil exports, specifically to the U.S. are worth \$66.7 billion annually. However, the impact of oil extraction is well known to be harmful to the environment. Furthermore, President Obama has noted the harmfulness of the oil sands, and has vowed to make the U.S. less dependent on foreign oil. This has the potential to hurt the Canadian oil sands industry.

In order to make oil sands extraction less environmentally harmful and more attractive to
foreign buyers, more research and investment, as well as stricter environmental standards
should be placed on the extraction companies, especially with regard to carbon capture
and storage.

Nuclear Energy

Nuclear energy is another route that can be pursued. Nuclear energy has fallen out of fashion in North America, largely due to concerns over radiation and waste disposal. However, the generation of electricity from uranium (nuclear energy) does not release carbon dioxide into the air. Pursuing a higher level of nuclear energy electricity would help bring down Canada's carbon emissions, assisting it to reach international reduction targets. Currently, 50-60% of Ontario's energy comes from nuclear sources, and this amount could be expanded in other provinces as well. Although there are many concerns among Canadian citizens about the safety of nuclear energy, there are also many benefits.

• Canada will put more investment into health and safety concerns, in order to better educate the public.

Hydro Electricity

Hydro electricity is another energy source that does not release GHG in to the air. Hydro energy is a source of renewable energy, and currently provides 60% of Canada's electricity. Further expansion of this source is constrained by environmental factors, mainly pooling.

• In order to expand this source, Canadians must weigh the environmental impacts of hydro energy against the impacts of fossil fuel burning.

Hydrogen Energy

Hydrogen energy is a fuel source that has fostered a lot of attention and research in recent years, especially with regards to transportation. The problems with developing hydrogen energy for use in vehicles are that hydrogen cars are expensive, and there are not many hydrogen pumping stations for drivers to use.

• The federal government will utilize incentives and cooperate with US companies and government agencies to get this technology off the ground and into mainstream use.

Green Technology

The issue of green technology and renewable energy has been gaining prominence in many nations. This type of technology is now becoming increasingly important with the onset of climate change caused by fossil fuel burning and possible energy shortages.

- The Canadian government has been investing an increasing amount of money into green technology and renewable energy, particularly in the 2009 federal budget.
- The Canadian government will provide incentives to corporations and private consumers to help raise the popularity of methods such as solar and wind power.
- The federal government will allocate money to provinces to establish provincial renewable energy programs. This will allow the provinces to choose the types of renewable energy best suited to their region and geography.
- Canada will set a national target for renewable Energy.
- Canada will work towards transferring newer, green technology to developing states, so that they too may practice sustainable development.

3.0 International Security

The world is no longer dealing with the traditional international system where interstate conflict was the most direct and prevalent threat to security. We have seen a significant rise in intrastate conflict which calls into question the limits of state sovereignty. Currently, the most

destabilizing features in the international system are failed and failing states. Although states are still the primary actors, recent events have demonstrated that non state actors are also threats. Failed and failing states allow non-state groups to gain influence and power; in order to stop this Canada will endorse good governance abroad. Organized crime and terrorism affect Canadian security on a variety of levels and are just one of the negative results of weak and unsuccessful governments. Canada will pursue its security goals through cooperation, negotiation and diplomacy with other states before turning to alternative means.

Canada is not at its most effective when acting alone so a move towards a more secure international order will be attained through multilateral and bilateral agreements. In our pursuit of good governance Canada will work closely with established multilateral institutions such as the United Nations that share this concern. Canada will use a variety of measures as a means of stabilizing the international system; this includes disarmament, the promotion of non proliferation and arms control.

3.1 National Security

The goal of national security is, and always will be, to ensure the protection of our citizens. Through our commitment to national security Canada will maintain the safety or our citizens, while also reassuring our neighbours and allies that Canada is not a threat to their national security. The terrorist attacks on the United States in 2001 have shown that national security can be breached; despite the fact that Canada currently does not have any immediate threats to our national security we will remain in a state of preparedness to ensure the safety of our citizens. It is through our commitments in the Canadian Forces, NATO, NORAD and other bilateral and multilateral organisations that Canada will ensure the safety of our citizens. A safer Canada means a more prosperous country for its inhabitants, and by ensuring our safety at home we uphold our duty as a sovereign nation.

Territorial Security

Our national response resources and capabilities must be able and ready to respond effectively to threats within our own borders – malicious or not – as well as to contribute to multinational operations overseas. To ensure this Canada will continue to implement the *Canada First Defence Strategy*. This strategy significantly increases the number of personnel in various departments of our forces—for example within the Canadian Forces and the RCMP—along with replacing and modernizing equipment. Overall Canada's national defence budget will increase as planned with an estimated \$12 billion over the next 20 years. ¹ These developments will allow Canada to:

- Participate more actively within our continent to protect our interests in the Arctic and in NORAD
- Respond to violent threats such as terrorism

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¹ From \$18 billion in 2008-9 to \$30 billion in the next 20 years

- Reinforce civilian security for national events such as the upcoming Olympics in 2010, as well as aid them in responding to natural disasters
- Participate and provide support to international operations and crisis efforts

Air Security

Canada recognizes the importance of air security to the overall security of North America. Events such as 9/11 and the renewed encroachments by foreign aircraft close to our northern boundaries prove that Canada must maintain active and ready air defenses. Canada's airspace is vast, and is critical to the mutual security of the North American continent. Therefore, NORAD will remain our primary mechanism for our collective air security. Canada also recognizes the importance of maintaining strategic and tactical lift capability in order to quickly respond to threats within and outside of Canada.

- Commit to maintaining and updating our air defense systems, including the acquisition of new next-generation fighter aircraft as outlined within the *Canada First* strategy
- Increase our co-operation and information transfer through NORAD.
- Canada will continue to invest resources into NORAD's *Noble Eagle* operations which are a means of defending the Northern border. Operation Noble Eagle is a major part of Canada's contribution to the fight against terrorism over the skies of North America.
- Canada will maintain its stated position to not contribute to a Ballistic Missile Defense program

Maritime Security

In addition to its operations overseas, the Canadian Navy and Coast Guard are together responsible for monitoring thousands of kilometres of coastline. Counter-smuggling, counter-terrorism, and rescue operations continue to be Canada's main priorities. Canada currently maintains comparable protection on the west and east coasts, with all fleets in a state of optimum readiness. In order to maintain our levels of readiness, Canada will:

- Continue with the acquisition of next-generation warships and Coast Guard vessels
- Increase aerial surveillance of our maritime boundaries with the scheduled acquisition of new surveillance aircraft.
- Continue to operate with friendly naval forces in joint training and counter-smuggling operations, to ensure continued operational readiness and the security of our borders

Border Security

An open and secure border is vital to Canada's economic and physical security. Our geography and interconnectedness with the United States demonstrates the importance of cooperation in order to ensure that our 8,891 kilometres of shared border remains safe and open. The Smart Border Action Plan which was implemented after the terrorist attacks was a

significant step towards a more innovative notion of border security. In recent years, border security collaboration has continued evolved to be more suitable for the current international system and security threats. North Americans are currently facing common threats such as terrorism and health security. To this end, Canada will:

- Continue to work through the Security and Prosperity Partnership (SPP) of North America, which was introduced in 2008. Open North American borders are essential for Canadian prosperity and security;
- Continue NEXUS and FAST Programs which ensure a permeable border for legitimate crossing of people and economic transactions; as well as moving more complicated inspection processes of goods away from land borders where possible
- Continue to emphasise coordination and information sharing;
- Maintain a productive working relationship with American and Mexican leadership to develop new strategies for effective security while facilitating the movement of goods and people across our borders;
- Improve new technologies for screening, such as electronic passports, new biometric visas for foreign nationals and resources for greater security, especially over the Great Lakes and St-Lawrence River areas;
- Continue to invest in communications security, which will enable us to utilize and develop technologies in information and communications;

Terrorism

Since 9/11 the United States and its allies have taken a militant approach to combating terrorism. This approach has proven insufficient in many ways. For this reason, Canada is reevaluating its strategies towards dealing with terrorism. Roots causes must addressed in order to achieve a permanent solution to this problem and guarantee our security. Therefore Canada will de-emphasize its military approach to terrorism and work more towards addressing the root causes of conflict, which revolve around issues of education, poverty, and political disenfranchisement. The Human Security section of this document (see page **36**) will outline Canada's strategies in these areas that will contribute to eradicating terrorism.

Crosscutting Issue: Energy Security

International Security, Economic Strategy, The Environment

The Canadian government will be re-evaluating its recent declarations in regard to our energy supplies. Canada will continue to ensure that our southern neighbours receive energy from us; however we will cooperate with both environmental and trade specialists to ensure a relationship that can benefit both economic and environmental standards. The over exploitation of oil leads to an increase in carbon dioxide in the atmosphere which is contradictory to our goal of reducing climate change. Yet trade is a key aspect of the Canadian economy, which must also be supported. Canada will begin to work more closely with our allies in developing alternative energy to ensure that there will continue to be energy supplies in the distant future, as current energy means cannot be sustained indefinitely.

3.2 Arctic Sovereignty: Our Approach

The Arctic is an important part of Canadian history and has long been home to our Northern citizens. It has been a mythic place for many Canadians—a symbol of the vastness of our country, a source of pride that we have been able to forge a country in such a forbidding climate. It is a place of exploration and of natural beauty. The Arctic region is also the northern border to North America, and thus plays a vital role in ensuring the security of the continent. Recently however, the area has been a source of many disputes and disagreements, in particular with our circumpolar neighbours. Due to the accumulating effects of climate change and the search for natural resources, who has sovereignty over the increasingly valuable and fragile region has become a pressing question. The Arctic will continue to be a prominent focus of the government, for our goal to protect our sovereignty, environment and resources in the area are a top priority.

Northwest Passage

As the polar ice caps melt, the viability of the Northwest Passage as a shipping and trade route increases. Disagreements have arisen over whether the passage is an internal or international waterway. In conjunction with our sovereignty claim to the region, Canada maintains that the passageway is and should remain an internal waterway under Canadian jurisdiction and supervision.

Canada is not opposed to the passageway being used, as we recognize its value as a global shipping route; however, regulations are needed for the shipping that does pass through our waters. In order to secure our claim to the Northwest Passage, Canada commits to:

- The building of a new Polar class icebreaker, as outlined in the *Canada First* defence strategy;
- The building of a commercial harbour and naval base in Pangnirtung, as outlined in *Canada First*;
- Work through the Arctic Council to seek a resolution to this issue;

- The reinstatement of a circumpolar ambassador as a representative to Canada's northern citizens, and as a representative to the Arctic Council;
- Acquiring oil spill and environmental disaster response capabilities.

The Beaufort Sea and the Continental Shelf

Our boundary dispute with the United States in the Beaufort Sea has recently become a contentious issue due to the possibility that large amounts of valuable resources lay within the region. Oil will continue to be in high demand and with the recent influx in oil prices, the Beaufort Sea region has gained a new prominence. The second territorial dispute is in reference to how far our continental shelf extends.

Canada seeks to utilize article 234 of United Nations Convention of the Law of the Seas (UNCLOS), which permits the Arctic states to map their continental shelf in order to see how far each state's territory stretches. If UNCLOS confirms the research submitted then sovereignty over that area—the continental shelf of each country—will be granted. Towards this initiative, Canada will:

- Allocate \$76 million to map our continental shelf and will continue to fund further research missions as needed;
- Cooperate with Denmark in mapping parts of the Arctic and will continue to do so;
- Improve our surveillance techniques, including the use of patrol aircraft, unmanned aerial vehicles, and electronic sensor technology.
- Extend the Mineral Exploration Tax Credit
- Be willing to consider negotiations with the United States to map the continental shelf jointly
- Encourage the United States to ratify UNCLOS so that all border disputes will be solved, and so that a monitored solution to the dispute can be reached.

Our People

Canada recognizes the commitment it has to its Northern citizens. Canada commits to increase their protection and to give them an increased voice in political affairs. To this end, Canada will:

- Enact legislation to ensure the safety for our northern citizens and their Arctic environment, similar to the Arctic Waters Pollution Prevention Act (AWPPA) which has been recognized by the international law of the sea;
- Elect Northern citizens to sit in on Arctic Council discussions;
- Fund over the next two taxation years to increase the maximum daily residency deduction by 10 per cent under the Northern Residents Deduction;
- Expand and give more support to the Canadian Rangers. These men and women are vital to Canada's security and sovereignty in the North.

3.3 Interstate Security

While interstate conflict is not as prevalent as it once was, there are still major issues that need to be addressed. Interstate conflicts have the potential to become extremely dangerous to the international system and Canada's security. Whether conventional or fought with biological, chemical, or nuclear weapons, the potential for massive loss of life, both civilian and military is very real. This is to say nothing of the damage to the world economic and diplomatic systems. For these reasons, Canada will continue to play an active role in working to establish stability within the international community. Canada's pre-emptive stance on inter-state conflict is control and reduction of weapons of mass destruction as well as the technologies and materials which create them. Canada also firmly supports states accountability and international regulations and norms as a form of deterrence. Canada firmly believes in mediation and diplomacy to resolve conflicts and create a strong foundation for lasting peace and stability. Multilateralism, especially through the UN, will continue to be an important tool in our pursuit of these goals.

Nuclear Non-Proliferation

The proliferation of weapons of mass destruction is an important issue for Canadians and the international community at large. Although the overall number of nuclear weapons has been diminishing since the end of the Cold War, the number of states with nuclear capacities has recently been increasing. States with nuclear capabilities and those seeking to acquire them pose a very real and constant threat. This is in addition to the danger posed by non-state actors who may also possess or are seeking WMDs. In order to address this problem, Canada will:

- Continue to encourage other states to pursue disarmament, non-proliferation, enhanced stockpile security, and the dismantling of existing stockpiles of weapons;
- Continue to promote non-proliferation through existing treaties, organizations and programs in which we are involved;
- Continue to support those states that have ratified and fulfilled their commitments in the Nuclear Non-Proliferations Treaty, and will and welcome other nations to join in this effort;
- Support international efforts to track and destroy wayward nuclear weapons that could potentially fail into the hands of rogue states or sub-state groups

Crosscutting Issue: Nuclear Energy Protection

International Security, The Environment

With Canada continuing to export nuclear technology for peaceful energy use, existing regulations- specifically those developed by organizations such as the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) - need to be strictly enforced. The additional protocols expanded under the IAEA make it a "unique and essential" tool to secure the safe and peaceful use of nuclear technology. The increased access to information regarding all nuclear related activities within states is important and Canada is committed to its participation in the organisation. It provides the international community with the assurance that nuclear materials are not being diverted from peaceful use and that states, which deny having these types of materials, are credible. Canada's full respect for and participation in the IAEA enables the international community to have confidence that we are continuously abiding to the conditions that support environmental sustainability, human and international security.

Disarmament

Despite the many difficulties associated with decommissioning biological and chemical weapons, there are many areas where disarmament is making progress. Canada believes that there is a need to continue and expand disarmament efforts. Agreements reached between the United States and the Russian Federation to reduce and secure former Soviet weapon stockpiles demonstrate the achievements of diplomacy and offer hope for future progress. In order to add to recent successes, Canada will provide:

- Continued support for the measures outlined within the *Chemical Weapons Convention* of 1995:
- Support for verification programs that are in place to monitor states attempting to develop these weapons illicitly;
- Support the *Cooperative Threat Reduction* (CTR)'s Global Threat Reduction Initiative
- Volunteer to assist in dismantling NBC weapons stockpiled by the former Soviet Union

Multilateral Defence and Security Initiatives

Canada views multilateral defence institutions, such as NATO, as essential both to our own security and the stability of the international system. Canada has confidence in the abilities of NATO as a mutual defence organization and is optimistic about new members to the alliance. Canada also recognizes the importance of other regional defence and security

organizations to the security of states around the world; isolation breeds vulnerability, which leads to instability and instability.

- Canada remains committed to NATO expansion in the interests of security and stability of the North Atlantic, particularly in Eastern Europe;
- Canada will work to ensure non-members, such as those in the Partnership for Peace program, are not marginalized diplomatically. Canada remains committed to dialogue with Russia through the NATO framework
- Canada remains committed to the programs and mandate of the Organization for Security Cooperation in Europe (OSCE)
- Canada remains committed to multinational nation-building exercises, such the International Stabilization Force in Afghanistan (ISAF)

International Law

States and other international actors need to be held accountable for their actions. To maintain international stability and balance, states and other international actors should not act aggressively and unjustly. Canada strongly encourages other states to recognize the legitimacy of this institution. Canada has long promoted these values of justice unilaterally, becoming the first country in the world to adopt comprehensive legislation through the Rome Statute. Canada has also produced a document for other states outlining the steps needed to incorporate the Rome Statute into domestic policy. To this end Canada will,

- Maintain an outspoken commitment for the institutions and ideals of international law;
- Firmly support the International Criminal Court (ICC) as a form of international justice, and a useful tool of deterrence;
- Continues to support the International Court of Justice (ICJ) as a key means of settling disputes between states.

3.4 Intrastate Security

Canada recognizes the important link between stable states and a stable international system. Conflicts within states not only destabilize the state itself, but often the conflict spills over in neighbouring states, creating a regional problem like the one we saw in the Great Lakes Region of Africa in the late 1990s. These regional instabilities can manifest themselves into a host of other international security problems including drug trafficking, terrorism, arms proliferation, human trafficking, and environmental degradation. Given the high incidence of intrastate conflict in past decades, this is especially relevant to Canada's foreign policy. Therefore, as a part of its broader international security agenda, Canada is committed to reducing and limiting the instances of intrastate conflict around the world.

Canada also recognizes that intrastate conflict deals with a different set of actors, conditions, and factors than interstate conflict. Strategies of managing conflict between states do

not necessarily apply to wars within states. Individual actors play far more of an important role in intrastate wars than they do in interstate conflict. Canada therefore recognizes that intrastate conflict requires a different, more flexible, anthro-centric approach. For this reason, intra-state conflict will be addressed within the realm of 'Human Security'.

4.0 Human Security

Since the Cold War, Canada has been an essential player in pioneering a new way of looking at conflict and security. Traditional definitions and approaches to international security have been state-centered; efforts were largely focused on the territorial preservation of the state against external security threats. This new paradigm, dubbed 'Human Security', focused not on the state but on the individual and the community. Human Security is an anthro-centric approach that seeks to satisfy the basic requirements of life - that of an individual human being - and to contribute to the overall quality of life. This will ultimately lead to international stability. Since the 1990's, this approach has borne fruit time and again.

Freedom from want and freedom from fear are the basic tenets of human security. Freedom from fear - the protection of civilian populations in war and peace from physical threat and violence - limits the effects of conflict, both in terms of its deadliness and its reoccurrant societal implications. Freedom from want - the provision of the basic necessities of health, education, and development - ensure that societies become prosperous and stable. Together, these freedoms work to guarantee the well-being, dignity, and rights of human populations around the world.

Human security threats are multifaceted; they can be of economic, political, environmental and social natures. Such threats include conflict, extreme impoverishment, natural disasters, climate change, resource scarcity, pandemic diseases, arms proliferation, and the mass displacement of populations. Canada will work to address each of these threats. We will increase the effectiveness of our aid programs through CIDA; we will develop new and effective international policies as we did with the Mine Ban Treaty; we will engage our civil society by nurturing international awareness and activism; and we will throw our weight behind our world-class academic institutions as they find new ways to guide our policies and actions.

Canada pursues a rigorous agenda of human security for two reasons: a world free from fear and free from want fits our values, and a stable international order is in our interest. Our policies towards human security will in no way detract from our policies towards international security; in an inter-dependent world, the two are not mutually exclusive. In their shared pursuit towards a stable international order, they are in fact heavily complementary and necessary.

4.1 The Relationship Between Development and Security

The importance of the relationship between development and security cannot be overstated; they are intrinsically linked. Without human development, physical security cannot be guaranteed, as the root causes of conflict have not been addressed. Without physical security, sustainable development is impossible, as any successes can destroyed in an instant. For this reason, Canada takes a holistic and comprehensive approach to human security that includes both development and security. Canada will continue to consider its human security through the 3-D paradigm: Development, Diplomacy, and Defence.

4.2 <u>Development: The Freedom from Want</u>

Canada has identified the 'freedom from want' as one of its key pillars of its new human security focus. The importance of development to strong, stable societies and the prevention of conflict has been shown numerous times. Canada also recognizes the many weaknesses in the way the world handles international development. The international community is not on track to meet the Millennium Development Goals. Reform is needed in order to make our development aid more effective.

Canada's new development strategy will be a significant departure from past operations. In a few words, it will be smaller, more sustainable, more focused, and more effective.

To explain: under Canada's new strategy, development projects will be refocused to the community level, encompassing small-scale, grass-roots, and above all sustainable initiatives that build capacity at the local level. Canada will focus its efforts on a few key areas that will work to eliminate the root causes of poverty. By focusing on a few important areas of development we seek to improve the quality of life of impoverished people immediately in key areas. With simple but effective small-scale development projects, we will empower the local community and build sustainable capacity.

This new strategy does not mean that Canada is 'niching' its development work. Through our four key focuses – clean water and sanitation, disease control, education, and sustainable economic development through microfinance enterprise – all eight Millennium Development Goals are addressed either directly or indirectly. Canada will also not cut support to existing international initiatives it deems effective.

Canada will seek to become a global leader in its chosen areas. We will work to develop new technologies and programs and to find new and more effective ways of implementing them. To do this, we will have to reform our agencies that provide these services. CIDA's strategy will shift, with a new focus on the hiring and training of educated, motivated and highly capable junior project managers who will spend the majority of their time in the field, not in the office. CIDA will be younger, smarter, more adaptable, and more effective.

At the same time, we will engage Canadian civil society, supporting them and empowering them in ways that will not only aid global development, but will increase the visibility of Canada overseas. Young Canadians are already disproportionately represented in the international development and humanitarian aid communities; we recognize this and will seek to support these young leaders as they add value not only to the societies they work in, but our own as well.

Health

Health is a human right which Canadians value and cherish. As it is, Canadians enjoy the provision of this basic right at a universal level. Nevertheless, it is not so the case for the rest of the world. The Canadian health system is one worthy of envy, and as a leader in this area, Canada should work toward the promotion and development of stronger health systems across the word; combating diseases that affect vulnerable populations as part of an initiative which reflects our Canadian values. As reflected through Canada's commitment to the Millennium Development Goals, and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, Canada's priority as a state with great leadership potential should be to promote those freedoms for which we stand.

Clean Water

Nearly half the world's population does not have access to improved sanitation. Recognizing that lack of safe drinking water is the world's single largest cause of sickness, and that up to half of the world's hospital beds are occupied at any time by those suffering from water-borne disease, Canada sees clean water, sanitation, and health care as intrinsically linked. Canada also recognizes the role that improved water supplies have on the empowerment of women in society, as well as to childhood development and education. Initiatives include:

- Canada will work with other international actors to achieve the Millennium Development Goal: "to halve, by 2015, the proportion of the population without sustainable access to safe drinking water and basic sanitation."
- Increase funding for research and technology in the fields of sanitation and water purification, with a focus on cost, effectiveness, and simplicity in a development context.

- Expand access to improved water sources through the implementation existing and new technologies at the community level, with a special focus on community education and the importance of sustained stewardship of water resources.
- Increase community education programs about sanitation issues and decrease instances of open defecation. Where possible, fund local labour in the construction of latrines or other improved sanitation facilities.
- Support and fund sustainable irrigation projects, and decrease the instances of standing water.
- Create and fund local implementation and education teams, who with CIDA team members, would work on the ground alongside community members on development projects

Disease Control

Canada recognizes the effects that infectious disease has on the quality of live, civil society, and economy of developing nations. Limiting the effects and spread of HIV/AIDS, Malaria, Tuberculosis, and Cholera both through technological advances and through grassroots treatment and education programs, is essential to building healthy, stable societies. Initiatives include:

- Canada will promote national vaccination programs for children, as is the case currently in Afghanistan.
- To focus our aid in the area of technology and research for preventative health care. Our cooperation will be channelled through the trade of highly skilled human capital in the form of Canadian researchers and intellectuals.
- To recognize the importance of grassroots development in the public health sector of other states. As such, Canada will support and encourage local research and health initiatives in priority to external research into the area.
- To improve health education through the creation of awareness programs, both locally and abroad.
- To facilitate access to treatment, in particular generic pharmaceutical products.
- To protest the degradation of land by multi-national industrial developers in vulnerable areas of the world, recognizing stagnant water as a leading cause of disease and mortality among children.

Education

The promotion of universal education is a decisive step Canadians can take toward breaking the cycle of poverty abroad, and by extension, cycles of violence. Where violence and conflict are recognized as consequences of institutional failure; investment into education should

be acknowledged as a positive step toward alleviating these conditions. The promotion of education for all children, regardless of gender and socio-economical status, is essential to breed tolerance of diversity, and awareness among youth. Furthermore, promoting education is essential for the formation of a sustainable economy in developing states.

Universal Primary Education

- To diplomatically promote the institutionalization of Universal Education. By promoting the acknowledgement of universal education as tool of empowerment, Canada can enable social mobility, while ameliorating social conditions, and by extension, reducing the potential for social tension across socio-economic lines.
- To take a strong position against the exploitation of children as soldiers, and laborers in circumstances detrimental to their physical, emotional and mental health. In addition, Canada will support the development of state-sponsored education, and state-sponsored incentives so as to discourage legal guardians from disrupting the child's academic formation in order to place them in the labor market.
- To support incentives for the purpose of promoting education among women, and by extension, to encourage women to pursue higher education. In addition, Canada will discourage gendered bias and denounce a violation of rights where it does occur.

Economic Development

The current Canadian practice of delivering development aid is flawed. Rather than benefiting people on the ground, Canadian-funded aid projects are often applied at the national level, and are conditional upon certain caveats – namely that the work is contracted by Canadian companies, using Canadian equipment. While this certainly benefits Canadian industry overseas, this method of aid delivery has time and again proven ineffective in promoting sustainable development at the grassroots level. In order to make our aid money more effective, changes need to be made to the way we deliver developmental assistance. Though Canada will not ignore its commitment to building strong institutions at the state level, Canada's development approach outlined in this document will emphasize small-scale, microfinance initiatives.

Microfinance

Microfinance is not a new innovation in Canadian development assistance; however, Canada will hereafter make greater use of the tool for poverty alleviation. We are moving in this direction in recognition of the shortcomings of large-scale state lending policies that have contributed to the problem of indebtedness which in turn increases the prevalence of poverty.

In contrast, microfinance provides direct aid to the most impoverished individuals and communities, promoting entrepreneurship, self-sufficiency and communal solidarity.

- Canadian initiatives in this respect will continue to promote gender equality and the empowerment of women. Women have proven to be successful entrepreneurs, present a low credit risk, and their economic empowerment adds the most to the community;
- To increase the effectiveness of microfinance and microenterprise in developing countries the Canadian government will work towards achieving greater coordination with organizations and agencies including CIDA and the International Development Research Center (IDRC). In this way resources can be pooled and more efficiently managed in order to better focus and implement projects at the grassroots level;
- Canada recognizes that the distribution of loans and funding is by itself not enough to ensure the sustainability of projects. Therefore, Canada and its development partners will work to provide management and other forms of on-the-ground training through the participation of academics and professionals. This will increase the likelihood of effective microenterprise management and loan repayment.

4.3 Conflict Management: The Freedom from Fear

Canada's approach to human security has been expanded to include the 'freedom from want' within its purview, yet this does not diminish the importance of Canada's traditional focus on human security. The physical protection of persons – or the 'freedom from fear' – still remains a very important part of our holistic take on human security. The challenge to guaranteeing physical security has always been conflict. Therefore to address issues of human security, we need to address issues of conflict.

The nature of conflict has changed over the last decades. Conventional conflict – high-intensity wars fought between large, externally supported state actors – has largely given way to low-intensity conflict fought between sub-state groups. While these conflicts have proven to be difficult in resolving, their prevalence's means that the world has seen a decrease in the number of violent deaths each year since the mid-1950s.

We cannot forget, however, that civilians continue to pay the heaviest costs of war and conflict. Aside from the physical brutality associated with war, intrastate conflict compounds and exacerbates the effects of disease, famine, environmental degradation, as well as causes often irreparable damage to civil society, affecting generations to come.

We must also realize where the greatest threat to physical security often lies: it has been estimated that four times as many violent deaths occurred during the 20th century at the hands of the victim's own government than in all other cases of inter-state and intra-state conflict

combined. No more will the excuse of 'state sovereignty' shield tyrannical regimes and allow them to continue committing heinous acts against their own populace.

The Canadian approach to guaranteeing physical security is to address conflict head-on through diplomatic efforts and – if necessary – with the threat or use of force to guarantee the safety of civilian populations. These two strategies fulfill the latter two components of our 3-D approach to human security: Diplomacy and Defence. By the application of these two strategies through a multilateralist approach, we seek to limit, deter, manage – and again where necessary – decisively end conflict and stop human suffering.

Diplomacy

Limit Conflict

The first means by which the Government plans to address the issue of the current trend in the rise of intrastate conflict is by decreasing the potential damages that could incur. The following policies are aimed at making low intensity conflict less dangerous to innocent civilians.

- Establish and promote a Canadian Corporate Social Responsibility Framework for all Canadian extractive-sector companies operating in developing countries. Aim to create international legislation based upon this Canadian legislation, similar to the Kimberley Process
- Create a new national arms export policy whereby arms exporters become responsible for ensuring that arms, once sold, are not transferred on to third-party sub-state groups. A produce-upon-demand clause would be built into all future weapons sales contracts.
- Increase support for small arms reduction programs at the regional level, through institutions such as the OSCE, the OAS, ECOWAS, the EU, and the UN.

Prevent Conflict

The ideal means of conflict resolution are based on a proactive policy rather than one designed to be reactive. For this reason, in order to limit the number of casualties and destruction that can occur within intrastate conflict, the government has decided to establish the following three methods of deterring conflict from commencing.

• Increase financial and technological support for international monitoring systems and organizations, such as the OSCE and the International Crisis Group.

• Continue and increase support for international justice and deterrent mechanisms such as the ICC – while at the same time recognizing the need for pragmatic approaches to conflict management.

Manage Conflict

In almost all cases, without international pressure, intra-state conflict will continue until one side is either expelled or eradicated. In order to uphold its commitment to the promotion of human rights and to prevent the further death of civilian populations, the government of Canada will take the following steps to ensure the mitigation or resolution of conflict:

- Aggressively leverage our significant economic power to bring about conflict resolution through economic means, including national divestment polices and economic sanctions.
- Continued and increased support for international mediation forums.
- Significantly increase the capacity of the RCMP, CF, and the Department of Justice to undertake personnel training missions overseas, to contribute to the domestic security of fragile states.
- Increased the presence of the CF and the RCMP participating in overseas multi-national peace support operations, particularly in 'enabling' positions such as logistics, signals, and command.
- Increased support for Canadian academics in the fields of human security, conflict management, and post-conflict studies to create a made-in-Canada approach to human security.
- To prevent the re-emergence of conflict, Canada will invest in Confidence Building Mechanisms (CBMs) to help stabilize fragile states. CBMs include such resources as political support, training of military and law enforcement personnel, and the assistance in developing state organs necessary for the promotion of good governance.

Defence

End Conflict

In 2001, the Canadian sponsored International Commission on Intervention and State Sovereignty (ICISS) published *The Responsibility to Protect*. This new doctrine, which was adopted by the UN General Assembly in 2005, reads that when a government is unable or unwilling to protect its citizens from systematic harm, that responsibility falls onto the international community. Though the use of force is always a last resort, Canada will take steps towards institutionalizing 'Responsibility to Protect' into our National Defence policy by:

- Increasing the operational readiness of our armed forces to undertake an R2P mission; this type of mission is in sync with the "Canada First" strategy, which focuses on crises relief, strategic and tactical mobility, and a focus on highly mobile, infantry-based operations.
- NDHQ, in collaboration with Canadian academic institutions, will develop and publish a
 comprehensive manual on the Doctrine of Civilian Protection Operations the first of its
 kind which will draws on lessons learned and best practices from similar operational
 experiences around the world.
- Developing a comprehensive training program for civilian protection operations. Skills development will focus on cultural awareness and language training, humanitarian relief, as well as increased small-unit counter-insurgency type operations. These skills are transferable to the current combat mission in Afghanistan
- Increasing the inter-operability of the CF with CIDA and other humanitarian organizations, including large joint training operations

4.4 Key Strategies

CIDA Reform and Budget Increase

Under Canada's new development policy, CIDA's focus will shift from large, bilateral aid and development at the state level to small, community-oriented and sustained development. As such, the structure of CIDA must change. With these changes, there will be a reform of CIDA's bureaucratic system and a new importance placed on training and supporting junior officers working in the field. These officers will be granted a reasonable level of autonomous decision-making power on the ground, thus reducing much of the red tape associated with aid projects.

The CIDA operating budget will also be increased. In 2005 the House of Commons unanimously passed a motion to increase development aid to the pledged 0.7% of GDP by 2015. Canada will meet this target on time, and commit to maintaining our foreign aid budget at no less than 0.7%. To make aid more accountable, Aid Accountability Legislation will be enacted and enforced.

Engaging Canadian Academics

Canada boasts some of the strongest academics in the field of human security. As a key strategy towards achieving sustainable development and limiting conflict, Canada will increase support for academic institutions, universities, and think-tanks engaged in development and conflict studies. The budget for the International Development Research Center (IDRC) will also be increased to a minimum 7% of Canada's Research and Development (R&D) budget, up from 5%.

Engaging Multilateral Institutions

Multilateralism is Canada's preferred method of international cooperation. Canada will continue to work through its traditional avenues of multilateralism, particularly the United Nations. The UN is, and will continue to be, Canada's premier forum for interaction with the international community. Canada will strengthen the UN by committing to support its initiatives and decisions and by wielding its diplomatic power responsibly and effectively. Canada will also continue to work through other multilateral institutions to achieve its human security goals.

Developing International Policy

International policy making is a historical strength of Canada. In order to achieve many of the key human security initiatives outlined within this document, it will be necessary to develop and 'sell' new international legislation to the international community. By working through traditional allies, and by seeking new ones, Canada will take a leading role in developing and implementing new and effective international policy in the UN and other international organizations.

Engaging Canadian Civil Society

Canada has traditionally been a nation of globally-minded citizens. Canada will work to increase the participation of Canadian society in issues of development and human security. Through strong leadership, education, and support of Canadian global institutions, Canada will foster a renewed sense of 'internationalism' amongst its citizens.

4.5 Regional Focuses

Key Regions

West Bank and Gaza

While Canada will continue to recognize Israel as a legitimate state, and acknowledges the rights of its citizens, Canada will commit to the humanitarian efforts in the Occupied Territories known as the West Bank and Gaza. The responsibility of Canada as a state which highly values the right to a life free from fear and want, is to intervene diplomatically on behalf of innocent civilians; in particular women and children living in conflict areas.

Sub-Saharan Africa

Recognizing the vastness and diversity of such a continent, Canada will attempt to focus its diplomatic efforts to areas either directly in conflict, or in danger of conflict. Acknowledging the mistakes of the past, Canada will refuse to retrench its humanitarian efforts in areas where crimes against humanity are being enacted, and will commit to advocate similar policies on behalf of other states.

Latin America

Recognizing the value of continental solidarity in times of adversity, Canada will commit to focusing its resources to assist states in the Americas in need of financial assistance during the economic downturn. Furthermore, Canada will put its efforts into promoting financial and structural development in these states, while committing the primacy of human rights above all other interest.

Key States

Crosscutting Issue: Afghanistan

Human Security and International Relations

To this point, Canadian involvement in Afghanistan and the international War on Terror has taken a predominantly security focus. The development efforts from Canada must be improved, as outlined in the Manley Report of 2008. It is important for Canada to maintain a military commitment until 2011, at which time our efforts will refocus to prioritize training and development. The security efforts will be continued with a focus on development and peace building. Through the combined commitments of development and security forces, Canada will protect the interests of Afghan and Canadian citizens. This new strategy is in sync with Canada's new policy of de-militarizing its counter-terrorism efforts.

Sudan

Canada will work through multilateral bodies in a concerted effort to bring about an end to the violence in Sudan. Canada will pledge increased support to UNAMID both in terms of logistical support and for an expanded mandate. Canada will work towards the imposition of a no-fly zone above Darfur, and is ready to offer its own aircraft to help enforce this mission. Canada will work to isolate the government of Sudan diplomatically and economically with international sanctions and a national divestment program. Canada will appoint a regional representative to North East Africa to represent Canada's interests and values in the area, and to work towards finding solutions to the region's conflicts. Canada also reaffirms its support for the International Criminal Court, and will work tirelessly through all channels to ensure individuals are held accountable for their actions.

Haiti

Haiti will continue to be a major focus of Canada's human security policy. Canada's efforts in Haiti have been largely effective, and this document reaffirms the importance of the development and security of Haiti to our national interest and values.

Summary

Canada's foreign policies have been shaped through careful research and revision of past policies and international norms. In this new international era, Canada will use the following strategies, which are better adapted and more capable of meeting current and future international challenges:

- Pursue policies that combat protectionism, promote open markets, and facilitate an increase in foreign trade and investment.
- Maintain a strong trade relationship with the United States, while at the same time reengaging in the Americas and tapping into emerging markets, particularly in Asia.
- Take an active role in the restructuring of international economic institutions in order to increase economic security within Canada and around the world.
- Identify environmental sustainability as a primary focus of the Canadian government by taking an active stance and matching the commitments of global leaders in environmental policy. Canada will work with both national and international governments, industries and trading partners to follow through with our promises.
- Use the overarching principle of sustainable development to focus on the three priorities of climate change, natural resources and energy policy. By prioritizing the issues of sustainable development, we can better structure and manage future policies. This will give Canada the ability to achieve the goals of our environmental policies.
- By ensuring a sustainable environmental future for Canadian citizens, our nation is protecting the interests of not only our own citizens, but the international interests of a sustainable earth
- Assuring the security of Canadian citizens at home and abroad, while simultaneously making a significant contribution to continental security and prosperity.
- Maintain a high level of cooperation in the international community by work together in achieving our common interest of international security.
- Promote and increase mediation and dialogue between states, primarily through regional means in order to address the root causes of existing and outstanding conflicts.
- Continue to fully implement and increase non-proliferation and disarmament treaties to control, secure, and decrease weapons of mass destruction, and the materials, which produce them.
- Address the root issues of conflict and poverty by taking action to guarantee each person's fundamental right to the freedom from want and the freedom from fear.
- Promoting and defending the idea of our collective Responsibility to Protect.