



Internationalism and Foreign Policy

Chapter

12

The following quotation by Lloyd Axworthy expresses how he feels Canadians promote internationalism through foreign policy, and how such policies affect Canadian identity. Axworthy was Canada's Foreign Affairs Minister from 1996 to 2000 and was nominated for a Nobel Peace Prize for his work on abolishing land mines.

“ *Canadians are on the road to global citizenship. Increasingly in work, travel, education and in personal and political engagement the world is our precinct, with international trade, finance, technology and business driving much of our global interests. But there is also a political, cultural and even moral dimension to our emerging role in global society.*

Canadians take pride in what we do in the world. Our sense of identity is often tied up in such achievements as peacekeeping, placing in the top rung of the United Nations Human Development Index of best places to live, and winning a gold medal in Olympic hockey or a Man Booker Prize in literature. The values we express internationally help define who we are when other distinctions are being erased. Equally, our welfare is closely tied to international rules and practices.¹ ”

Do you consider yourself a *global citizen*? Why or why not? How important do you think it is for Canada to promote its global citizenship?

Chapter Issue

To what extent should foreign policy promote internationalism?

In Chapter 11 you explored various understandings of *internationalism*, as well as the reasons why nations and nation-states choose to participate or not participate in international affairs. For many Canadians, internationalism implies active participation in international affairs, whether politically or economically.

¹ Lloyd Axworthy, *Navigating A New World: Canada's Global Future* (Toronto: Alfred Knopf, 2003), p. 1.

In this chapter, you are asked to turn your attention to the question: To what extent should foreign policy promote internationalism? To help you form an answer to this question, you will look at examples of multilateralism, peacekeeping, foreign aid, supranationalism, and international law and agreements. The following inquiry questions will be used to guide your exploration:

- In what ways does Canada seek co-operation in its foreign policy?
- In what ways does Canada promote internationalism through peacekeeping and foreign aid?
- In what ways do nation-states co-operate and work toward the well-being of the global community?

By examining these areas of inquiry you will develop a better foundation to answer the Main Issue for Part 3 (chapters 11–15): *To what extent should internationalism be pursued?*



Figure 12-1 ▲

Canadian embassies in 1) London, England, 2) Mexico City, Mexico, and 3) Beijing, China.

SKILL PATH

Using Digital Geographic Resources

When using any source of information, you must evaluate it. This applies to electronic sources of information as well as to other media sources. It applies to historical, political, economic, and geographic information. You have already learned some basic criteria to use when evaluating information, such as the following:

- Is the *source* of the information reliable, free of bias, and valid?
- Is the *content* up to date? Can it be corroborated?

Geography is a discipline that covers a wide range of features related to both physical and human aspects of the earth. These features can be studied using many *digital geographic resources*, including the following:

- aerial photography
- animated maps
- topographic maps
- geographic information systems (GIS)
- map projections
- OpenStreetMap (a program that has mapped the world's streets and roads using GPS)
- pictorial maps
- databases
- demographic statistics
- audio/visual presentations
- Google Earth (a program that has mapped the earth by the superimposing of images obtained from satellite imagery, aerial photography, and GIS over a three-dimensional globe)

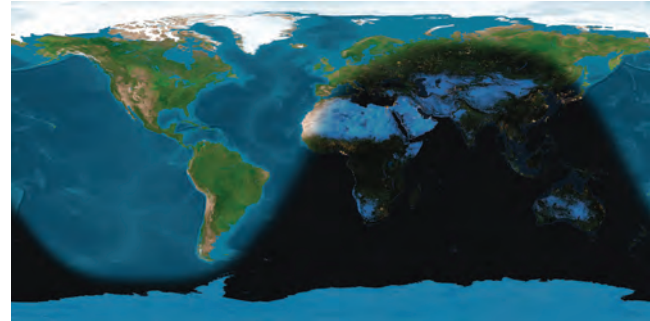


Figure 12-2 ▲

Satellite image of the world provide by The Living Earth, showing digital information.

Follow these steps when evaluating digital geographic resources.

Step 1 Determine the Authority or Source of the Information

What are the purposes of the information, and who provided the information? Ask yourself:

- Is the purpose to inform, to explain, to persuade, or to share?
- Does the purpose affect the validity and reliability of the information?
- Who provided the information?
- Can you identify the source? Consider the source of information.

The suffix of a URL can give you an insight into who provides electronically accessed information:

- *.edu* is an educational institution
- *.gov* is a government website
- *.com* is a commercial organization
- *.org* is a non-profit organization
- *.ca/.au/.uk* indicates the country of origin of the website

Step Evaluate the Content of Resource

2

Consider the accuracy of the information. Ask yourself:

- Is it up to date? When was the last time it was updated?
- Is the source of the information provided? Is it footnoted?
- Is the source a primary or secondary source?
- How thorough is the information?

Keep in mind that the purpose of evaluating is to

- determine the worth of something
- judge or develop an opinion on something
- determine the accuracy or legitimacy of something

Step Consider Ease of Use

3

Try to determine whether using this resource will be an efficient use of your time.

Are there appropriate navigational tools?

- Can you find your way around the website easily?
- Is there an internal search engine?

Are there appropriate graphics?

- Do the graphics present the information in a way that enhances understanding or makes understanding easier?
- Is there good graphic design to simplify the presentation of information?

Technical information

- Does file size make downloading too slow?
- Do you need to have specific software?
- Is the site hyperlinked internally and externally? Do the links work?

Practise It!

Visit and explore the Atlas of Canada website through the link on the *Perspectives on Nationalism* website.

Determine

- the trends in greenhouse gas emissions in Canada from 1998 to 2010
- renewable energy sources in Canada
- projected annual temperature changes in the future

Evaluate these information sources based on the criteria described in steps 1 through 3. What conclusions can you draw based on the information provided? How might this information be used? By whom? For what purposes?

Find another source of digital geographic information and evaluate it based on the criteria described in steps 1 through 3. How does it compare to the Atlas of Canada resources?

Canadian Foreign Policy

Question for Inquiry

- In what ways does Canada seek co-operation in its foreign policy?

Our identity as a country helps shape our interactions with other nations, and international actions affect our identity. Before examining Canada's strategies for interacting and co-operating with other nations, or our foreign policies, it is important to consider our identity as a nation.

Some observers argue that Canada's identity is built on what it is *not*, rather than what it is. Canadian literary critic Northrop Frye



PAUSE AND REFLECT

How important is it to protect Canadian industries and culture from American influences? Is Canadian identity threatened by its proximity to America?

continentalism: a term used to describe the theory of closer ties (for example, in the form of closer trade links, energy sharing, or common wateruse policies) with the US



PAUSE AND REFLECT

How might the traditional Canadian concern about avoiding American influences affect Canada's foreign policy? How might this foreign policy affect internationalism?

multilateralism: various nations or nation-states co-operate to pursue their interests and goals beyond their national borders, not alone, but in co-operation and coalitions with other states

unilateralism: one state or nation-state acts independently to pursue its interests; this is the opposite of multilateralism

bilateralism: two nations or nation-states co-operate to pursue each nation's interests

referred to the legacy of a “garrison mentality” inherited from settlers who faced a harsh wilderness and threats of attack from both Aboriginal and American groups. One student of Canadian history and literature has noted that

the chief original motivation for Canadian national unity was anti-Americanism and a resistance to continentalism. This united the English and French as nothing else could. Thus, at the outset, Canada defined itself in negative terms.²

In 1965, conservative scholar George Grant, in his book *Lament for a Nation: The Defeat of Canadian Nationalism*, stated that when Canada accepted modernity it became clear that “nothing essential distinguishes Canadians from Americans.”³

Resistance to American influence, which began before Confederation and continued after the First and Second World Wars, is supported today by organizations such as the Council of Canadians. In recent times, however, the business community of Canada has urged the government to adopt a **continentalist** position in which North American business would be much more integrated and laws would be harmonized, or made more similar—if not identical. The signing of NAFTA and Canada's role in creating the World Trade Organization (WTO) are evidence of this.

Canadian Foreign Policy

Foreign policy may take the form of **multilateralism**, in which various nations or nation-states co-operate; **unilateralism**, in which a state acts alone; or **bilateralism**, in which two states work together.

For Canadians, multilateralism has traditionally been the approach most favoured, although Canada has had bilateral relations with the United States. This should not be surprising, given that compromise and co-operation are required and that countries that are less able to rely on their own strength can benefit more from a multilateral policy. *Superpowers*, such as the United States, have traditionally preferred to assert themselves unilaterally.

According to the Centre for Canadian Studies at Mount Allison University:

Canada became a member of many international organizations, took part in many conflict-settling activities, and offered its good services to states looking for a constructive mediator. No other major power has established so many memberships in different parts of the world. With the exception of the United States, Canada has never sought to establish bilateral or “special

² David Harris, “Canada—the Problematics of National Identity,” School of English, Queen's University of Belfast, 1997. <http://www.qub.ac.uk/schools/SchoolofEnglish/imperial/canada/nationid.htm>.

³ George Grant, *Lament for a Nation: The Defeat of Canadian Nationalism* (Ottawa: Carleton University Press, 1995), p. 53.

relationships" with other countries. On the contrary, it has always preferred a multilateralist approach with problems on the international stage.⁴

The importance of multilateralism for Canadian foreign policy is underscored in the following statement from Foreign Affairs and International Trade Canada:

Canada has long understood that multilateral cooperation is essential if the world is to make progress in preventing and ending conflict, promoting sustainable development and enabling commerce ...

Foreign Affairs will have a key role in pursuing a new multilateralism that:

- *advances democracy through good governance, human rights protection and respect for diversity;*
- *supports more effective sustainable development strategies;*
- *strengthens international development, including health policy coordination; and*
- *streamlines and modernizes our multilateral diplomacy for greater effectiveness.*⁵

Becoming a Global Energy Player

Major oil companies from around the globe—the United States, Britain, China, France, Norway, and Japan—are currently investing billions of dollars in oil production in northern Alberta. Some say the oil sands could become the biggest industrial project on earth, and because of the oil found here, that Canada may become a global energy superpower. What does becoming a global energy player mean for Canada's future? How might this affect Canada's foreign policy and our relationships with other nations?

Fast Facts

2006 Statistics: Alberta Oil Sands⁶

Initial volume in place:	1.7	trillion barrels
Remaining ultimate potential:	315	billion barrels
Production (marketable):	1.126	million barrels per day
Royalties:	\$ 2.4	billion (fiscal 2006–2007)
Employment (total oil, gas, and oil sands):	106.8	thousand (direct upstream)
Cumulative investment:	\$ 60	billion (1996–2006 CAPP)
Investment:	\$ 14	billion (2006 CAPP)

⁴ From: http://www.mta.ca/faculty/arts/canadian_studies/english/about/study_guide/world/multilateralism.html.

⁵ Foreign Affairs and International Trade Canada, "Global Issues: Promoting a New Multilateralism." <http://geo.international.gc.ca/cip-pic/IPS/IPS-Diplomacy7-en.asp>.

⁶ From: <http://www.energy.gov.ab.ca/OilSands/585.asp>.

⁷ Alberta Chamber of Resources, *Oil Sands Technology Roadmap: Unlocking the Potential*, 30 January 2004. http://www.acr-alberta.com/Projects/Oil_Sands_Technology_Roadmap/OSTR_report.pdf.

PAUSE AND REFLECT

Do you agree that Canadian foreign policy is based on multilateralism? How does multilateralism promote internationalism?



Figure 12-3 ▲

Since the 1990s, the oil sands of northern Alberta have emerged as a source of major quantities of oil. Oil sands are deposits of bitumen, a heavy black oil that must be removed from sand and treated to convert it into crude oil. Crude oil is the predominant energy source in the world. The world's demand for oil is predicted to increase to more than 120 million barrels daily by 2030.⁷

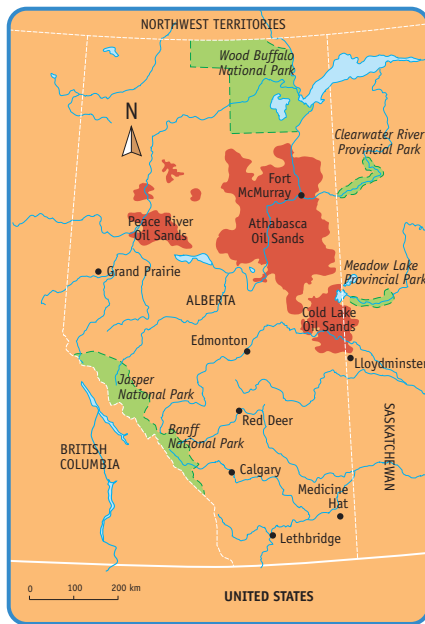


Figure 12-4 ▲

Alberta's oil sands consist of an area of approximately 140 200 square kilometres—an area larger than the state of Florida.

Fast Facts

As of December 2007, there were approximately 4264 oil sands agreements within the province of Alberta, totalling 64 919 square kilometres. Based largely on the reserves found in northern Alberta, Canada ranks second largest in terms of global proven crude oil reserves (15 per cent of world reserves), after Saudi Arabia.⁸

PAUSE AND REFLECT

How has Canada's reputation and the country's relationships with other nations influenced the world's interest in Canadian oil? Why might Canada be seen as a better investment option than some other countries?



Figure 12-5 ▲

Oil sands tailings (sand and water) are pumped into a tailing pond at an oil sands facility near Fort McMurray, Alberta.

The development of the oil sands has a vast environmental impact. Oil production from the sands requires a great deal of energy, which means the burning of fossil fuels and the release of greenhouse gases. Currently, oil sands mining operations are licensed to draw 349 million cubic metres of fresh water from the Athabasca River every year—twice the amount used by Calgary, or about two to five barrels of water for every barrel of oil produced. Some of the water is recycled, but much of the leftovers end up in massive toxic tailing ponds that are large enough to be seen from space.⁹

The effect of oil sands production on the environment has sparked protest at home and around the world. Many countries—including Canada—are currently attempting to reduce the human impact on the environment globally; for example, through international agreements and treaties. In April 2007, the Canadian government made a commitment to reduce our greenhouse gas emissions “an absolute 20 per cent by 2020.”¹⁰ How might Canada's environmental commitments to other countries around the world influence oil production in Alberta? What might happen if other governments impose levies or taxes on oil from sources it considers “dirty,” such as the oil sands?

⁸ From: <http://www.energy.gov.ab.ca/OilSands/585.asp>

⁹ Erin Anderssen, Shawn Mccarthy, and Eric Reguly, “An Empire from a Tub of Goo”, *The Globe and Mail*, 26 January 2008. <http://www.theglobeandmail.com/servlet/story/RTGAM.20080125.woilsandsmain0126/BNStory/oilsands/?pageRequested=all>.

¹⁰ Environment Canada, “News Release: Government Delivers Details of Greenhouse Gas Regulatory Framework,” 10 March 2008. <http://www.ec.gc.ca/default.asp?lang=En&n=714D9AAE-1&news=B2B42466-B768-424C-9A5B-6D59C2AE1C36>.

The Alberta tar sands are both a Canadian and an international venture. Canada has the resources, yet requires the financial backing, labour force, and expertise of other nations to produce oil at the current rate or to increase production in the future. How might Canada's multilateral approach to foreign policy influence our role as a key world oil producer?



PAUSE AND REFLECT

How could Canada's growing economic dependence on oil affect its foreign policies? How could it affect our identity as Canadians?

Devastation of the Atlantic Fisheries

Something to Think About: What are the dangers of international competition rather than international co-operation?

An Example: The following are excerpts from "Canada's Fishery," part of the *About Canada* series published by Mount Allison University:

Europeans had been coming to fish off North America for centuries. After the Second World War the famed Grand Banks truly became an international fishing ground as fishers from more than two dozen nations came regularly to join with Canadians and Americans in search of a variety of fish species. However, in the rush to harvest the natural resource, the fishing nations didn't realize that the ocean's bounty was limited. Several attempts were made to develop a fishery which would have allowed harvesting the resource without destroying it for future generations. However, the current state of the fishery tells a sad tale. With a moratorium on fishing most of the species in Canadian waters and huge cuts in the quotas for the stocks outside Canada's 200-mile exclusive economic zone, it is clear that many fishing nations failed to protect the fish stocks. The Canadian confrontation with Spain early in 1995 to protect the turbot stocks demonstrates the continued serious challenges to sustainable development ...

After the First World War, French, Spanish, and Portuguese fishers continued to fish on the Grand Banks alongside Americans, Canadians, and Newfoundlanders. Many of the Europeans who came to fish on the Grand Banks were encouraged to do so by bounties paid by their home governments ...

Finally, in a spirit of cooperation rare among the fishing nations, 11 countries met in January 1949 to create the International Convention for the Northwest Atlantic Fisheries (ICNAF) for management and conservation of the fish stocks.

INVESTIGATION

Unfortunately, ICNAF had only the authority to recommend; it had no power to enforce its regulatory measures. It soon became clear that the organization was ill-equipped to deal with the tremendous increase in fishing in the Northwest Atlantic. Even as ICNAF scientists warned repeatedly that cod and haddock stocks were seriously threatened, calls for a catch limit were ignored ...

The Soviets approached fishing as they might a military campaign. After reconnaissance ships determined that an area was commercially viable, the whole fleet, including numerous modern factory-freezer stern trawlers and a large number of smaller trawlers, were deployed in the area. A mother, or factory ship, accompanied the fleet to process the catch of the smaller trawlers ...

By the mid-1960s the West and East Germans, Poles, Romanians, Norwegians, Italians, Belgians, Dutch, Greeks, Japanese, Cubans, and Koreans had come to join the Soviets, Americans, Spanish, Portuguese, French, and Canadians on the Grand Banks ...

Even after controls were put in place to protect the fish stocks, too many fishers, often with the support of their governments, continued to pursue the fish with little regard for the rules. The result, of course, was a collapse of fish stocks in the waters off Canada's east coast ...

Even as the yields reached an historic high on the east coast in 1986, the World Commission on Environment and Development, the Brundtland Commission, warned that the world's oceans were in trouble as overfishing threatened most of the familiar fish stocks. In fact, Canadian scientists advised the government of Canada in 1980 to implement a total ban on fishing capelin and cod on the Grand Banks. The advice was not implemented at that time. Moreover, some members of the Northwest Atlantic Fisheries Organization (NAFO), formed in 1979 to replace ICNAF, were dissatisfied with their quotas inside Canada's 200-mile zone. They turned to the Nose and Tail of the Grand Banks outside the 200-mile limit and registered their vessels in non-NAFO countries to avoid following international rules. The areas outside Canada's jurisdiction were important spawning and nursery grounds for a variety of species. Between 1986 and 1991 non-NAFO vessels allegedly caught more than 200 000 tonnes of fish in these areas. Moreover, from 1986 to 1992, the European Union set quotas for itself, and its reported catches were five times the NAFO quota ...

Foreign fishing fleets surely played an important role in the devastation of the cod stocks, but Canada must also share a portion of the blame. While Canada criticized the overfishing by foreign fleets, it



Figure 12-6 ▲

Two girls standing by a large codfish, in Labrador, 1905. Cod fishing represented a way of life for many Newfoundlanders until the industry was shut down.

also ignored warnings from both its own scientists and an independent review of the northern cod stocks indicating that the resource was in trouble and fishing should be reduced. Canada and other NAFO member states maintained their quotas, fearing the massive unemployment that would have resulted from shutting down the industry. By 1992, with the survival of many of the fish stocks in serious question, the Canadian government initiated major quota reductions that effectively closed much of the fishing industry in eastern Canada. In 1994, the Minister of Fisheries and Oceans, introduced the Coastal Fisheries Protection Act which empowered the Department of Fisheries and Oceans officers to board and arrest foreign vessels that violated conservation measures. NAFO eventually agreed to a partial ban on some stocks, but as the Canadian arrest of a Spanish trawler early in 1995 demonstrates, some fishing nations are still uncommitted to the principle of sustainable development.¹¹

Newfoundlanders Speak about the Impact of Closing the Fisheries:

Julie Mitchell, from Harbour Mile, Newfoundland, explains her family's decision that her partner would travel to Fort McMurray to work for 6 weeks then come home for 18 days.

Especially in terms of sustaining communities and helping us get through the adjustment that occurred because of the closure of the cod fishery ... And as we go through the lulls of shipbuilding and fabricating on the Burin Peninsula, this is a way people can cope with the ebb and flow of employment ... in a way, it keeps communities whole, or even enhanced ...

It's a sacrifice being away from your family, but when things get going again (in the region), the personnel will be here ... We don't want to leave Newfoundland. We don't want to uproot the children, and we don't want to sell out. It's hard to adjust, but in another sense, you've got to make a living, and we're not the type to sit around and wait.¹²

Journalist Susan Pollack went to Petty Harbour, Newfoundland to find out about the impact of closing the fisheries. She spent time with locals, including Martin Bernard, who discussed the Newfoundland identity and changes people there face.

Martin misses his work terribly. Fishing, he says, "is part of what defines me as a person; it's what I do, it's in my blood. It's part of my way of life. It's hard to let go of it."¹³

11 Mount Allison University, "Canada's Fishery," *About Canada*. http://www.mta.ca/faculty/arts/canadian_studies/english/about/fisheries/index.htm.

12 Stephanie Porter, "Working Away," *The Independent*, 19 March 2006.

13 Susan Pollack, "The Last Fish—Closing of Newfoundland Fishing Grounds," *Sierra*, July–Aug. 1995. http://findarticles.com/p/articles/mi_m1525/is_n4_v80/ai_17160378/pg_1.

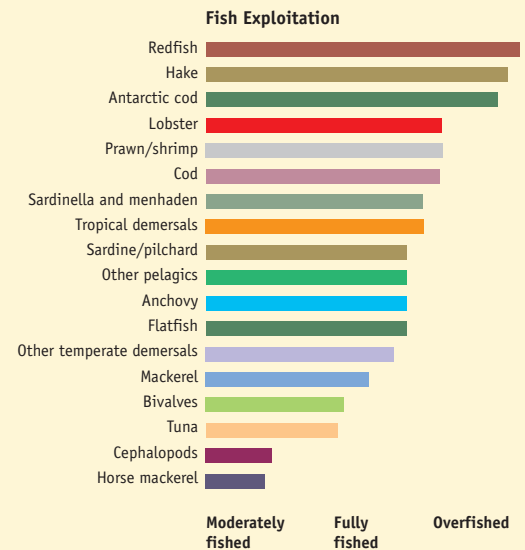


Figure 12-7 ▲

Graph of fish exploitation.
Source: Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations.

- 1 How might international co-operation have avoided the closure of the fisheries in Atlantic Canada? Investigate the attempts at multilateral co-operation between fishing nations. Why did they fail?
- 2 How might this situation, brought about by international developments, affect the identity of Newfoundlanders? Based on this Investigation, how would you answer the following question: What are the effects of internationalism on individual and collective identity?
- 3 What cautions can be taken from the foreign policies that led to the fisheries crisis? Can the lessons taken from this story be applied to Canada's oil exploration? Explain.

Explore the Issues

- 1 Choose an example of Canadian multilateralism. Describe Canada's relationship with the other nations involved and how these relationships reflect Canadian foreign policy. How do these relationships influence our national identity?
- 2 Write a position on the following issue: To what extent are Canadians willing to pay the human and environmental costs that arise from our commitment to meeting the energy needs of other nations?
- 3 Are there examples of Canada acting in a unilateralist way? Choose one, describe it, and write an argument for why you believe the Canadian policies are unilateralist.



Figure 12-8 ▲

1) Canadian members of the UN Emergency Force (UNEF) on the border between Egypt and Israel in 1962. 2) Canadian troops nearing the end of their UN mission in Senafe, Eritrea, hand out dolls to the local children in 2001. 3) Canadian troops depart for Afghanistan to help maintain security in the region in 2003.

Canadian Peacekeeping and Foreign Aid

Question for Inquiry

- In what ways does Canada promote internationalism through peacekeeping and foreign aid?

Over the last 50 years, Canada has increased its role in resolving conflicts and reducing human suffering around the globe. Many Canadians feel that, as a prosperous country, we have an obligation to do what we can to help others in need. Often, our foreign policies have been developed to reflect these feelings, but are the Canadian government's motives purely humanitarian? Do Canadian national interests also influence these policies?

Peacekeeping to Peacemaking: A New Legacy for Canada

The United Nations defines *peacekeeping* as follows:

*Peacekeeping is a way to help countries torn by conflict create conditions for sustainable peace. UN peacekeepers—soldiers and military officers, police and civilian personnel from many countries—monitor and observe peace processes that emerge in post-conflict situations and assist conflicting parties to implement the peace agreement they have signed. Such assistance comes in many forms, including promoting human security, confidence-building measures, power-sharing arrangements, electoral support, strengthening the rule of law, and economic and social development.*¹⁴

¹⁴ Peace and Security Section, United Nations Department of Public Information. United Nations 2006. <http://www.un.org/Depts/dpko/dpko/faq/index.htm>.

The relationships between national interest and internationalism for Canada through peacekeeping are described below:

Lester Pearson often referred to international co-operation for peace as the most important aspect of national policy. He used the short terms “participatory internationalism” and “internationalism” for the policy of maintaining and strengthening world peace as a principal objective of Canada’s national policy. In Pearson’s view, adherence to the concept of participatory internationalism required that “we always ask ourselves not only ‘What kind of a Canada do we want?’ but ‘What kind of a world do we want?’” For Pearson, “this world view was consistent with a proper regard for our own interests” because “nationalism and internationalism were two sides of the same coin.”¹⁵

In the 1950s, when the Suez Canal peacekeeping solution was presented by Lester Pearson, Canada had a substantial military force. It had only recently been involved in two major wars (the Second World War and Korea), and the remaining forces were well trained, well equipped, and ready to move into a peacekeeping role. The Suez solution worked so well that the United Nations built on the idea to assist countries around the world, bringing in many nations to help. Canada remained a major partner in the process, but over time other nations became equally important, resulting in a world that often acts together to help others prevent war and maintain peace.

Peacekeeping recently has become more difficult, as Canada has committed to several direct military interventions (Bosnia, Rwanda, and Afghanistan). This has stretched the resources of the Canadian military. By the 21st century, Canada had hit a wall, needing either to reduce its role in the world or find ways to expand and improve the military to meet the increasing demands on the small force. Further, the line between a military presence to “monitor and observe peace processes” and enforcement through active intervention has become increasingly blurred. For decades, Canadian peacekeepers have stood between warring interests—but has this brought peace?

Canada in Afghanistan

Afghanistan represents a situation in which Canada sent troops before UN peacekeeping was established. As early as October after the terrorist

PAUSE AND REFLECT

Do you agree with Lester Pearson’s view of Canada’s national policy? What are possible benefits of this policy? What are the possible costs? Are they worth it?

PAUSE AND REFLECT

Can peacekeeping result in long-term resolutions? Do all countries benefit from UN intervention and Canadian support?



Figure 12-9 ▲

Major Jean-Guy Plante of the Canadian Armed Forces walks with Rwandan children displaced due to the Rwandan civil war.

¹⁵ Erika Simpson, “The Principles of Internationalism According to Lester Pearson,” *Journal of Canadian Studies*, Spring 1999. http://findarticles.com/p/articles/mi_qa3683/is_199904/ai_n8841871/pg_6.



PAUSE AND REFLECT

Should Canada increase its military? What is the most appropriate role for Canada's military? How might a larger military force affect you and your identity as a Canadian? Would you support a foreign policy decision to increase Canada's military role in the world?

attacks on the United States on 11 September 2001, Canada sent a naval task force to the Persian Gulf, and then a battle group was sent to help the US-backed troops and Afghanistan's Northern Alliance to oust the Taliban group that had held power since 1996. The stated aim of the operations was to halt the country's use as a base for terrorist activity. But there were other concerns about Afghanistan. Most countries did not recognize the Taliban as a legitimate government. Its extreme interpretation of Islamic law was expressed in extensive human rights abuses, including the slaughter of minority ethnic groups and the imposition of repressive laws. Women's rights were especially restrictive, as girls were not allowed to work or go to school after the age of eight, and risked execution if they disobeyed.

The United Nations decided, after pressure from major partners like the United States, to intervene, and many countries assisted by sending in troops and materiel. To date, although an elected government has tried to restructure the country, the Taliban have maintained a force in the nation to destabilize the government. Here is what the Global Policy Forum said about this predicament:

In December 2001 the Security Council authorized the International Security Assistance Force to maintain security for the Afghanistan Transitional Authority. In March 2002 the Council established the United Nations Assistance Mission for Afghanistan, UNAMA, to manage all UN humanitarian, relief, recovery and reconstruction activities. Despite these initiatives, Afghanistan remains a "failed state." The authority of President Hamid Karzai, victor in the presidential election of October 2004, barely extends beyond Kabul's suburbs and warlords are once again in control of most of the country.¹⁶

The response of the Canadian government to growing concern among citizens over Canada's role has been expressed by the Canadian government as follows:

*Canada is in Afghanistan at the request of the democratically elected government, along with **36 other nations**, and as part of a **UN-sanctioned mission** to help build a stable, democratic, and self-sufficient society.*

*About **2500** members of the Canadian Forces (CF) are currently serving as part of Joint Task Force Afghanistan (JTF AFG). They play a key role in the NATO-led International Security Assistance Force (ISAF) mission whose goal is to **improve the security situation** in Afghanistan and **assist in rebuilding the country**.¹⁷*

¹⁶ Global Policy Forum, "UN Involvement in Afghanistan," June 2007. <http://www.globalpolicy.org/security/issues/afgindx.htm>.

¹⁷ National Defence and the Canadian Forces, "Backgrounder: Canadian Forces Operations in Afghanistan," 14 August 2007. http://www.forces.gc.ca/site/newsroom/view_news_e.asp?id=1703.

The military action of occupying forces in Afghanistan clearly cannot be considered peacekeeping in the traditional sense of helping conflicting factions negotiate peace. Canada and UN forces are actively fighting to establish a peaceful nation in what has come to be called *peacemaking* or peace building. Canada has sent troops to fight the Taliban, provide security for the Afghani people, rebuild the basics of society (hospitals, schools, police forces, and so on), and generally help the people of Afghanistan. The cost has been substantial: billions of dollars, and the lives of many people in the Canadian Armed Forces, implementing the policies of the Canadian government.

Many Canadians are divided on the nature of our role in Afghanistan: Should Canada's mission be primarily a military mission to seek out and destroy the Taliban, or should it be primarily a humanitarian and democracy-building mission to win the hearts and minds of the people of Afghanistan?

Ideas and Opinions

“The situation in Afghanistan is such that Canada's role there can't be defined narrowly, Afghan President Hamid Karzai told CBC News on Friday.

“Your military presence is a must because without that, we would not be able to keep our country together, and your reconstruction activity is necessary because it gives us economic opportunity and employment and a better quality of life,” Karzai said.¹⁸”

—Afghan President Hamid Karzai as quoted by CBC News, September 2006

“We gather to make our voices heard and tell the Prime Minister: it's time to pull our troops out of Kandahar ...

This is why the NDP is calling to withdraw our troops from Kandahar.

1. It's an unbalanced mission.
2. It's not making life safer for Canadian families.
3. It's not helping ordinary Afghans either.
4. It's an ill-defined mission — without clear goals or exit strategy.¹⁹”

—Excerpts from Jack Layton's speech at the Bring Home the Troops rally, 28 October 2006

What different views do people have on Canada's interests in Afghanistan?



Figure 12-10 ▲

Canadian Prime Minister Stephen Harper shakes hands with Lieutenant Colonel Sherin Shaw during a tour of a Canadian forward operation base in Ma'Sum Ghar, Kandahar province, Afghanistan, 23 May 2007.

PAUSE AND REFLECT

What Canadian national interests are served by our military role as peacemakers? What do you think the criteria should be for Canadians to send troops into foreign countries?

¹⁸ From: <http://www.cbc.ca/canada/story/2006/09/22/karzai-hill.html>.

¹⁹ From: <http://www.ndp.ca/page/4495>.

Foreign Aid

Many governments around the world work with one another to improve the quality of life of people in developing countries and to combat issues like poverty, human rights violations, famine, AIDS, and other health concerns. This is done primarily through financial aid and the funding of government programs. The Canadian government has been attempting for over 40 years to reach the goal of donating 0.7 per cent of the country's gross domestic product (GDP, a measure of a country's wealth) to help eradicate poverty in the world. As of 2005, Canada is donating 0.28 per cent of the GDP.²⁰

The Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA) is Canada's lead development agency. CIDA works in partnerships around the world to support sustainable development in developing countries and to offer humanitarian assistance in areas of need. It chooses a number of countries to focus on where

*the right conditions exist for sustained development and where Canada has the best chance of making a difference. Tanzania and Ghana are examples of country partners with the type of accountable institutions, strong civil society, and adherence to rule of law and human rights that make aid more effective ... CIDA works in conjunction with other donor countries to harmonize and customize programs to reduce development burdens in specific countries, focusing mainly on its priority sectors: democratic governance, health (including HIV/AIDS), basic education, private sector development, environmental sustainability, and equality between women and men.*²¹

PAUSE AND REFLECT

How does CIDA decide which countries will receive government aid? Do Canadian national interests influence these decisions?

The Tsunami of 2004

The earthquake that generated the great Indian Ocean tsunami of 2004 is estimated to have released the energy of 23 000 Hiroshima-type atomic bombs, according to the U.S. Geological Survey (USGS).

Giant forces that had been building up deep in the Earth for hundreds of years were released suddenly on December 26, shaking the ground violently and unleashing a series of killer waves that sped across the Indian Ocean at the speed of a jet airliner.

*By the end of the day more than 150 000 people were dead or missing and millions more were homeless in 11 countries, making it perhaps the most destructive tsunami in history.*²²

20 CTV.ca News Staff, "Canada's Foreign-Aid Falls Short of Promises," 19 April 2005. Source: http://www.ctv.ca/servlet/ArticleNews/story/CTVNews/1113915824477_52/?hub=Canada.

21 Canadian International Development Agency, "Canada's Aid Effectiveness—The Facts." <http://www.acdi-cida.gc.ca/CIDAWEB/acdicida.nsf/En/ALA-321134959-NWT>.

22 National Geographic News, "The Deadliest Tsunami in History? Tsunamis: Facts about Killer Waves," 7 January 2005. http://news.nationalgeographic.com/news/2004/12/1227_041226_tsunami.html.

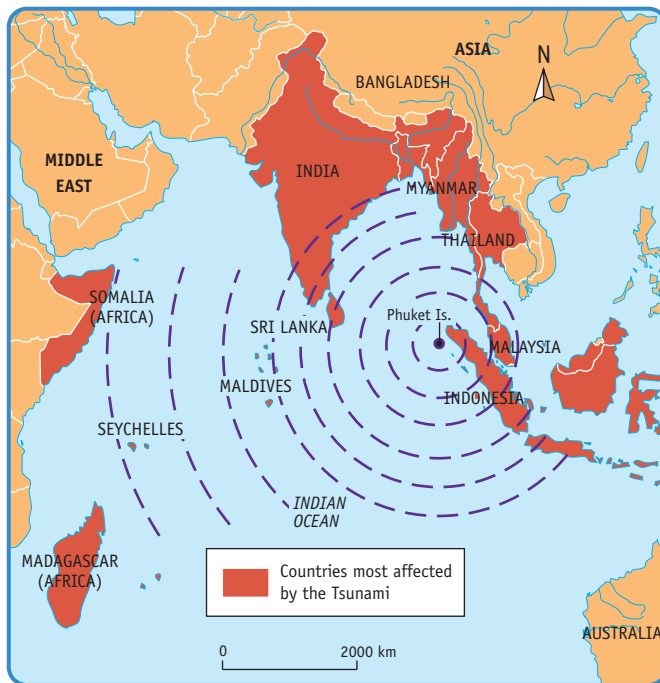


Figure 12-11

Region affected by the 2004 Indian Ocean tsunami.

The Indian Ocean tsunami of 2004, which resulted in the deaths of over 225 000 people, is one powerful example of why nation-states around the world might choose to become involved in international efforts to provide support and assistance. Here is a comment on the importance of the immediate relief effort by the international community:

The UN chief emergency co-ordinator has paid tribute to the world's aid effort after the Indian Ocean tsunami, saying it has saved many lives.

Speaking a month after the disaster, Jan Egeland said the swift response had prevented a second wave of deaths through disease and malnutrition.²³

In the specific case of this tsunami, the world, in a multinational effort, responded by pouring over \$7 billion into governments and NGOs in an effort to provide for survivors and rebuild destroyed communities. Following the disaster, the UN acted by developing a system to warn people in advance about similar tsunamis:

Eighteen months after the Indian Ocean tsunami killed more than 200 000 people in a dozen countries, a United Nations-backed early warning system, which experts say could have saved scores of thousands of lives had it existed at the time, is on schedule to become operational for the entire region by the end of July.²⁴



PAUSE AND REFLECT

Why should nations feel a commitment to helping other nations during times of natural disaster? Might there be other motives besides humanitarian ones?

²³ BBC News, "UN Praises Tsunami Relief Effort," 27 January 2007. <http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/world/asia-pacific/4211135.stm>.

²⁴ "UN-Backed Tsunami Early Warning System Set to Become Operation in Indian Ocean," UN News Centre, 28 June 2006. <http://www.un.org/apps/news/story.asp?NewsID=19030&Cr=tsunami&Cr1=>.



Figure 12-12 ▲

Red Cross volunteers (left to right) Caitlyn Colquhoun, Liz Jarvis, and Pam Miller prepare to collect donations at the annual New Year's celebration in downtown Halifax, 31 December 2004, to aid victims of the earthquake and tsunami in Southeast Asia.



PAUSE AND REFLECT

What Canadian beliefs and values are evident in the example of the tsunami relief effort? Do you agree with the Canadian responses to this natural disaster? Why might some people see things differently than you?

Canada's response to the tsunami disaster relief in Asia demonstrates both the humanitarian and multilateral aspects of its foreign policy. Canada's government co-ordinated with governments and organizations in the affected countries of Indonesia, Sri Lanka, India, and the Maldives in many ways, including the following:

- The Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA) became responsible for over \$280 million of government commitments to begin the task of rebuilding segments of the destroyed communities in the Indian Ocean region through 2009.
- The Canadian Space Agency (CSA) shared satellite images of the disaster region to assist in defining the damage and planning for recovery.
- Citizenship and Immigration Canada (CIC) expedited the immigration of over 350 people from the disaster region to be reunited with Canadian family members.
- The Department of Finance Canada set a moratorium on debts held by affected nations to allow them to focus on rebuilding rather than repayment.
- The Department of National Defence (DND) sent the Canadian Forces Disaster Assistance Response Team (DART) to the area; the team provided clean water, medical assistance, and transportation to thousands of survivors in Sri Lanka.
- The Public Health Agency of Canada allowed part of the National Emergency Stockpile System (NESS) to be shipped to Malaysia. This included water containers, blankets, medicines, and generators, among other things.
- The Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP) sent a team of ten forensic specialists to Bangkok, Thailand to assist in identifying the dead.

In addition, the Government of Canada pledged to match, dollar for dollar, any amount raised by Canadians and given to Canadian NGOs for tsunami relief. Canadians donated over \$213 million toward disaster relief.

Explore the Issues

- 1** Select one example of what you think would be called a successful *peacekeeping* operation, and one example of what you think would be a successful *peacemaking* operation. Explain the reasons for your choices.
- 2** Identify the ways in which Canada has worked with other nations for global humanitarian purposes and draw conclusions about the capacity and will of Canadians to provide international aid. How much do we give?

International Organizations, Laws, and Agreements

Question for Inquiry

- In what ways do nation-states co-operate and work toward the well-being of the global community?

Supranationalism involves nations putting aside their self-interests to work with other nations for the good of the collective, or for global good. The well-being of humanity as a whole is placed above the well-being of any one particular nation. In supranational organizations, member nations appoint representatives to an international body, which then makes decisions to which members agree to abide. These organizations are often responsible for creating international laws and agreements, which are to be followed by all member countries. Through their participation in these international organizations, nations attempt to balance their national interests with the well-being of the global community.

Examples of Supranational Organizations

The United Nations: In 1945, representatives of 50 countries met in San Francisco at an international conference and organized the United Nations, the purposes of which are

*to maintain international peace and security; to develop friendly relations among nations; to cooperate in solving international economic, social, cultural and humanitarian problems and in promoting respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms; and to be a centre for harmonizing the actions of nations in attaining these ends.*²⁵

Ideas and Opinions

“Agencies of the UN system are capable of changing the world. Look at UNICEF in the 1980s when it advanced the Child Survival Revolution; look at WHO in the last two years as it initiated anti-retroviral treatment which will prolong millions of lives; look at the World Food Programme today, expanding its mandate to touch ever greater numbers of the uprooted and disinherited of the earth.”²⁶

—Stephen Lewis, former Canadian UN ambassador, speech at the Harvard University Conference on UN Reform and Human Rights, 25 February 2006.



PAUSE AND REFLECT

How might participation in supranational organizations be beneficial to individual nations?

²⁵ United Nations, *Basic Facts about the United Nations*, 2004. <http://www.un.org/aboutun/basicfacts/unorg.htm>.

²⁶ From: http://www.stephenlewisfoundation.org/news_speech_item.cfm?news=1162&year=2006.

Fast Facts

As of 2008, the AU has deployed 7000 peacekeepers to help stabilize the conflict in Sudan, which has left as many as 200 000 dead from violence and disease.²⁸

The African Union: The African Union (AU) is a supranational organization consisting of 53 African nations as of 2008. The AU works toward improving and securing democracy, human rights, and a stable economy in Africa, in particular through resolving African conflicts and creating a common market among African countries. The New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD) is a creation of the African Union and acts under its charter. Its primary objectives are:

- a) *To eradicate poverty;*
- b) *To place African countries, both individually and collectively, on a path of sustainable growth and development;*
- c) *To halt the marginalization of Africa in the globalization process and enhance its full and beneficial integration into the global economy;*
- d) *To accelerate the empowerment of women²⁷*

The World Trade Organization: The World Trade Organization (WTO) is a group of nation-states who work together to resolve trade issues. The WTO agreements set the legal rules for international trade designed to

help producers of goods and services, exporters, and importers conduct their business, while allowing governments to meet social and environmental objectives The system's overriding purpose is to help trade flow as freely as possible—so long as there are no undesirable side-effects—because this is important for economic development and well-being.²⁹

The WTO promotes the equal treatment of foreign and national companies in terms of trade, as well as a reduction in government involvement in commerce, through tariffs, concessions, and regulation—in essence, the WTO promotes free trade between nations.

Some people and groups are concerned about free trade and the reduction of government involvement in trade, as they believe that governments have a responsibility to regulate trade for the common good and the good of the environment. They worry that member countries of the WTO may not be able to make their own trade choices based on the beliefs and values of their people—for example, they may not be allowed to say “no” to genetically modified foods or to products that are harmful to the environment. Some feel that the WTO ignores important environmental and labour issues, and values the interests of free markets over the interests of ordinary people.

The WTO has also been criticized for benefiting rich countries and not poorer ones—and thus not being a supranational organization.

PAUSE AND REFLECT

To what extent should governments protect their people against the forces of international markets?

²⁷ From: <http://www.nepad.org/2005/files/inbrief.php>.

²⁸ Associated Press, “Hundreds Killed in Attacks in Eastern Chad,” *The Washington Post*, 11 April 2007. <http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2007/04/10/AR2007041001775.html>.

²⁹ “What Is the World Trade Organization?” http://www.wto.org/english/thewto_e/whatis_e/tif_e/fact1_e.htm.



Figure 12-13 ▲

In November 1999, the WTO ministerial conference in Seattle, Washington was the target of mass protests by anti-globalization activists and others who were unhappy about the effects of free trade. On November 30, hundreds of people took to the streets outside the conference centre where the WTO was meeting, blocking intersections and preventing delegates from getting from their hotels to the convention centre. The Seattle police resorted to firing pepper spray, tear gas canisters, percussion grenades, and rubber bullets at protesters in an effort to open the roads.

Some feel that the WTO allows rich and powerful countries to control less powerful countries.

International Law and Treaties

Nations need ways to interact with one another that ensure fair dealings. *International law* is one way to control how nations treat one another. Under the United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea (UNCLOS), for example, nations are expected to follow a set of rules that determine water boundaries, fishing rights, salvage rights, protocol between vessels at sea, harbour regulations, the use of national flags, and registries.

NATO is an example of a multinational military treaty (it involves 26 nations) designed to promote a strong defensive posture to the world.

The Parties to this Treaty reaffirm their faith in the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations and their desire to live in peace with all peoples and all governments. They are determined to safeguard the freedom, common heritage and civilisation of their peoples, founded on the principles of democracy, individual liberty and the rule of law. They seek to

PAUSE AND REFLECT

Is “freer trade” always in everyone’s best interest? Could the WTO be encouraged to become more supranationalistic?

PAUSE AND REFLECT

Should international law allow an international agency to oversee economic globalization, as in the case of the WTO?

Figure 12-14

Canada's continental shelf, showing fishing limits under UNCLOS.



*promote stability and well-being in the North Atlantic area. They are resolved to unite their efforts for collective defence and for the preservation of peace and security.*³⁰

The original mission of NATO has changed since the Cold War. Originally designed to maintain European security against possible communist threats, it has now transformed itself into more of a supranational agency by becoming a more general security force designed broadly to protect the global interests of the member nations. This explains why NATO forces are engaged in Afghanistan.

Figure 12-15

Governor General Michaëlle Jean pays tribute to Canada's military women during a visit to the NATO base in Kandahar, Afghanistan, 9 March 2007.



³⁰ "The North Atlantic Treaty," Washington, DC, 4 April 1949.
<http://www.nato.int/docu/basicxt/treaty.htm>

The North American Aerospace Defense Command (NORAD) is another military treaty, in this case, a bilateral treaty between Canada and the United States. Its purpose is

*charged with the missions of aerospace warning and aerospace control for North America. Aerospace warning includes the monitoring of man-made objects in space, and the detection, validation, and warning of attack against North America whether by aircraft, missiles, or space vehicles, through mutual support arrangements with other commands. Aerospace control includes ensuring air sovereignty and air defense of the airspace of Canada and the United States. The May 2006 NORAD Agreement renewal added a maritime warning mission, which entails a shared awareness and understanding of the activities conducted in U.S. and Canadian maritime approaches, maritime areas and inland waterways.*³¹

Another example of countries working together for the well-being of the global community are the Geneva Conventions on war, which set regulations about actions permissible in war, including the care of prisoners and injured, the law of warfare at sea, and the control of “collateral damage” to civilians. Nations are expected to temper their actions during a war so that there is at least a basic level of respect for humanity, especially civilian populations, even when armies are trying to kill one another.

International laws can be used after a conflict has been resolved to try individuals who have clearly stepped beyond humane practice in war. Holding *war crimes trials* is one way to force all nations to be accountable for their actions. One of the most famous of these trials, the Nuremberg trials, happened after the Second World War. Nazi leaders were tried, convicted, and sentenced—many to death—in response to the horrible actions they ordered or in which they personally participated. Unfortunately, while these trials acted to bring accountability to perpetrators of the Holocaust, their example failed to end such actions elsewhere, for example, in Bosnia, Rwanda, or Darfur, among other places.

In addition to peace and security issues, nations enter into international treaties to address other issues, such as environmental degradation. The Kyoto Protocol, a multinational treaty, was agreed to by over 160 nations in an effort to bring world climate change under control.

Nations can find ways to agree, to act in concert, and to generate friendships through setting rules of interaction. Are all these rules controlled by government? Should they be?

³¹ From: <http://www.norad.mil>.



American Unilateralism

In recent years, the United States has withdrawn from participating in international organizations, and has resisted complying with some international laws and agreements. For example, the United States is unwilling to submit its military to international courts,

preferring instead to try suspected American war criminals in its own justice system. This, for the United States, is an issue of sovereignty.

The Bush administration has embarked on a strategy of hard line unilateralism, disregarding the UN and international law. The Bush doctrine of preemption defies the UN Charter by allowing the US to use illegal force against other states. Furthermore, Washington ignores, blocks, violates or even unsigned international treaties. The administration rejected the Kyoto protocol and the comprehensive test ban treaty on nuclear disarmament. It repealed the Anti-Ballistic Missile

treaty and blocked efforts to strengthen the biological weapons convention. The government continues to violate the Geneva Conventions by refusing the rights of the prisoners held at Guantanamo Bay in Cuba. In May 2002, the White House announced that it would unsign the Rome treaty establishing the International Criminal Court, stating that the Court would subject US nationals to a politically motivated international justice.³²

- 1 Why do you think the present administration of the US chose a path of unilateralism?
- 2 Should nations be willing to sacrifice national sovereignty in the interests of international justice?
- 3 Can a foreign policy based on unilateralism promote internationalism?

Explore the Issues

- 1 What challenges do supranationalist organizations face? Is it realistic to expect nations to balance their national interests with the well-being of the world community?
- 2 To what extent are international organizations effective if one (or more) key nation refuses to co-operate?

³² Global Policy Forum, "US, UN and International Law." <http://www.globalpolicy.org/empire/un/unindex.htm>.



Reflect and Analyze

In this chapter you examined the foreign policy of Canada and various examples of our interactions with other nations of the world. You also saw that internationalism is promoted and developed through countries' foreign policies and international organizations, in which nations work together to pursue common interests.

Respond to Ideas

- 1 Suppose a political party invited a variety of people to participate in a round-table discussion on the future of Canada's international relations. They were going to use many ideas to help shape their political platform. What advice would you give them regarding
 - determining where foreign aid should be provided
 - increasing or decreasing Canada's role as peacekeepers or peacemakers
 - involving Canada in international economic treaties or agreements
 - making changes to Canada's foreign policy to encourage other nations to support internationalism

Respond to Issues

- 2 Develop a set of criteria for determining when and where Canada should provide foreign aid. Visit the CIDA website through the link on the *Perspectives on Nationalism* website. Determine in what countries CIDA operates, then follow the links to find "facts at a glance" for a country of your choice. Use your criteria to rank the five most effective CIDA projects.

- 3 Develop a set of criteria to determine what changes Canada should make in its foreign policy in order to promote a greater degree of involvement of other nations in internationalism, and to show a commitment to the well-being of the "community of nations."

Recognize Relationships between Concepts, Issues, and Citizenship

- 4 In this chapter you investigated the Chapter Issue: *To what extent should foreign policy promote internationalism?* How do the different types of internationalism relate to Canada's foreign policy? Is Canada's identity more closely tied to one form of internationalism than others? Has internationalism been mostly beneficial or mostly harmful to Canada and a Canadian identity?
- 5 By now you have started to develop a position on the Main Issue for Part 3: *To what extent should internationalism be pursued?* What other information do you need to gather before you can thoroughly answer this question?