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Talking Points

**“Getting Back in the Game;
A Foreign Policy playbook for Canada”**

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Introduction

Why I wrote this book

1. **Optimism** about Canada--as an antidote to pessimism
2. **Dissatisfaction** with our current foreign policy, and
3. **Conviction** that we can do better

I. Optimism

1. Optimistic about Canada's prospects in the world
 - Canada **has** succeeded in the past
 - Pearson
 - Canadian fingerprints on the UN Charter, the UN Declaration of Human Rights, the North Atlantic Treaty, the GATT, ICAO, Peacekeeping—stayed out of Vietnam war
 - Trudeau
 - North-South and Development
 - G-7
 - Mulroney
 - FTA/NAFTA
 - Climate Change
 - Acid rain
 - Arctic passage
 - Ethiopia

- Apartheid
 - Convention on the Rights of the Child
 - Unification of Germany
 - Chrétien
 - Iraq War
 - Human Security agenda
 - Criminal Court
 - Responsibility to Protect
 - Child Soldiers
 - Landmines treaty
 - Rwanda
 - Martin
 - G20
- So, we have a solid record of diplomatic achievement

Canada's Assets

- Richer, healthier, better educated, more worldly, more integrated/better connected

Tangibles

Population -- 32nd in the world[†], larger than a full 160 other UN member states.

- population in 2012 was 34,943,419

[†] UN Population and Vital Statistics Report: Series A, July 2009

- will surpass the UK in 2023.

Economy

- 11th largest in the world[‡], larger than that of 181 other countries.

Even if the newly emerging economies fulfill expectations, and grow as strongly as anticipated, Canada will still rank no worse than 16th out of 192 countries.[§]

- **Trade**, top half dozen or so of trading nations**.
- **Natural resources**.
 - second among OECD countries in the total production of energy; fifth in the entire world
 - estimated reserves of 179 billion barrels of oil, put us third only to Saudi Arabia and Venezuela.
 - We are the largest supplier of petroleum products, natural gas, electricity and uranium to the US.

Banking

- Canada has the soundest banking system of the 133 countries surveyed in the Global Competitiveness Report of the World Economic Forum, which runs the Davos meetings of world leaders. (The US ranks 108th.)

Hard Power, Soft Power, and Smart Power

- Militarily, we still rank 13th in the world in spending

[‡] World Development Indicators database, World Bank, October 2009

[§] Goldman-Sachs projection, March 2007

** WTO International Trade Statistics, 2009

- General Andrew Leslie --the best small army in the world
- Joe Nye--Soft Power, the respect that societies generate for themselves by virtue of their success and their values. Power
- Ralf Dahrendorf, German-British sociologist, philosopher and political scientist, that it is relevant in international relations that millions of people around the world would move to the US if they could—Canada too, Gallup

Education.

- **Tertiary** OECD Canada ranked **second** after Russia (Japan was third and the US fourth)
- **Universities** (fifth place in the world (9 in the top 200) according to the British Times Higher Education-QS World University Rankings, 2012,
- **High Schools**--PISA 2009

Canadian 15 year-olds ranked

- **third in reading** proficiency,
- **fourth in science** proficiency and
- **seventh in math** proficiency.

Intangibles

The Arts

- **Authors**

- **Music**
 - Grammmies
 - Arcade Fire
 - Neil Young
 - Michael Bubl 
 - Jon Vickers, Louis Lortie, and Ben Hepner, from Measha Brueggergosman, Diana Krall and k.d. lang to C line Dion, Nelly Furtado, Avril Lavigne and Shania Twain, testimony to Canadian creative excellence.

Human Development

- UN D P Index, **sixth (2011)**

English and French

- English is to international communication what the US dollar is to international trade and finance.

Diversity

- Over 100 of the world's languages are spoken in Canada,
- those of the major economies, such as Cantonese, Mandarin, Punjabi, Arabic, Russian, German, Italian, Spanish, Portuguese and Turkish (Statistics Canada).
- Toronto, over 50 percent of the population over 15 years of age was born in another country, making.

- Employees of RIM, for example, speak Hindi, Punjabi, Gujarati and Marathi, Cantonese and Mandarin, and Spanish, Portuguese, German, Russian and Arabic.

Neighbours

Maturity of Democracy and Governmental Institutions

- we have been in existence as a nation state longer than 160 other members of the UN and rank among the handful of oldest continuous democracies. The instruments of the Canadian state work effectively;

How Others See Us,

- **President Barack Obama** , "I love this country and I think we could not have a better friend and ally"...."I think that Canada is one of the most impressive countries in the world."
- Gallup poll 2009 when the President visited Ottawa,
 - 90 percent of Americans said they had a favourable attitude towards Canada,

Canada in the Wider World's Eyes

- **Kofi Annan** told the Canadian parliament on a visit in 2004 that Canada's "multicultural character and bilingual tradition give it special qualifications as an exemplary member of our organization."

- Source: WorldPublicOpinion.org, 2007
 - Almost half of the people polled around the world had a positive opinion of Canada and less than 10 percent had a negative opinion.
- Gallup International, 2010, Canada came out on top.
 - According to the BBC and Reputation international, Canada has the best national brand in the world

II. Dissatisfaction

- But BBC/GlobeScan survey February, 2010,
 - the first time in five years of tracking that there had been a worsening of Canada's image around the world.
- **Harper Foreign Policy**
 - SFT 2007
 - "Canada is back as a credible player on the international scene"
 - "Focus and action rather than rhetoric and posturing are restoring Canada's influence in global affairs"
 - Our government will continue Canada's international leadership through concrete actions that bring results
 - About four years of focus and action later and we lost the UN Security Council election 2010

Pro's/ Achievements

- G 20 –substance --financial crisis

- Haiti
- Afghanistan, extension
- Arctic, but Cold War rhetoric
- Defence Funding—but diplomacy cuts
- Women's and children's health—Mrs. Clinton and the Lancet
- African Aid Commitment kept, mostly
- FTA in Colombia
- Cda-EU Trade, possibly
- US, possibly, but the Perimeter Border?

Con's/Weaknesses

- **Style**
 - Inexperience
 - Distrust of DFAIT
 - Lack of Ambition—minority?
 - Excessive partisanship
 - Stood Trudeau on his head
 - Diaspora
 - Light-switch" diplomacy—Africa and Latin America
 - Communications control
 - Afghan detainees
 - But Manley
 - Down graded diplomacy
 - Budget
 - Embassies
 - mismanaged relationships
 - Mexico
 - UAE
 - China--Olympics
 - Russia
 - Turkey

- UN

- Israel and Palestinians
 - reflexively Pro-Israel
 - Disregard for Palestinians
- No Asia strategy

- Climate Change
 - Mulroney versus Harper

III. Conviction—can do better

The Size of the Fight in the Dog

- The stars are forming favourably
- Fortunate in our neighbour
- Emerging countries are not overthrowing the existing system
- Canada can play this game
- What matters is the size of fight in the dog