

Discussant Notes on a Canadian Foreign Policy Presentation by Gordon Smith

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Disclaimers

1. Allan Gotlieb and I have worked closely together, especially when he was Ambassador to Washington and I was the minister for political/security affairs
2. Gordon and I have worked together direct and indirect in this field for most of our adult lives—so there will likely not be major differences between us.
3. Neither of us has worked for the new Conservative government, although Gordon served as a senior official in the PCO and as Ambassador during the Mulroney years and I served as a senior foreign policy advisor to then foreign minister Joe Clark and as the senior foreign policy advisor to Prime Minister Mulroney in the Mulroney PMO and PCO.
4. It is very difficult to do more than deduce the views of the current government because its members had virtually no international experience when they came to office, because they had written and said little of consequence in this area, because their campaign material did not get much beyond bumper sticker messaging and because the Canadian media had failed utterly to probe them on their foreign policy thinking, if any.
5. The public, attentive and otherwise, were left to assume that the new government would work at good relations with Washington, would likely adopt a neo-con world view on things like “war on terror” and climate change.

Points by Gordon that I would Reinforce

1. His Overview , especially the central importance of civil society , including corporations, in a globalizing world
2. His assertion that a strong international system is in everyone’s interest, especially Canada’s interest

- Not just because it notionally is a way of harnessing US power
 - But because it is genuinely a better way to run the world—as Gordon notes, there are a great many Americans who believe it is in their interests too
 - Truman in 1945—the US as colossus
3. His acknowledgment that there has been extraordinary progress in the last 60 years –(find treaties language)
 4. Managing relations with Washington deliberately

Points that I Would Have Emphasized More

1. The indispensability of global governance and multilateral cooperation
 - The central role of the UN
 - Lebanon
 - In August, the Security Council adopted three resolutions that could increase UN peacekeeping levels by 50 percent and increase the overall cost of peacekeeping from US\$4.7 billion to possibly US\$8 billion per year.
 - Incrementalism
 - Innovations
 - i) International law
 - ICTY,
 - ICTR,
 - Sierra Leone,
 - Cambodia,
 - ICC
 - Hariri
 - 500 treaties
 - Security Council “legislation”
 - ii) Elections and transitions to democracy
 - iii) HIV-AIDS
 - iv) OCHA
 - v) Peacebuilding
 - vi) Sustainable development/ozone hole/climate change
 - vii) Responsibility to protect
 - viii) Human Rights Treaties/Commissioner/rapporteurs/commission.
- The need for new, smaller, consensus building groups (L 13)
2. The absence of international consensus

- Security—terrorism
 - Climate change
 - Poverty
3. The absence of international trust
- The management reform game at the UN
 - The NAM and the G-77
 - R2P
4. The unpopularity of the US and the problems created by US foreign policy, some intrinsic, some Bushite 06.26.06

Favorable Opinions of the U.S.

| | 1999/ 2000 | 2002 | 2003 | 2004 | 2005 | 2006 |
|---------------|---------------|------|------|------|------|------|
| | % | % | % | % | % | % |
| Great Britain | 83 | 75 | 70 | 58 | 55 | 56 |
| France | 62 | 63 | 43 | 37 | 43 | 39 |
| Germany | 78 | 61 | 45 | 38 | 41 | 37 |
| Spain | 50 | -- | 38 | -- | 41 | 23 |
| Russia | 37 | 61 | 36 | 47 | 52 | 43 |
| Indonesia | 75 | 61 | 15 | -- | 38 | 30 |
| Egypt | -- | -- | -- | -- | -- | 30 |
| Pakistan | 23 | 10 | 13 | 21 | 23 | 27 |
| Jordan | -- | 25 | 1 | 5 | 21 | 15 |
| Turkey | 52 | 30 | 15 | 30 | 23 | 12 |
| Nigeria | 46 | -- | 61 | -- | -- | 62 |
| Japan | 77 | 72 | -- | -- | -- | 63 |
| India | -- | 54 | -- | -- | 71 | 56 |
| China | -- | -- | -- | -- | 42 | 47 |

1999/2000 survey trends provided by the Office of Research, U.S. Department of State

- 5.
- Exceptionalism and Hubris, Climate change
 - The US as indispensable—neither fair nor accurate
 - Pre-eminence versus predominance, or dominance
 - Militarism—
 - war as a policy instrument; Wesley Clark and Iran
 - but war isn't what it used to be
 - The conflation of everything—the new grand strategy
 - “The War on Terror”
 - the Middle East crisis
 - Iraq
 - Afghanistan
6. The rise of new powers and the importance of international law
- No time to throw out the rule-book

6. The problems and opportunities of Canadian foreign policy

- foreign policy as an afterthought
 - “little Canada” hangover
 - Deputy Sherriff or world citizen?
 - foreign policy as a federal provincial game
 - foreign policy and civil harmony
 - Resources as an afterthought--Ideas R Us—assets are someone else
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- Value-added in Washington
 - Effectiveness in the world cuts ice in Washington
 - Access in Washington reinforces effectiveness in the world
 - Niche diplomacy? humanitarian response?
 - Promoting international law