

Notes for a Presentation by Paul Heinbecker

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The Context

- **Lack of consensus on the main issues**
 - **For the rich, security**
 - **For the poor, poverty**

- **Lack of consensus on terrorism**

- **Lack of consensus on weapons of mass destruction**

- **Lack of consensus on climate change**

- **Lack of confidence in the US**

- **Lack of confidence in the UN**

All this adds up to a lack of trust between states and a lack of confidence in international institutions

And a tight rope for Canada

I. Lack of consensus on the main issues

For the rich, security

For the poor, poverty

Where you stand on security depends famously on where you live.

Danger and vulnerability are different if you are in Kandahar or Copenhagen,

or in Nyala or Haifa,

or in New York, London or Toronto, or Montreal.

Consider that:

- **Natural disasters killed nearly 240,000 people in 2004, the vast majority in poorer countries.**
- **Small arms and light weapons killed at least 300,000 people, predominantly in the poorer countries.**
- **Intra-state conflict caused the deaths of 100's of thousands more, notably in Africa.**
- **Pregnancy-related complications killed more than 500,000 women, 99% of them in the Third World.**
- **Malaria killed one million people last year, mostly in the poorest countries , and**
- **HIV-AIDS killed almost three million people last year, again overwhelmingly in the Third World**

It is not surprising in these circumstances that people in the poorer countries regard terrorism, especially terrorism directed at rich countries, as a second order concern for themselves, at best.

For many of the poorer countries, the main issue is not security at all but rather development.

A glance at the defence and development budgets of any developed country, let alone the most powerful country, is enough to know that the richer countries do not share that view.

And this, despite the fact, as the response of Indonesians to American assistance during the Tsunami shows, a dollar spent on humanitarian assistance buys more security at the margin than another dollar spent on defence.

II. Lack of consensus on terrorism

- **Terrorism (“war on terror” or The Crusades II?)**
- **The definition of terrorism**
- **Terrorism and occupation**
- **The UN and Terrorism**
- **National Intelligence Estimate**
 - **Although we cannot measure the extent of the spread with precision, a large body of all-source reporting indicates that activists identifying themselves as jihadists, although a small percentage of Muslims, are increasing in both number and geographic dispersion.**
 - **If this trend continues, threats to US interests at home and abroad will become more diverse, leading to increasing attacks worldwide.**

III. Lack of consensus on weapons of mass destruction

In 1995, the signatories to the 1968 Non-Proliferation Treaty, the most ratified treaty in history, made the accord permanent, transforming its 25 year term into an open-ended commitment.

From there, mostly downhill

- **1998--Conference on Disarmament blocked**
- **1998--Indian/Pakistani weapons**
- **1999--Senate rejects the Test Ban Treaty**
- **2000--Bush Administration and Treaties, e.g., ABM abrogation**
- **2001--9/11 and its portents**
- **2002--US National Security Strategy**
- **2006--North Korea—threatening to test, again!**
- **2006--Iran—Ahmadinejad at the UN**

From Afghanistan to Iraq to Palestine and Lebanon, the world has become more fractious and international consensus on security has become correspondingly scarcer.

Not surprisingly, progress on the arms control and disarmament (ACD) agenda has foundered.

Its prospects are worsened by the current American administration's disregard for multilateral cooperation it cannot control and its preference for US-led enforcement and compliance.

In addition, the nuclear weapons states are largely indifferent to their disarmament obligations under the Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT), except as an instrument for constraining others.

The evident nuclear weapons ambitions of North Korea, the alleged aspirations of Iran and the still-to-be-ratified US-Indian agreement on nuclear cooperation raise major questions about the continuing viability of the ACD treaty regime.

Meanwhile, rising oil prices and deepening climate change are renewing interest in nuclear energy in a range of countries, raising in the process all the old unanswered safety, security and environmental questions and some new ones as well.

The entire regime is, thus, in jeopardy precisely when events suggest it needs innovation and reinforcement.

It can be made to work but that will require greater recognition of common interest and shared fate in major world capitals, especially Washington, than has been evident so far.

IV. Lack of consensus on climate change

- **By about 2025, the world will consume 40% more oil than it does today.**
- **By 2030, the number of automobiles in the world will increase by 50%.**
- **By 2100, global temperatures will be 6°C warmer than they were in 1990, making the earth warmer than it has been in 50 million years.**
 - **But 2001 Bush Abandons Kyoto**
 - **North versus South**
 - **Canada**

V. Lack of confidence in the US

- **The Invasion of Iraq**
- **Strong support for Israel (Lebanon)**
- **Traditional support for autocratic Arab regimes (Condi Rice in Saudi Arabia)**
- **The New Middle East**
- **America power versus international law,**
- **Neo-cons, theo-cons and Grand Strategies**

(See polling)

VI. Lack of confidence in the United Nations, and most other multilateral institutions

- **The Management Reform code**
- **The Non-Aligned and the US**
- **Chavez and Ahmadinejad**

VII. The Significance of a Divided World for Canada

- **Do we matter anyway?**
- **Global citizen or deputy sheriff?**
- **Peace-keeper or powder monkey: Afghanistan and reality**
- **Human Security--brothers' (and sisters') keeper, or not?**
- **The importance of an independent foreign policy**