

PRESENTATION TO ADM FORUM

OTTAWA, OCTOBER 29, 2003

Shaping Canada's Future

I. Intro

Harold MacMillan – between a cliché and a pink slip

- 1) Optimistic, self-confident theme
 - very appropriate; welcome change
 - Expo 67 – Europe in early '70s envied Canadian optimism
 - but then 30 years of fiscal pain in Canada
 - also 30 years of separatism distraction (Mulroney, foreign policy and Meech lake/referendum)
 - but Canada emerging from these struggles
 - 1) the fisc 5(?) surpluses in row
 - 2) Charest, the Clarity Bill
 - 3) economic circumstances much better, FTA, NAFTA, WTO
- 2) Still, some problems/challenges
 - the 3 Ds – meet a 4th D – diminished
 - foreign policy instruments
 - we are not punching above our weight
- 3) And new kind of public service
Cohen book – the giants vs. the managers
 - the emphasis is on how, rather than what

II Continuity and Change

Bet on the climate, not on the weather

1. What will not change

- significance of the US for Canada
- necessity of multilateral cooperation – e.g. SARS
 - plurilateral cooperation
 - bilateral cooperation
 - unilateralism
- if you didn't have a UN, you'd have to invent it

2. What has been changing

the return of security:

9/11 is a climate change

- terrorism
- nuclear weapons – the tipping point of the NPT
- making Huntington a prophet

the changing United States – another climate change

i) shift to the South and West

- Hispanics

ii) Canada and US – cultural/values divide widening while economic integration deepening (although not unique)

- social conservatism – e.g. abortion
- US religiosity
- US exceptionalism – ever more unique
- US ambition

iii) The widening Atlantic – US and Europe

- values divide even wider
- the Schwarzenegger factor
- the villification of old Europe
- cf. Euro and Iran and US and Iraq
- cf. the neo-liberal interventionism of Blair (Human Security)

the US as hegemon

- the neo-cons – weather or climate?
- from pre-emption to prevention
- no check or balance but US voters
- deficits

the emergence of the Third World

- the UN in 1945 = 51 countries
- the UN in 2003 = 191 countries
- share of the Third World of planetary “domestic” product
- the rise of China, India and Brazil

III Expecting the Unexpected

- 1) the oil shocks
- 2) the collapse of communism
- 3) the internet
- 4) terrorism
- 5) World War III?

IV How to Shape the Future for Canada

- 1) it's America, stupid
 - don't get too far
 - don't get too close
- 2) first, get the border security right (e.g. container ports)
- 3) Big Bang as a Big Bust (elites out of touch)
- 4) be useful to the USA in the world
- 5) communicate, communicate, communciate