A “Green” Foreign Policy

A Decalogue of Advice

Talking Points

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A. Introduction

I. Good Policy Is Good Politics

II. Foreign Policy Matters

III. The Three D’s are Fundamental

IV. Relations with the United States Are Still Job One

V. Multilateral Cooperation Is Indispensable

VI. International Law and Governance are priorities

VII. Fight Terrorists Intelligently

VIII. Give Afghanistan a Chance to Succeed

IX. Acquit our Responsibility to Protect the People of Darfur

X. Be Good International Citizens
I. **Good Policy Is Good Politics—at least in the Long Run**

- **Chretien**
  - Iraq—good policy
  - Landmines—good policy
  - International Criminal Court—good policy
  - Human Security—good policy, but military capacity?  
  - But Kyoto?

- **Mulroney**
  - Human Rights—South African sanctions, Tiananmen Square and Indonesia—good policy,
  - Environment, Acid Rain, Rio and Agenda 21, the Green Plan—good policy
  - Acid Rain—good policy
  - Free Trade—good policy
  - The Gulf War—good policy
  - Bosnia—good policy

- **Trudeau**
  - New International Economic Order—dubious policy
  - opening to China—good policy
  - the peace initiative—dubious policy
  - the Third Option—dubious policy
  - Cuba—dubious policy

II. **Foreign Policy Is Serious Business**

- Not a sideline
  - No debates before Canadian elections
  - No serious coverage of Canada’s foreign affairs, even by CBC
    - few news bureaux abroad (even fewer foreign bureaux in Canada,) – but see CanWest Global today
    - The paucity of foreign affairs programming on TV and radio
  - But more PM time on foreign affairs than on most other things

- Base yourselves on Canada’s values and Canada’s interests; it’s not either-or

- Anchor your positions in international law
For Canada, the promotion of international law is a value and an interest

- Don’t play domestic games with sensitive foreign policy issues
  - Neither Pro-Israel, nor Pro-Palestinian—Pro-Canadian, defending respect for international law

### III. The Three D’s are Fundamental

- The Foreign Service as endangered species
  - Diplomacy as a profession
  - Starving the Department of Foreign Affairs

- DND: military capability is fundamental
  - But for the right missions
    - The Responsibility to Protect, not deputy sheriff
    - But money talks--the militarization of Canadian foreign policy
    - And beware gold-plating

- CIDA: get development right
  - 0.7%, or explain why not
  - The focus idea is a fraud
  - Auditors don’t do development
  - CIDA beyond cheque-writing
  - Development and foreign policy
IV. Relations with the United States Are Still Job One

- The reciprocating value of international independence and bilateral cooperation

- Surviving Bush and the Neo-Cons
  - Anti-Americanism
    - As a psychological reflex, unworthy
  - Anti-Bush foreign policy—sane
    - US standing in the world
    - Iraq
    - Iran
  - The dangers of getting too close

- Better with Barack (Obama)?
  - Yes, but…?
  - Exceptionalism infects all Americans
  - The Democrats and protectionism

- Speaking truth to power in Washington
  - PM on Arar

- Re-establishing the IJC
  - Devil’s Lake

V. Multilateral Cooperation Is Indispensable

VI. The UN is still indispensable

- The UN Charter is the basis of international law
- Universality
- Where most big issues are deliberated and sometimes resolved
- But limits

- The Secretary General is the chief administrative officer, not the chief executive officer
  - Accountability—no one is in charge, literally
  - The UNSC, the P5 and the veto—not subservient to the General Assembly or the Secretary General
  - General Assembly—norms and jaw-jaw

- Our divided and fragmented world
  - South against the North
- The world against the hegemon

- But the UN is better, and sometimes worse, than is thought,
  - Failures
    - Rwanda
    - Bosnia
    - Kosovo
  - But also successes
    - Sierra Leone
    - Liberia
    - Mozambique
    - Congo—so far
    - Lebanon—so far
    - Angola, sort of
  - Innovations
    - Peacekeeping, peace enforcement and peace-building,
    - Counter-terrorism
      - 14 treaties
      - UNSC 1540
    - international criminal justice systems,
    - sustainable development and environmental treaties,
    - refugee protection,
    - humanitarian coordination and food relief,
    - democracy and electoral support,
    - human rights conventions,
    - health protection
    - landmine removal,

- The importance of international governance innovation

VI. **Arms Control and Disarmament (Doug Roches remarks will focus on this issue)**

- The importance of the treaty-based system
  - Bush and Kerry
  - The NPT
- Surviving a nuclear energy renaissance
VII. Give Afghanistan A Chance to Succeed

- Afghanistan is not Iraq;
  - it is NATO-led,
  - UN-authorized mission: UNSC reslns 1386 and 1510
  - and the local population has not yet given up on it

- The majority of Afghans, who have suffered enormously from 30 years of war and repression, need and want foreign help, including Canadian help.

- The situation is deteriorating but it is not lost; much more needs to be done by the international community as a whole to retrieve it.

- Canadians are not pacifists and will support Canada’s military/aid/diplomacy effort so long as they believe it is necessary, affordable, effective, and not just serving Washington’s agenda.

- The effort will be fruitless unless the infiltration of Taliban from Pakistan is curtailed.

- Ultimately, peace can only be made with enemies, not friends.

- But cut the neo-con talk
  - We are not “fighting them over there so we don’t have to fight them over here”
  - We are not fighting them for retribution for 9/11

- Why we are fighting them--our strategic objectives
  - To support national and human security for Afghans by assisting them,
    - to stop the Taliban resurgence
    - To alleviate poverty in one of the small handful of very poorest countries on earth
    - to assure greater respect for basic human rights for all Afghans, including more access to education for women and girls
  - to demonstrate that multilateral cooperation through the UN and NATO can successfully assist failed and failing states and protect populations
  - To curtail the growing production of opium and illegal drugs
o to deny safe havens to terrorists

o to promote stability in a dangerous region with three nuclear weapons states and one aspirant

- The tactics
  o rebalance by strengthening two of the three D’s,
  o focus more aid/humanitarian assistance effort on Kandahar
  o more emphasis on human security
  o more short term focus on employment/agriculture/food aid/security sector reform
  o more aggressive diplomacy in Washington and Islamabad

VIII. Defeat Terrorism; Don’t Fuel It

- War on Terror or war on Islam?
  o defeating a tactic—not likely
    - war on a noun
    - war on crime
    - war on poverty
    - war on drugs

- Fight terrorists and root causes, intelligence’ly
  - intelligence, police and justice system should be primary instruments, not the military
  - support failing states—humanitarian, institution-building, development
  - maintaining our rights at home

- Incompatible narratives

  o The western narrative
    - holds that Wahabis/Salafists/Jihadis/Al Qaeda have embarked on a war to defeat the West.
    - They are the Islamo-fascists, who hate democracy, cannot abide freedom and resent success.
    - They are bent on creating a new Caliphate, a repressive theocracy, and subjecting the entire world to their fanatical rule.
The US as the greatest democracy is the greatest obstacle to their mission.

The threat of Islamo-fascism is just as menacing as the threat from Nazism and Soviet Communism.

Its adherents are fanatics who will stop at nothing.

It is naïve to believe anyone can stand aside--the struggle will progressively and inevitably draw us all in.

This long war with Islamo-Fascism will only end with the defeat of one side or the other.

The only way out is winning or losing.

The Islamist narrative

the reverse, and no less delusional.

in this view, the “Zionist-Crusaders alliance and their collaborators” more generally, “under the cover of the iniquitous United Nations”, have embarked on a latter day crusade.

the United States as the lead crusader has been putting heavy military pressure on Islam and its believers, notably

- Its presence in Saudi Arabia during and after the first Gulf war,
- Its wars on Iraq, Afghanistan and Somalia,
- Its steadfast support for the Israeli occupation of Arab lands
- Its green light to Israel to deal with Hammas and Hezbollah,
- Its double standards on Iran and Israel on nuclear weapons and indeed on its own nuclear programs
- Its hundreds of military bases abroad that serve to prop up corrupt, apostate secular Arab governments

nor is the United States considered to be the only aggressor against Islam
- NATO, including Canada, is killing Muslims in Afghanistan
- Russia is waging war on Muslims in Chechnya
- Europe has for years been marginalizing its Muslim
population, many of whom are second or third generation citizens.

- The Pope, other Western religious leaders’ and even cartoonists are gratuitously attacking Islam and defaming the Prophet.
- further, from Coca–Cola to Microsoft to the i-pod to bikinis, or less, on the Mediterranean beaches, the culture of the West is omnipresent, overwhelming and corrupting.

- “[Killing] the Americans and their allies - - civilians and military -- is an individual duty for every Muslim who can do it in any country in which it is possible to do it.”

  - these narratives have plenty in common, not least their paranoid quality.
  - they are believed by very powerful people on both sides.
  - the western narrative is derived from statements by President Bush and Senator Rick Santorum of Pennsylvania, then the third ranking Republican in the US Senate.
  - much of the extremist Islamist narrative comes directly from the “fatwas” of Osama bin Laden

- so, beware the dueling narratives
- don’t demonize our Muslim population
- beware interfaith dialogue
  o organized religions are the pro
- strengthen our intelligence and police cooperation with others
- safeguard human rights
IX. **Human Rights and the Responsibility to Protect**

- Darfur
- Canada has done more than most others, but it is not enough
- At the UN Millennium Summit in September 2005, leaders of 192 governments convened in New York and adopted the Canadian-initiated norm, the Responsibility to Protect.
- Darfur is a classic case of a population needing protection from its own government.
- An extensive and intensive diplomatic effort is urgently needed first,
  - to persuade the government of Sudan to accept the agreement reached in the fall in Addis Ababa to deploy a hybrid UN/AU protective force of 20,000 troops in Darfur;
  - and second, to achieve a ceasefire in Darfur, paving the way for a durable Darfur Peace Agreement.
- China and Russia should, if possible, be enlisted to carry the diplomacy forward.
- The means
  - “Carrots and sticks”, of significant consequences if Khartoum does not cooperate, including targeted sanctions, war crimes trials in the ICC and a no-fly zone.
  - Canada should commit aircraft and naval assets (but not ground force units so long as Afghanistan remains under Taliban pressure).

X. **Think Globally and Act Globally**

- Implement Kyoto—Intelligently
  - Public Transportation
  - Fire Via executives
  - Tax energy exports
  - Review oil sands subsidies
  - Work with California and other US states on a cap and trade system
- Promote best practices from abroad

Thank you