

# **A “Green” Foreign Policy**

## **A Decalogue of Advice**

### **Talking Points**

**For a Presentation by Paul Heinbecker\***

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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
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#### **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.**

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- 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

- to deny safe havens to terrorists
- to promote stability in a dangerous region with three nuclear weapons states and one aspirant
- The tactics
  - rebalance by strengthening two of the three D's,
  - focus more aid/humanitarian assistance effort on Kandahar
  - more emphasis on human security
  - more short term focus on employment/agriculture/food aid/security sector reform
  - more aggressive diplomacy in Washington and Islamabad

## **VIII. Defeat Terrorism; Don't Fuel It**

- War on Terror or war on Islam?
  - 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
  - **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 Hamas 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
  - 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

