SECOND EDITION

READINGS IN CANADIAN FOREIGN POLICY

CLASSIC DEBATES AND NEW IDEAS

EDITED BY
DUANE BRATT
CHRISTOPHER J. KUKUCHA

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ABBREVIATIONS

AAP	Africa Action Plan
ABM	Anti-Ballistic Missile Defence
ACIA	Arctic Climate Impact Assessment
ADM	Assistant Deputy Minister
AEPS	Arctic Environmental Protection Strategy
AfDB	African Development Bank
AFN	Assembly of First Nations
AIDS	Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome
ALCM	Air-Launched Cruise Missile
AMAP	Arctic Monitoring and Assessment Programme
APF	African Partnership Forum
APP	Asia Pacific Partnership on Clean Development and Climate
APR	African Personal Representative of Heads of Government (G8)
AQOCI	Association Québécoise des Organismes de Coopération Internationale
ARRA	American Recovery and Reinvestment Act
ASIWG	Arctic Security Intergovernmental Working Group
ASW	Anti-Submarine Warfare
AUS	Assistant Under-Secretary
BC	British Columbia
BMDS	Ballistic Missile Defense System
BP	British Petroleum
BQ	Bloc Québécois
BRIC	Brazil, Russia, India, China
CAFF	Conservation of Arctic Flora and Fauna
CBC	Canadian Broadcasting Corporation
CCCE	Canadian Council of Chief Executives
CCF	Cooperative Commonwealth Federation
CCPA	Canadian Centre for Policy Alternatives
CCTN	Canadian Coordinator for Trade Negotiations
CDIA	Canadian Direct Investment Abroad
CDS	Chief of Defence Staff
CF	Canadian Forces
CFA	Commission for Africa
CFIUS	Committee on Foreign Investment in the United States
CFTA	Committee for the Free Trade Agreement
CGLG	Council of Great Lakes Governors
CI	Counter-Insurgency
CIA	Canadian Intergovernmental Agreement
CIDA	Canadian International Development Agency
CIFA	Canada Investment Fund for Africa
CIIT	Standing Committee on International Trade
CLCS	Commission on Limits of the Continental Shelf
CNAFTN	Committee for North American Free Trade Negotiations
CNOOC	China National Overseas Oil Corporation
CS	Cooperative Security
CSG-West	Council of State Governments West
CT	Counter-Terrorism
CTTC	Canadian Trade and Tariffs Committee
CUFTA	Canada–US Free Trade Agreement (*also* CUSFTA)
DAC	Development Assistance Committee (of the OECD)
DC	District of Columbia
DEA	Department of External Affairs
DEW	Distant Early Warning
DFAIT	Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade
DISC	Domestic International Sales Corporations
DND	Department of National Defence
DRC	Democratic Republic of the Congo
EDC	Export Development Canada
EEZ	Exclusive Economic Zone
EKOS	EKOS Research Associates
EU	European Union
FAAE	Standing Committee on Foreign Affairs and International Development
FAC	Foreign Affairs Canada
FATF	Financial Action Task Force
FBI	Federal Bureau of Investigation
FDI	Foreign Direct Investment
FIPA	Foreign Investment Protection Agreement
FIRA	Foreign Investment Review Agency
FRP	Forestry Revitalization Plan
FSF	Financial Stability Forum
FTA	Free Trade Agreement
FTAA	Free Trade Area of the Americas
G5	Brazil, China, India, Mexico, and South Africa
G7	Group of Seven
G8	Group of Eight
G20	Group of Twenty
G77	Group of Seventy-Seven
GATS	General Agreement on Trade in Services
GATT	General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade
GBI	Ground-Based Interceptor
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GM	General Motors
GNI	Gross National Income
GNP	Gross National Product
GPA	Agreement on Government Procurement
HRC	UN Human Rights Council
ICBM	Intercontinental Ballistic Missile
ICC	International Criminal Court
ICC	Inuit Circumpolar Conference
ICCPR	International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights
ICER	Interdepartmental Committee on External Relations
ICESCR	International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights

Continued on inside back cover.

READINGS IN

CANADIAN FOREIGN POLICY

CLASSIC DEBATES AND NEW IDEAS

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PREFACE

The first edition of *Readings in Canadian Foreign Policy: Classic Debates and New Ideas* was a pleasant surprise. Its formula of combining classic articles with newer, more issue-specific ones appealed to students, instructors, and researchers alike. When Oxford University Press approached us about writing a second edition, we had specific ideas about how to improve upon the first collection. The result is a larger text with a number of new original articles and pedagogical features.

Part 1, our theoretical section, has the fewest changes. The original articles by John Holmes, David Dewitt and John Kirton, and Stephen Clarkson all remain in the collection. Each of these classic articulations of the three mainstream perspectives (middle power, principal power, and satellite) is complemented by updated contributions from Tom Keating, John Kirton, and Brian Bow and Patrick Lennox. Additional theoretical perspectives are provided by Claire Sjolander and Kathryn Trevenen (feminism), and Mark Neufeld (Gramscian). Two historical chapters were also added at the beginning of this section: John Kirton identifies the 10 most influential books in Canadian foreign policy and Adam Chapnick offers an important historical review of the period from 1945 to 1968.

Parts 2 and 3 continue to examine the external and domestic determinants of Canadian foreign policy. Previous selections by Don Barry (Canada–US relations), Paul Gecelovsky (prime minister), and Chris Kukucha (provinces) remain, but have been updated to include information from the years of the Harper government. The chapter by John English on the role of Parliament has been joined by an update by the editors on minority governments. New to this edition are chapters from John Kirton (G8/G20), Andrew Cooper and Whitney Lackenbauer (Indigenous diplomacy and the United Nations), Douglas Ross (NATO), Patrice Dutil (DFAIT), and Stéphane Roussel and Jean-Christophe Boucher (Quebec).

Parts 4, 5, and 6—the issue-specific sections—have been completely revamped. The security section begins with a historical analysis of Canadian defence policy by Kim Nossal. This is followed by new chapters by Duane Bratt (Afghanistan), Monica Gattinger and Geoffrey Hale (Canada–US border), and Rob Huebert (Arctic). In the trade and economic issues section, Elizabeth Smythe has updated an original chapter on Canadian investment policy, with new chapters by Robert Wolfe (trade) and Stephen McBride (the 2008–9 financial crisis). In the final section of the volume, focusing on social considerations, there are updated chapters by Nelson Michaud (values), Heather Smith (environment), and David Black (Africa). They are joined by a new chapter on Canadian aid policy by Stephen Brown and a harrowing first-person account by Maher Arar of his torture in a Syrian prison after being renditioned there by US authorities. To put Arar's story into context, the editors have written a brief introduction on the role of human rights in Canadian foreign policy.

Beyond these significant changes to the content of the second edition, there are also some new pedagogical features. The section introductions and bibliographies remain (and have been updated), but they have been joined by lists of key terms and dates in Canadian foreign policy.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

As noted in the first edition, we are fortunate to participate in a community of scholars that is diverse and collegial. Despite obvious differences, there is an ongoing commitment to dialogue and quality of research. We hope this continues in the future. Particular thanks must be extended to Kim Nossal, the dean of Canadian Foreign Policy, who agreed to contribute a previously published article on the evolution of Canadian defence policy at the project's late stages.

As with the first edition of this book, our experience at Oxford University Press was once again extremely positive and professional. Sponsoring editor Caroline Starr first approached us about doing a second edition and from that moment on, developmental editor Allison McDonald guided us through the rest of the process. Thank-yous are also extended to Jennifer McIntyre, the copy editor, and Christine Escalante, the production coordinator.

Besides the staff at OUP, we are also indebted to the anonymous reviewers who provided excellent advice on how to improve the first edition.

Finally, both of us are fortunate to be surrounded by people who provide the required support and inspiration for a project such as this.

Chris Kukucha

I want to thank Duane for yet another positive collaborative experience. I also want to extend my love and appreciation to my wife, Renee, and my sons James and William.

Duane Bratt

I want to acknowledge the sabbatical that I received from May 15 to December 30, 2009, from Mount Royal University. This gave me the time, in the crucial stages of this project, to complete my required tasks. Once again, my collaboration with Chris could not have gone more smoothly. I also want to recognize the patience of my wife Teresa and my children Chris and Dorothy as I went through another book project. Finally, I wish to take this opportunity to publicly welcome Chris's new wife Stephanie to the family. By now, you know what you are getting with your new father-in-law.

PERMISSIONS

Maher Arar, 'Maher Arar: Chronology of Events, September 26, 2002 to October 5, 2003'. Source: www.maherarar.ca/cms/images/uploads/mahersstory.pdf. Kerry Pither, *Dark Days: The Story of Four Canadians Tortured in the Name of Fighting Terror*.

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Robert Wolfe, 'Canada's Adventures in Clubland: Trade Clubs and Political Influence', from J. Daudelin and D. Schwanen, eds., *Canada Among Nations 2007* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2008), 181–97.

CONTRIBUTORS

Maher Arar is a Syrian-born Canadian citizen who was sent to Syria by the United States as an alleged terrorist. A public inquiry in Canada fully exonerated Arar of all charges and ordered the Canadian government to pay him a $10.5 million settlement.

Donald Barry is professor in the Department of Political Science at the University of Calgary.

David Black is professor of political science and director of the Centre for Foreign Policy Studies at Dalhousie University.

Jean-Christophe Boucher is assistant professor and Canada research chair in international security at the Quebec Institute of International Studies, Université Laval

Brian Bow is associate professor of political science at Dalhousie University.

Duane Bratt is associate professor of political science in the Department of Policy Studies at Mount Royal University.

Stephen Brown is associate professor at the School of Political Studies at the University of Ottawa.

Adam Chapnick is associate professor of defence studies at the Royal Military College of Canada.

Stephen Clarkson is professor emeritus in the Department of Political Science at the University of Toronto.

Andrew F. Cooper is the associate director and a Distinguished Fellow at the Centre of International Governance Innovation.

David B. Dewitt is the associate vice-president research, social sciences and humanities, at York University.

Patrice Dutil is associate professor in the Department of Politics and Public Administration at Ryerson University.

John English is university professor of history and political science at the University of Waterloo.

Monica Gattinger is associate professor in the School of Political Studies at the University of Ottawa.

Paul Gecelovsky has held academic appointments at the University of Lethbridge, the University of Western Ontario, and the University of Windsor.

Geoffrey Hale is an associate professor in the Department of Political Science at the University of Lethbridge.

John W. Holmes (1910–88) served in the Department of External Affairs in the late 1940s and the 1950s and was later the head of the Canadian Institute of International Affairs.

Rob Huebert is professor of political science and associate director of the Centre for Military and Strategic Studies at the University of Calgary.

Tom Keating is professor in the Department of Political Science at the University of Alberta.

John J. Kirton is professor of political science and director of the G8 Research Group at the University of Toronto.

Christopher J. Kukucha is associate professor in the Department of Political Science at the University of Lethbridge.

P. Whitney Lackenbauer is associate professor in the Department of History at St Jerome's University.

Patrick Lennox is the author of *At Home and Abroad: The Canada–U.S. Relationship and Canada's Place in the World*, and co-editor of *An Independent Foreign Policy for Canada? Challenges and Choices for the Future.*

Stephen McBride is a professor in the Department of Political Science, McMaster University.

Nelson Michaud is professor of international relations and associate director of the Groupe d'études, de recherche et de formation internationales at L'École Nationale d'Administration Publique in Québec City.

Mark Neufeld is associate professor in the Department of Political Studies at Trent University.

Kim Richard Nossal is Sir Edward Peacock professor of international relations in the Department of Political Studies at Queen's University.

Douglas Alan Ross is professor of political science at Simon Fraser University.

Stéphane Roussel is professor of political science and Canada research chair in Canadian Foreign and Defence Policy at the Université du Québec à Montréal.

Claire Turenne Sjolander is professor at the School of Political Studies at the University of Ottawa.

Heather A. Smith is associate professor of international studies at the University of Northern British Columbia.

Elizabeth Smythe is associate professor of political science at Concordia University College of Alberta.

Kathryn Trevenen is assistant professor in the Institute of Women's Studies and the School of Political Studies at the University of Ottawa.

Robert Wolfe is professor at the School of Policy Studies at Queen's University.

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PART I

STUDYING CANADIAN FOREIGN POLICY: VARYING APPROACHES

WHAT IS CANADIAN FOREIGN POLICY?

Historically, Canada has attempted to define its foreign policy in both explicit and implicit terms. *Canada in the World*, the 1995 government white paper on foreign policy, for example, stated that 'domestic policy is foreign policy. Foreign policy is domestic policy.'[1] Lester Pearson, on the other hand, famously suggested that 'foreign policy is domestic policy, but with your hat on.' Ottawa's 2003 *Dialogue on Foreign Policy*, however, clearly articulated three main 'pillars': ensuring global security and the security of Canadians, promoting the prosperity of Canadians and global prosperity, and projecting Canada's values and culture.[2] These three pillars were reinforced in the 2005 International Policy Statement, released by Paul Martin's Liberal government, which stated that its foreign policy would rest on 'three core priorities—prosperity, security, and responsibility'.[3] This volume will examine the relevance of these statements in the context of security, trade, and social issues. This text will also argue that most studies of Canadian foreign policy tend to focus on one aspect of a state's external relations, such as international developments, the domestic policy process, or the role of individuals. In the Canadian case, therefore, there is a need to adopt a more holistic framework in evaluating foreign policy. As Kim Nossal has made clear, 'foreign policy is forged in the nexus of three political environments—international, domestic, and governmental. It is within these three spheres that the sources, or the determinants, of a state's foreign policy are to be found.'[4]

In addition to accepting that Canadian foreign policy is a nexus, it is also essential to consider issues of system, process, and change. In terms of systemic issues there is the obvious understanding that international developments have an impact on Canada's global relations, and that these external variables can take many forms. For most western developed states, including Canada, foreign policy is guided by certain ideational assumptions regarding the international system, namely realist and neo-liberal institutionalist perspectives. These perspectives accept the reality of

a state-centric competitive anarchic international system in terms of both political and economic relationships. At the same time, however, cooperation is still possible at the international level in the form of regimes and other institutions, which allows for an evaluation of both absolute and relative gains. It is important to note, however, that this does not restrict Canada's ability to pursue issues related to its own self-interest. Neo-liberal institutionalism is based on the understanding that sovereignty and economic protectionism are realities, and Canada has demonstrated repeatedly that these options will be embraced in the formulation of Canadian foreign trade policy. Neo-idealism also accepts liberal efforts to engage civil society and promote greater democratization.

Non-state actors are also influenced by many of the same realist and neo-liberal systemic considerations, especially corporate and sectoral interests. At the same time, however, many also have very different 'structural' assumptions that are instead guided by gender, class, or ethnicity. These 'critical' approaches challenge the basic core organizing principles of the modern state system, and represent alternative international structural interpretations. It is important to understand that these considerations can also shape the foreign policy of states, namely in the form of non-traditional factors not usually accounted for in realist or neo-liberal frameworks.

In addition, Canadian foreign policy is influenced by 'process' issues, which can include domestic institutional factors such as constitutional and judicial realities; the role of the prime minister, provincial premiers, cabinets and executives at both levels of government; federal and provincial legislatures; bureaucratic interests; and intergovernmental relations linked to international affairs. At the same time, however, process factors must also examine non-institutional inputs. Sectoral actors, for example, consist of industry associations, specific corporations, individual executives, advisory groups, and consultative links with federal government departments or officials. In addition, societal interests—which are typically treated as secondary considerations in studies of Canadian foreign policy—incorporate organized labour, environmental groups, First Nations, civil society, and a wide range of other non-governmental actors. Finally, ideational issues focus on how 'dominant ideas' are transferred, or entrenched, at both levels of analysis, contributing to exploitive relationships related—but not limited—to ideology, class, gender, ethnicity, and culture.

To fully understand process-related issues, however, causal relationships must also be explored, especially in terms of state autonomy. Specifically, there is a need to evaluate the international and domestic activities of institutional, sectoral, societal, and ideational actors. Additionally, these observations must account for the transnational activity *between* states that contributes to policy convergence. Finally, international pressures related to treaties, financial markets, and global capital can also lead to limitations of domestic autonomy, although this will vary greatly from sector to sector.[5] What is also missing, however, is the acknowledgement that domestic actors can have a direct impact on the international system. The institutional policies of central and non-central governments, for example, are often transferred between levels of analysis as states consult, negotiate, and implement agreements.

Finally, any discussion of foreign policy must incorporate a review of 'change' that moves beyond traditional discussions of state autonomy. In other words, 'change' must identify developments that represent a pattern of relations that are significantly different from previous relationships. This could include shifts in power-based capabilities, re-interpretations of regime-based norms and standards, and/or membership in international institutions. In order to fully evaluate outcomes, however, it is useful to also engage critical interpretations of foreign policy. In fact, tangible benefits can be gained by including these issues in rational, realist, or neo-liberal approaches. In terms of trade policy, for example, issues of class are relevant to the role of organized labour and civil society's backlash to neo-liberalism within the state, while also being relevant to the obvious economic disparities between the developed and developing world. Gender-based NGOs and social movements also place pressure on states at both the international and domestic levels, although liberal feminists would take a much different view of the neo-liberal patriarchy than would those with a socialist or more critical perspective. Ethnic and cultural issues present further challenges in terms of neo-liberalism's insensitivity to non-western-oriented economic considerations and issues of collective rights. All of these social issues are relevant to questions involving state autonomy and the level of analysis problem, in terms of structure, process, and change.

HOW IS CANADIAN FOREIGN POLICY STUDIED?

Traditional frameworks

Chapters 3–5 in Part 1 outline the traditional frameworks for analyzing Canadian foreign policy. Maureen Appel Molot, in a seminal article, points out that the vast majority of the thinking about Canadian foreign policy has been preoccupied with Canada's place in the world—its role, status, position, influence, and power.[6] There are three different images that have prevailed: Canada as a middle power, a principal power, or a satellite power. The dominant image is of Canada as a middle power. Historically, middle powers were perceived as situated below the great powers of the United States, Russia, the United Kingdom, France, China, Germany, and Japan. The middle power perspective assumes that Canada has an important role to play both in multilateral and bilateral regimes and in institutions because of its wealth, geographic location, and human capacity. Initially, Canada's functional role in strong multilateral regimes was viewed as a way of constraining the *realpolitik* of great power rivalry by providing an alternative rules-based mechanism for ensuring world order.

Several authors have adopted this approach when examining the evolution of Canadian foreign policy. The most prominent observer of Canada as a middle power was John Holmes.[7] His classic discussion of being 'safely in the middle', in Chapter 3, touches on a number of traditional themes. Tom Keating, a contemporary expert on middle power, focuses more on the principle of multilateralism and reflects the increasing

tendency of some scholars to question the utility of categorizing states as middle powers due to the ambiguity of this standing in the contemporary international system. Specifically, Keating argues that Canadian policy-makers have repeatedly relied on both economic and security regimes to fulfill a wide range of foreign policy objectives. Keating, however, also suggests that Canadian support for international regimes is not unconditional. In response to both international and domestic pressures Ottawa has pursued unilateral and selected bilateral arrangements in its external relations. At the same time, what becomes apparent over time 'is that these alternatives are deviations from the norm, are short-lived, and are frequently combined with complimentary multilateral activities'.[8] Keating provides a brief update to the middle power approach by examining the 'new multilateralism' and its impact on Canada. In particular, he assesses the challenges to Canada's commitment to multilateralism due to the desire by some in Canada to forgo aspects of multilateralism in favour of closer bilateral ties with the United States. Nevertheless, Keating concludes that Canada 'recognizes the necessity to secure a broader base of support for multilateral cooperation and the institutions that sustain it'. Kim Nossal and Andrew Cooper have also addressed Canada's traditional role as a middle power.[9]

An alternative image is that of Canada as a principal power. Canada has many capabilities—abundant natural resources, high levels of technology, well-educated people, a high standard of living, and membership in exclusive groups like the G7/8—that rank it far ahead of other middle powers. Principal power theorists argue that Canada is able to pursue its own policies in the international system with relatively little interference. The first to acknowledge this position was James Eayrs, who wrote in 1975 that the rising importance of oil-producing states, the increasing significance of natural resources in the global political economy, and the declining economic status of the United States all increased Canadian power.[10] Norman Hillmer and Garth Stevenson also adopted this approach in 1977 when they suggested that Canada was not a 'modest power'.[11] It was David Dewitt and John Kirton, as noted in Chapter 4, who argued most strongly in favour of Canada being labelled a 'principal power' because of the decline in status of the United States. Although they were writing almost a decade after Eayrs they also cited a decrease in American hegemony that portrayed Canada as an 'ascending power' whose 'star was on the rise'[12] in comparison. Kirton reflects on the theoretical legacy of his book. He also provides additional evidence of the principal power thesis by highlighting Canada's abundant natural resources (water, oil, potash, uranium, etc.), declarations by other major powers that Canada is one of them, trade agreements, its military deployment to Afghanistan, and its role in the G8 and G20. Although the popularity of the principal power approach has declined in recent years it still serves as a core foundation for studying Canadian foreign policy.

Another alternative image, and the opposite of the principal power approach, is that Canada is a peripheral-dependent/satellite country. In this conception, Canada moved seamlessly from existing as a British colonial dependency to being pulled into the orbit of the American empire. The origins of the satellite model date back to the 1920s when

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