

GETTING BACK IN THE GAME

A FOREIGN POLICY PLAYBOOK
FOR CANADA

SECOND EDITION



PAUL HEINBECKER

FORMER CANADIAN AMBASSADOR TO THE UN

GETTING BACK IN THE GAME

A FOREIGN POLICY PLAYBOOK FOR CANADA



PAUL HEINBECKER



DUNDURN
TORONTO

Copyright © Paul Heinbecker, 2011

All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced, stored in a retrieval system, or transmitted in any form or by any means, electronic, mechanical, photocopying, recording, or otherwise (except for brief passages for purposes of review) without the prior permission of Dundurn Press. Permission to photocopy should be requested from Access Copyright.

Design: Alison Carr

Printer: Marquis

Library and Archives Canada Cataloguing in Publication

Heinbecker, Paul, 1941-

Getting back in the game : a foreign policy playbook for Canada / Paul Heinbecker.

ISBN 978-1-55470-298-5 (bound). – ISBN 978-1-45970-165-6 (pbk.)

1. Canada--Foreign relations--21st century. 2. Canada--Foreign relations--1945-.
I. Title.

FC242.H45 2011

327.71009'0512

C2010-901800-1

1 2 3 4 5 15 14 13 12 11



Conseil des Arts
du Canada

Canada Council
for the Arts

Canada



ONTARIO ARTS COUNCIL
CONSEIL DES ARTS DE L'ONTARIO

We acknowledge the support of the **Canada Council for the Arts** and the **Ontario Arts Council** for our publishing program. We also acknowledge the financial support of the **Government of Canada** through the **Canada Book Fund** and **Livres Canada Books**, and the **Government of Ontario** through the **Ontario Book Publishing Tax Credit** and the **Ontario Media Development Corporation**.

Care has been taken to trace the ownership of copyright material used in this book. The author and the publisher welcome any information enabling them to rectify any references or credits in subsequent editions.

J. Kirk Howard, President

Printed and bound in Canada.

www.dundurn.com

Dundurn
3 Church Street, Suite 500
Toronto, Ontario, Canada
M5E 1M2

Gazelle Book Services Limited
White Cross Mills
High Town, Lancaster, England
LA1 4XS

Dundurn
2250 Military Road
Tonawanda, NY
U.S.A. 14150

CONTENTS

Preface to the Second Edition	7
PART I: THE CASE FOR CANADA	13
Chapter 1: Optimism Beats Pessimism	15
Chapter 2: Canada: The Size of the Dog in the Fight.....	23
PART II: "THE PAST IS PROLOGUE"	43
Chapter 3: A Foreign Policy of Our Own	45
Chapter 4: From the Golden Age to the Modern Age: Lessons Learned	53
PART III: MEANWHILE IN THE WORLD: THE CONTEXT FOR CANADIAN POLICY	99
Chapter 5: The United Nations: The Motherboard of Global Governance in a Changing World	101
Chapter 6: American National Security: The Quest for Invulnerability	121
Chapter 7: The US Under New Management: Paragon Regained?	151
Chapter 8: A Multi-Centric World?	167

PART IV: CANADIAN FOREIGN POLICY IN A NEW WORLD187

Chapter 9: Canadian Foreign Policy and Diplomacy189

Chapter 10: The Harper Government: Not “Back” Yet.195

PART V: GETTING BACK IN THE GAME:

A FOREIGN POLICY PLAYBOOK215

Chapter 11: Getting Our House in Order:
The Need for Policy Coherence217

Chapter 12: Job One: The United States (and Mexico)233

Chapter 13: Job One (A): Reforming and Innovating
Global Governance247

Chapter 14: Job One (B): Major League Issues261

Chapter 15: Time to Get Back in the Game287

Endnotes293

Acknowledgements304

Index305

CONTENTS

Preface to the Second Edition	7
PART I: THE CASE FOR CANADA	13
Chapter 1: Optimism Beats Pessimism	15
Chapter 2: Canada: The Size of the Dog in the Fight.	23
PART II: "THE PAST IS PROLOGUE"	43
Chapter 3: A Foreign Policy of Our Own	45
Chapter 4: From the Golden Age to the Modern Age: Lessons Learned	53
PART III: MEANWHILE IN THE WORLD: THE CONTEXT FOR CANADIAN POLICY	99
Chapter 5: The United Nations: The Motherboard of Global Governance in a Changing World	101
Chapter 6: American National Security: The Quest for Invulnerability	121
Chapter 7: The US Under New Management: Paragon Regained?	151
Chapter 8: A Multi-Centric World?	167

PART IV: CANADIAN FOREIGN POLICY IN A NEW WORLD187

Chapter 9: Canadian Foreign Policy and Diplomacy189

Chapter 10: The Harper Government: Not “Back” Yet.195

PART V: GETTING BACK IN THE GAME:

A FOREIGN POLICY PLAYBOOK215

Chapter 11: Getting Our House in Order:
The Need for Policy Coherence217

Chapter 12: Job One: The United States (and Mexico)233

Chapter 13: Job One (A): Reforming and Innovating
Global Governance247

Chapter 14: Job One (B): Major League Issues261

Chapter 15: Time to Get Back in the Game287

Endnotes293

Acknowledgements304

Index305

GETTING BACK IN THE GAME

A FOREIGN POLICY PLAYBOOK FOR CANADA

PAUL HEINBECKER



DUNDURN
TORONTO

PRAISE FOR *GETTING BACK IN THE GAME*

“*Getting Back in the Game* crystallizes Paul Heinbecker’s impressive experience and analysis at the active centre of Canadian foreign policy for more than thirty years. His book is informed, fluent, often blunt, and both realistic and optimistic about a Canada that can matter in the world, and a United Nations that is ‘innovative, effective, and important.’”

—The Right Honourable Joe Clark, Scholar,
Statesman, Former Prime Minister of Canada,
and Secretary of State for External Affairs, 1983–91

“Paul Heinbecker has served a variety of prime ministers and foreign ministers as a thoughtful and clear-spoken analyst of Canadian foreign policy. In this, a veritable ‘playbook’ in Canadian foreign policy past and present, he shares his insight with the Canadian public, and we will all benefit from his intelligent and provocative but always committed rendering of the active role that Canada can play in the world.”

—Dr. Lloyd Axworthy, President of the University of Winnipeg;
Canada’s Minister of Foreign Affairs, 1996–2000

“This is an impressive and comprehensive review of Canada and its place in the world: past, present, and future. It is a highly readable and sensible Canadian foreign-policy treatise well rooted in experience and wisdom.”

—John Manley, President and CEO, Canadian Council of Chief Executives;
Canada’s Minister of Foreign Affairs, 2000–02;
and Deputy Prime Minister, 2002–03

To Ayşe

Copyright © Paul Heinbecker, 2011

All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced, stored in a retrieval system, or transmitted in any form or by any means, electronic, mechanical, photocopying, recording, or otherwise (except for brief passages for purposes of review) without the prior permission of Dundurn Press. Permission to photocopy should be requested from Access Copyright.

Design: Alison Carr

Printer: Marquis

Library and Archives Canada Cataloguing in Publication

Heinbecker, Paul, 1941-

Getting back in the game : a foreign policy playbook for Canada / Paul Heinbecker.

ISBN 978-1-55470-298-5 (bound). – ISBN 978-1-45970-165-6 (pbk.)

1. Canada--Foreign relations--21st century. 2. Canada--Foreign relations--1945-.
I. Title.

FC242.H45 2011

327.71009'0512

C2010-901800-1

1 2 3 4 5 15 14 13 12 11



Conseil des Arts
du Canada

Canada Council
for the Arts

Canada



ONTARIO ARTS COUNCIL
CONSEIL DES ARTS DE L'ONTARIO

We acknowledge the support of the **Canada Council for the Arts** and the **Ontario Arts Council** for our publishing program. We also acknowledge the financial support of the **Government of Canada** through the **Canada Book Fund** and **Livres Canada Books**, and the **Government of Ontario** through the **Ontario Book Publishing Tax Credit** and the **Ontario Media Development Corporation**.

Care has been taken to trace the ownership of copyright material used in this book. The author and the publisher welcome any information enabling them to rectify any references or credits in subsequent editions.

J. Kirk Howard, President

Printed and bound in Canada.

www.dundurn.com

Dundurn
3 Church Street, Suite 500
Toronto, Ontario, Canada
M5E 1M2

Gazelle Book Services Limited
White Cross Mills
High Town, Lancaster, England
LA1 4XS

Dundurn
2250 Military Road
Tonawanda, NY
U.S.A. 14150

PREFACE TO THE SECOND EDITION

Since publication of the first edition of *Getting Back in the Game*, much has happened—the proverbially good, bad, and if not ugly, at least incalculable—that will affect Canadian foreign policy.

Under the “bad” heading, Canada failed to win the United Nations Security Council election in the fall of 2010. From William Lyon Mackenzie King to Jean Chrétien, we had won the coveted seat every time we sought election, once a decade since 1948. The loss diminished our international standing and, equally bad, deprived us of an important, albeit temporary, instrument for promoting our ideas and protecting our interests.

The reasons for the loss were clear. Stephen Harper’s government had scarcely concealed its contempt for the UN, abandoned Canada’s commitments on climate change, shifted Canada’s aid policy focus from the relatively poorer Africa to the relatively richer Americas, gave largely uncritical support to Israel’s deepening occupation of the West Bank and its blockade of Gaza, and mismanaged relationships with China, Mexico, the United Arab Emirates, and others.

The loss matters because it constitutes a remarkable indictment of the Harper government’s foreign policy. While the UN, with its universal membership, has a few tyrants and thug states among its adherents, the great majority of its 192 members are free or partly free democracies, according to Freedom House, the bipartisan

American monitor of international democratic progress. On the decisive ballot, Canada got just seventy-six votes.

The loss matters also because the Council, the world's top security body, handles the big issues of peace and war. In the last decade, while the Council has sometimes been divided, it has outlawed co-operation with al Qaeda, authorized military action in Afghanistan, declined to authorize the Bush administration's attack on Iraq, ended the bloody conflict between Israel and Hezbollah, toughened sanctions on nuclear violators North Korea and Iran, and imposed a no-fly zone to protect Libyans from their psychopathic leader. All of these issues affected Canadians' interests directly or indirectly. It is better to be a policymaker or, at least, shaper, inside the Council chamber than a policy taker outside it, which is why Japan, Germany, India, and Brazil seek election to the Council as often as possible and why they campaign persistently for permanent status.

Among the potentially "good" developments for Canadian foreign policy was the election of a majority government that creates the opportunity to reset Canadian foreign policy. Prime Minister Harper, who is more comfortable in his international role than he was as a rookie in 2006 and who has the political capital to do more than simply be prime minister, has quietly authorized an internal re-examination of Canada's goals abroad.

Potentially good, as well, is the appointment of John Baird as foreign minister. Although his international experience is scant and not especially happy, e.g., on climate change and on air transport relations with the United Arab Emirates, he is a strong personality and is trusted by the prime minister. He has his own political standing and is therefore more capable than many of his predecessors of resisting "poaching" by cabinet colleagues with their particular agendas, and can bring needed coherence to Canadian policy. As Lester Pearson, Joe Clark, John Manley, and Lloyd Axworthy, among others, have shown, strong foreign ministers can make a significant difference. Baird has made a promising start, especially on China, Libya, and Mexico. What is not clear is what Baird himself thinks about foreign policy and how far he is welcome to make needed changes.

The government has an opportunity to recoup Canada's standing if it suppresses the likely strong impulse to keep on doing what has worked for it politically, i.e., privileging communications over substance, tailoring foreign policy to diaspora politics, lying low on climate change, and disparaging the UN. If Canadian foreign policy continues to be marked by the pinched vision, shrunken ambition, and political cynicism masquerading as principle and purpose of the first Harper administrations, it will only prove the H.L. Mencken adage that in a democracy, people get the government they deserve, and usually good and hard!

Regrettably, the early signs are not all promising. At the G8 summit in May 2011, the prime minister parted company with his partners, including the United States, and endorsed the Likud government's position on Israel's borders. In the 2011 Speech from the Throne, Harper promised to "stand up for Canadian farmers and industries by defending supply management," the protectionist agricultural policy that profits Ontario and Quebec farmers, including separatists, at other Canadians' expense and burdens Canada's negotiations with the European Union and even excludes Canada from the Trans-Pacific Strategic Economic Partnership, potentially the most important transpacific economic group. Further, the government has signalled that it will slow the growth of the defence budget, freeze aid spending at current levels, cut back on diplomacy, and subject all departments to "strategic" spending cuts. None of this is a prescription for a more effective foreign policy.

Currently "incalculable" but obviously crucial are the breathtaking rise of China, India, Brazil, and Mexico, the political disarray of the United States and the fiscal crisis in Europe, the disappearance of existential threats to Canada and the diminishing need for alliances, the spreading scourge of illegal drugs and crime, the Arab Awakening, and the acceleration of the digital age that is transforming the context of foreign policy and the conduct of diplomacy.

To succeed in this rapidly changing world, there is much the Harper government needs to do, including to:

- Abandon the alternative universe it created for itself in its first five years in office, a universe in which, to quote the 2007 Speech from the Throne, “focus and action rather than rhetorical posturing are restoring our influence in global affairs ...” In this universe, saying something makes it so, international affairs are played for partisan advantage, and principle is evoked to cover all manner of policy failings, errors, and chicanery.
- Bring coherence to foreign-policy formulation by recalibrating the budgets of Canada’s international departments, re-empowering Foreign Affairs to manage foreign relationships in the common interest, realigning defence and foreign-policy purposes, reintegrating aid policy into foreign policy, and partnering more effectively with the millions of Canadians active internationally.
- Enhance Canada’s competitiveness by shoring up our key economic partnerships, incrementally and pro-actively removing unnecessary obstacles to business between Canada and the United States, our indispensable strategic partner and natural ally, and by restoring constructive political and economic relations with Mexico, so damaged by the Harper government’s self-inflicted visa fiasco of 2009.
- Urgently make China a top strategic priority. To position Canada better to profit more fully from Chinese growth, and to further diversify Canadian markets abroad, especially at a time when US demand for Canadian exports is flagging, the government should also press ahead with the Asia-Pacific gateway and pipeline and transport corridor infrastructure on and to the West Coast.
- Expand our increasingly vital relationships with the rest of Asia where we have not been able to complete a single free trade agreement. The government should redouble its efforts to join the nascent Trans-Pacific Partnership, and to participate in the East Asian Summit to put ourselves back on the Asia-Pacific map.

- Strengthen global governance: by rebuilding our relationship with the UN, in part by employing the best small armed force in the world in UN-sanctioned humanitarian missions to protect civilians, as we are doing in Libya; and by devoting increased diplomatic effort to reinvigorating arms control negotiations.
- Embrace “mini-lateralism by making the G20 effective and rendering Canada indispensable in this most important international governance innovation; and by drawing up strategies for political, economic, and cultural co-operation with each member of the G20, including the second tier.
- Strengthen Canada’s sovereignty in the North by controlling the Northwest Passage, promoting co-operation through the Arctic Council, and resolving competing resource claims offshore diplomatically with the five riparian states under the Law of the Sea.
- Put Canada on the right side of history by actively embracing the Arab Awakening (the twenty-first century’s equivalent of the end of colonialism and of the collapse of Communism), providing technical assistance in support of the development of democratic institutions, and giving political and financial backing for Canadian investment that will help give Arab citizens the prospect of better lives.
- Reground our position on the Israeli-Palestinian conflict in international law, human rights, fairness, and compassion. Ottawa should maintain its steadfast support for Israel’s security and right to exist, but also join the growing international movement to recognize the Palestinians’ right to exist, too, in a viable, secure, and democratic state, based on the 1967 borders with agreed land swaps. Given the ferment all around them, and the shifting demographic balance west of the Jordan River, those who consider themselves the Israelis’ friends should help them to achieve peace while it might still be possible.

- Make a good-faith effort independent of the US Congress to address climate change, a problem whose mitigation only becomes more expensive as time goes by.

These are big steps for any Canadian government to take, but they would deliver dividends at home and lift Canada's standing internationally. And, thanks to Canadian voters and vote splits, the Harper government has a strong political hand to play. What remains is for the Canadian people to demand a foreign policy that enhances, not diminishes, them.

In my non-partisan career I have served as Prime Minister Brian Mulroney's chief foreign-policy adviser and speechwriter, and I have written foreign-policy speeches for Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau, Secretaries of State for External Affairs Mark MacGuigan and Joe Clark, and Ambassadors Allan Gotlieb and Derek Burney. As "political director" of the Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade, I have advised Lloyd Axworthy on Canada's human security agenda. I have served as Canada's political minister in our embassy in Washington, ambassador to Germany, and Permanent Representative to the UN in New York. The last assignment brought me into close contact with Foreign Minister John Manley and Prime Ministers Jean Chrétien and Paul Martin.

From inside Ottawa and on the diplomatic front lines I have seen what we, Canadians, are capable of doing when we have the vision, the self-confidence, and the will to make a difference. In the pages that follow I invite readers to agree with me that Canada can be, and should be, an effective and responsible global player, one that does not pine for a mythical golden age, one that acts, not just sits on the sidelines, one that can do good and well, both, in short, one that is not a superpower but is a super country.