

## 3.1 Foreign Policy

In recent years there has been a disturbing shift in Canadian foreign policy away from Canada's role as peacemaker, honest broker, and independent voice on the world stage to the point where it is affecting our national identity — how most Canadians see themselves in the world and the image foreigners have of Canada.

Under the Harper government, stubbornly aligned with the failed hard-line policies of the Bush administration, Canada is becoming a rogue state.

Its attempt, along with the United States, to block agreement on post-Kyoto emissions reduction targets at the UN Bali conference, was irresponsible and a national embarrassment.

It is marching in lockstep with the U.S. on many issues: the “war on terror”, Israel-Palestine, Latin America. It has aligned with the U.S. on nuclear proliferation and human rights — for example, its opposition to the UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples, and to resolutions calling for the elimination of nuclear weapons. Its selective human rights positions replicate those of the Bush administration: for example, its vocal human rights condemnation of China compared with its silence on Colombia — one of

the world's most brutal regimes, with whom it is negotiating a free trade agreement (FTA).

It refuses to criticize the Bush regime on any of its foreign or domestic policy measures that violate human rights or international law, or threaten international peace: Iran, extraordinary rendition, torture, surveillance, military commissions act. It refuses to call for an end to the U.S. military trial and the repatriation of Canadian child soldier Omar Kadr, refuses to advocate for Canadians facing the death penalty in the U.S., or shelter U.S. Iraq war resisters.

Its development assistance policies have been realigned to advance its foreign policy priorities, which are dominated by its pro-U.S. military priorities (e.g., Afghanistan). Of the three Ds of Canadian foreign policy in Afghanistan — development, diplomacy, and defence — it overwhelmingly favours the military course.

On the commercial front, Canada is also following the U.S. lead at the WTO, and with the negotiation of FTAs (notably with South Korea which will have negative consequences for manufacturing and set bad precedents regarding intellectual property and investor rights). It is generally taking a hands-off position on foreign

direct investment despite the latest wave of foreign takeovers, except when it involves (mainly China's and Russia's) state-owned enterprises.

The Harper government continues to push for deeper integration with the U.S., both within and outside of the Security and Prosperity Partnership (SPP) — economic, energy, regulatory, military, anti-terrorist, intelligence, surveillance, no-fly lists, safe-third country agreements and security certificates (the latter two which have been ruled illegal by the courts). It has embraced U.S.-style tough-on-crime and anti-drug policies, and is pushing hard for the elimination of the Canadian Wheat Board. More than advancing Canada's integration into the U.S., the Harper government is attempting to re-make Canada in the image of the U.S.

Paradoxically, despite Canada's bending over backwards to harmonize its policies, practices and regulations, the U.S. is unilaterally imposing border-thickening measures with no consultation and little forewarning — actions that increase Canada's vulnerability in a more integrated continental economy.

### AFB Proposals

The AFB calls for an independent Canadian foreign policy and the renewal of its leadership on the world stage; a foreign policy that is critical of the U.S. policy where warranted; a foreign policy that gives priority to respect for international law and human rights, to the health of the planet, and is committed to peacekeeping and social justice initiatives.

With new direction in foreign policy (and a reallocation of existing expenditures), Canada could accomplish great things in the world. Imagine how many lives could be saved in Africa if our development spending approached the long-promised UN target of 0.7% of GDP. Imagine how many armed conflicts could be prevented if the resources available to our diplomats were increased.

### GENDER ANALYSIS Foreign Policy

A gender-based analysis as is currently undertaken for CIDA-run projects must be undertaken to ensure that Canadian foreign policy does not have a negative gendered impact, both domestically and internationally.

The main fiscal dimensions of AFB proposals which touch on foreign policy — military, development assistance, environment, energy, and economic — are covered in the other chapters.

The AFB will increase spending on diplomatic activities, increase development assistance, and focus more on poverty alleviation. It will hold the line on military spending overall while reallocating resources to sovereignty protection — notably in the North — and allocate resources to UN peacekeeping missions in Darfur and Congo. It will take a leadership role in advancing UN governance, notably in developing effective tools to implement the concept of *Responsibility to Protect*, which Canada pioneered.

The AFB will repeal the *Safe Third Country Agreement*, which has caused hundreds of refugees seeking entry into Canada from the United States to be turned back, and has been ruled by the federal court to violate the Canadian Charter. It will also scrap *Bill C-3*, the government's proposed legislation to deal with the Supreme Court ruling that the safety certificate regime under the Immigration and Refugee Protection Act is unconstitutional. As now written, the special advocate provisions of the bill violate international human rights law standards of due process.

The AFB will also:

- implement a moratorium on the secretive and undemocratic Security and Prosperity Partnership initiative (SPP);
- reject NAFTA provisions that define water as a tradable commodity and establish a federal ban on bulk water exports;

- opt out of the NAFTA investor-state provisions which enable companies to challenge Canadian regulations and laws — including health and environment — in court where they allege that these hurt potential profits;
  - suspend bilateral FTA talks with Korea, Peru and Columbia;
  - limit foreign takeovers of Canadian corporations in strategic economic sectors, and in areas where strategic technologies have been developed with government assistance, such as MDS's recent sale of its aerospace branch (Canadarm and Radarsat 2) to a U.S. company;
  - maintain or strengthen existing sectoral foreign investment restrictions in banking and financial services, telecommunications, broadcasting, cultural industries and airlines; and
  - strengthen foreign corporation reporting requirements to Statistics Canada, improving the agency's ability to monitor foreign investment and make timely assessments of foreign corporations' impact on the Canadian economy.
- provide more support to Inuit who have lived in the Arctic for millennia and are a prime expression of Canadian sovereignty;
  - live up to commitments under the Nunavut Land Claims Agreement and other signed agreements;
  - work cooperatively within the UN Law of the Sea Framework and the Arctic Circumpolar Council to map the Arctic seabed and ensure that shipping and resource development is environmentally sound; and allocate resources for this purpose;
  - work with the U.S. and other national governments towards recognition of the Northwest Passage as an internal Canadian waterway; and
  - replace the Harper government's commitment of six Navy patrol ships with a commitment to build two world-class icebreakers for the Coast Guard.

### Sovereignty in the North

Government needs to show leadership in developing a comprehensive Arctic policy that links sovereignty and human security. The Harper government has recognized the importance of Canada asserting sovereignty in the North. However, it has been narrowly focused on military issues and failed to be attentive to the social and environmental dimensions. Moreover, Northerners, including Indigenous Peoples' organizations, must be fully involved in the development of Arctic policy.

The AFB will:

### Energy Sovereignty and Security

In 2006, Canada exported 67% of its oil production and 59% of its natural gas to the U.S. Meanwhile, 90% of Quebec and Atlantic Canada's needs and 36% of Ontario's are met through imports, and are thus vulnerable to international supply crises.

The AFB will designate energy, including oil and gas, as a strategic sector subject to national regulation and foreign investment restrictions. It will shift emphasis from production for export to the U.S. to national energy security. It will create a strategic petroleum reserve to protect against short-term supply shocks. It will re-introduce the requirement that there be 25 years of proven oil and gas supplies before allowing exports, and it will rescind the NAFTA energy proportional sharing provisions that mandate U.S. rights to the bulk of our oil and gas production.