

not obliterated but very often yielded to self-interested Canadian objectives. CIDA had become, in the words of Margaret Cately-Carleson (former President of CIDA), "a policy-taker not a policy-maker." It is apparent from policy statements and declarations that by 1994, the official rhetoric of Canadian foreign aid adjusted to this changing reality.

While ethical values are declining in significance, they still have some capacity to influence policy. This is illustrated by the approach of the former Foreign Affairs Minister Lloyd Axworthy and the Minister for CIDA Maria Minna. Despite his efforts, Axworthy failed to include effective action to lessen global poverty as an essential component of any serious effort to promote global Human Security. According to Pratt, "Axworthy's Human Security was liberal internationalism especially tailored for a Liberal government that was overwhelmingly preoccupied with fiscal restraint, trade promotion and Canada's international economic competitiveness." Minister Minna brought to CIDA a concern for the welfare of the poor which had long been central to her approach to domestic issues. Nonetheless, the Minister has not yet been able to win Cabinet support to a re-commitment by CIDA to a primary emphasis on poverty reduction.¹ Nonetheless, in order to secure acquiescence from the more powerful departments (i.e., Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade, the Department of Finance, Department of Environment) which have demonstrated their desire to draw CIDA further away from its emphasis on poverty reduction, CIDA's leadership (i.e., President of CIDA Len Good and the senior team at Policy Branch) is proposing a rationale for CIDA which will give greater emphasis to Canadian long term interests and bring CIDA's policies in line with these other departments.

Pratt concluded by saying that, at the present time, it is unlikely that any Canadian government will markedly increase foreign aid nor make it more poverty-focussed. Canadian values are in retreat from the public philosophy that underpinned the development of the welfare state and facilitated the development of a more humanitarian aid program in the decade between 1966 and 1976. "Today... the linkage between domestic social values and a generous aid program responsive to the needs of the poor operates in the opposite direction."

3.2. Comment and Discussion

Madonna Owusah Larbi (Match International Centre) supported Pratt's argument and pointed to the tension between the values of the NGO community and the interests of CIDA. She also suggested that Maria Minna's emphasis on welfare is troubling from the human rights perspective. CIDA often negotiates with foreign governments rather than NGOs or civil society groups. This raises accountability issues when the governments of countries with which CIDA

¹Moreover, a major effort is underway to win Cabinet endorsement for a transformation in the management of CIDA's bilateral programme. (Mostly to enhance efficiency and to overcome scepticism on the part of the Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade, the Department of Finance and the Privy Council Office that CIDA has become ineffective.)