approaches to theoretical formulations on this subject, still makes some notable departures from the realist, and particularly structural realist, position on security. Clearly it is not based on the assumptions which neo-realist make about strategic global relations as operating in a zero-sum world. It does not hold the view that leadership of the international system necessarily requires a concert of dominant powers or a hegemon. It does not privilege the military as the sole actor that can address security issues. It does not assume that military conflicts and violence are the only challenges to security. However, the cooperative security concept still views the state as principal actors in addressing the issues of security, even though it acknowledges that non-state actors may from time to time play crucial roles in managing and enhancing certain aspects of security.

This paper builds on this notion of cooperative security while, at the same time, pushing the concept further by adopting a more critical orientation to the subject as it relates to Canadian foreign policy. It pushes the boundaries of the conception of security by taking into account: the conditions under which Canadian international security policy is being made during the post-Cold War period; the lens of a post-internationalist "turbulence" paradigm and that of critical reflectivists that offer a more realistic view of the nature of security dynamics in the contemporary world; a growing and intense debate about the need to expand the concept of security; and, the concept of "new" multilateralism which offers for Canada the prospects of developing the notion of subsidiarity security arrangements in its future foreign and international security policy.

Canada's International Security Policy: From the Cold War to an Era of Transition
Canadian foreign and defence policy has been influenced heavily by the international political and strategic environment within which Canada found itself as well as by the evolution of historical events which shaped the Canadian nation-state. When Canada became a dominion of the British Empire in 1867 it was granted a measure of internal sovereignty but very little in the way of external sovereignty. Full sovereignty was not conferred until 1931 with the passage of the Statute of Westminister by the British government. Even so, Canada did not repatriate its constitution from Britain until much later. Nevertheless, according to Middlemiss and Sokolsky, it was around the 1930s that Canada first exhibited signs of developing "a distinct international character and a nationally directed foreign policy."[7]

What was the nature of this foreign policy? It is clear that the Canadian government was occupied by at least two main issues. The first was the issue of trade. The new nation-state needed desperately to develop a solid economic base for its nation-building. Trade was seen as a major vehicle for accomplishing such. The second was the issue of security. A country the physical size of Canada needed to find ways to protect itself against external threats. The principal threat to Canada in the early days of confederation was its neighbour to the South, although by the 1920s this was really no longer the case. A traditional notion of security was adopted from the very beginning by the Canadian government. Security for Canada meant the defence of its small population and large geographical territory through a combination of "self-help" and alliances. Since the new nation-state did not have the means to secure the nation-state fully on its own, the government decided that it was best to embrace the idea of alliances. Canada therefore initially sought alliance with Great Britain -- a natural ally. Thus, the enemies of Great Britain became the enemies of Canada and vice versa. Threats to Canada would be viewed as threats to Great Britain and vice versa. When Britain went to war in the Sudan, in South Africa or in Germany, for