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The Future of Canada-Europe Relations

Paper from the Thinkers' Retreat

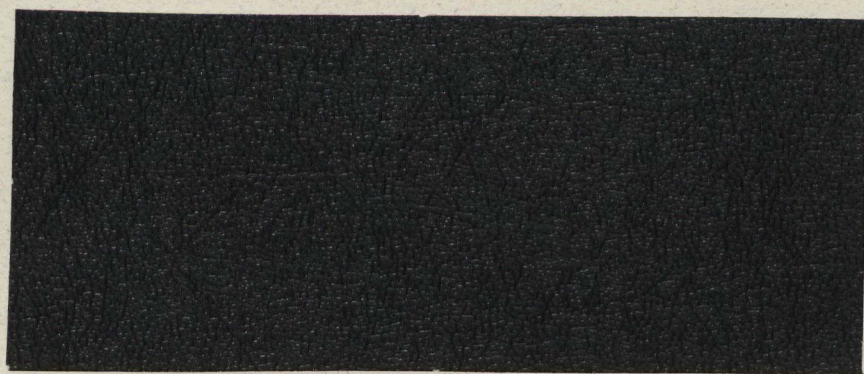
Ottawa

March 17-19, 2002

Suman Bhattacharyya

Canadian Centre for Foreign Policy Development





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Introduction

Canada's ties to Europe span over 500 years. From a legacy of early contact and settlement to a transatlantic partnership in wartime and through the Cold War, current relations are based on common values, trade, and investment. Despite these enduring links, the relationship is changing as the character of both Canada and Europe continues to evolve. Canadian identity is no longer solely European in origin; it is continually being re-shaped by successive waves of migration from every corner of the world. Meanwhile, Europe is becoming more "European" as they increasingly embrace the values and institutions of European identity.

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This report is a synthesis of conclusions and policy options drawn from presentations and discussions. Chairman Huxtable was employed for Retreat discussions. Formal presentations and discussion contributions are available in online video at www.ccm.ca/retreat/euro



Department of Foreign Affairs
and International Trade

Ministère des Affaires étrangères
et du Commerce international

Canada

THE FUTURE OF CANADA-EUROPE RELATIONS

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Netcast: www.ecommons.net/ccfpd-europe

Introduction

Canada's ties to Europe span over 500 years. From a legacy of early contact and settlement to a transatlantic partnership in wartime and through the Cold War. Current relations are based on common values, trade, and investment. Despite these enduring links, the relationship is changing as the character of both Canada and Europe continues to evolve. Canadian identity is no longer solely European in origin; it is continually being re-shaped by successive waves of migration from every corner of the world. Meanwhile, some argue that European societies are becoming more "European" as they increasingly envision their future in common, based on a shared sense of European identity and institutions. Hence, as Europe moves further inward and as Canada looks less to Europe for identity and community, it is important to reflect on future directions for Canada-Europe relations.

To assess the policy implications of the changing relationship, the Canadian Centre for Foreign Policy Development, in partnership with European Union Division of the Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade, the Centre international de formation européenne (Nice), the Institute for German and European Studies (York University and Université de Montréal) and the Foreign Policy Centre (London), brought together leading scholars, experts and journalists from across Canada and Europe for a Thinkers' Retreat on Canada-Europe Relations. This report draws on their analyses of 'A Changing Europe,' 'A Changing Canada,' and the future of transatlantic relations.¹ The conclusions that follow are based on the idea that Canada and Europe face common challenges, including democracy, federalism, economic integration, migration, cultural diversity, cultural preservation, security and defence, and quality-of-life concerns, including the environment. Secretary of State (Central and Eastern Europe and Middle East), Gar Knutson, M.P., opened the Retreat. The keynote address was given by British journalist John Lloyd, and Paul Dubois, Assistant Deputy Minister (Europe) opened the panel discussions. Director General Ron Halpin (Central, East, and South Europe Bureau) opened the second day of discussions.

¹This report is a synthesis of conclusions and policy options drawn from presentations and discussions. Chatham House rules were employed for Retreat discussions. Formal presentations and some commentaries are available in online video at www.ecommons.net/ccfpd-europe.

Context (I): 'A Changing Europe'²

A SHIFT TO THE RIGHT?

Recent European electoral results confirm that Europe's political culture is being challenged by the right. Resentment towards immigrants and asylum seekers could be one plausible reason behind an upsurge in support for right-wing political parties across the European Union (EU). For instance, in the late 1990s, Spain was the only country in Western Europe led by a centre-right government. It was soon joined by Austria, Italy, Denmark, the Netherlands, Norway. Since the Retreat (March 2002), the strength of popular support for Jean-Marie Le Pen's *Front National* in the first round of France's recent presidential elections and the gains of the *Pim Fortuyn List* in the last Dutch election demonstrates this trend and the sensitivity of immigration and asylum issues in the new Europe. It may also be evidence that the political mood is becoming more 'nation-statist'.

Resentment toward European governing institutions may, in part, explain the Europe-wide move to the right. Public discomfort about the perceived growing influence of "Brussels" in Europeans' daily affairs has been routinely reflected in polls and election results and generating increases in support for right-wing parties. As well, fears emanating from the growing costs of enlargement and the loss of EU subsidies have also contributed to the popularity of right-wing, Euroskeptic politicians. While in office, some right-wing leaders have been known to pursue an anti-enlargement, anti-integration and anti-immigration platform. Notwithstanding, the right-wing movement in Europe is incoherent, with some elements favouring further economic integration and others espousing a 'pro-nation' outlook.

Despite the perceived lack of legitimacy of EU institutions in the eyes of some citizens, the level of success of the integration process must be measured incrementally. In fact, public opinion research demonstrates that citizens are prepared to support European integration provided "there is a demonstrable benefit to cross-border cooperation." As well, opinion samples may often exaggerate

²For further detail on 'A Changing Europe', consult online video presentations from the Retreat, available at www.ecommons.net/ccfpd-europe, including: John Lloyd (*The Future Context of Canada-Europe Relations - Security, Trade, International Relations, the US and Triangularism*); Gar Knutson, M.P. ("Introductory Remarks"); Paul Dubois (*Europe 2002: A View from Ottawa*); Tom Arbuthnott (*European Democracy, Public Opinion and Politics*); Kurt Hübner (*The Impact of the Euro on Trans-Atlantic Relations: Building Euroland*); Jennifer Jackson-Preece (*Minorities, Multicultures and States*); Ferdinand Kinsky (*Europe after Nice and Gothenberg*); Xavier Arbos (*Regions, Identity and Evolving Federalism*); Ryszard Piasecki (*What Europe, what Union? Poland's Perspective*); Francois Géré (*The Changing Foreign and Defence Architecture: Europe as a New Superpower?*); and comments from Robert Hage, John Beck, Fredericka Gregory, and Robert Toulemon.

the level of public dissatisfaction with the EU governing institutions. Hence, European integration must be seen as a process, rather than in zero-sum terms.

DEEPENING AND ENLARGEMENT OF THE EUROPEAN UNION – PROBLEMS AND PROSPECTS

Governance Challenges

Further integration and expansion eastward presents numerous challenges and opportunities for European states. EU institutions are affected by two major problems:

First, institutional difficulties plague the Union. For instance, the Commission, based on a Swiss model, has become too large and heterogenous. As well, low voter turnout in European parliamentary elections continues to challenge the legitimacy of EU institutions. Thus, public confidence-building measures need to be pursued in order to increase voter turnout and interest.

In addition, the European Union is characterized by a lack of transparency. To create a stronger Europe, Europe's governing system must be made more accountable. This could be done by generalizing the majority vote in the Council, moving away from a double majority system; recognizing the international character of the Union and its external representation; delegating the surveillance responsibilities of external frontiers and immigration/asylum policy to the Union; allocating a budget for matters pertaining to sovereignty; and anticipating the integration of European states into a federal entity. Above all, methods for integration need to be devised while acknowledging that the process will take time.

Coping with EU Enlargement

It has often been reported that citizens of EU member states fear the additional costs arising from the arrival of immigrants from the east who could overwhelm the job market and increase crime with EU enlargement to Central Europe. Due to this ill-informed perception, citizens of candidate countries risk becoming further alienated from the larger European project. These feelings, combined with any further deepening and enlargement, could result in a swing toward militant nationalism in Central European candidate countries.

If membership of candidate countries in the EU does not proceed quickly, candidate countries run the risk of being further marginalized. This could, in turn, result in negative political, social and economic consequences for the entire continent. Candidate countries may experience serious economic difficulties. As well, candidate countries currently suffering from serious unemployment problems would benefit from market enlargement and EU structural funds. Rapid EU membership for these countries could also assist in the creation of a common European security perimeter.

“Europe's Great Task”

EU governments and societies should not erect us/them divisions within Europe. Rather, the EU should take note of the aspirations and expectations of citizens of candidate countries (particularly young people) for inclusion in a prosperous and peaceful Europe. Thus, EU countries must continue

to assist in the process of modernization and democratic development in former communist Europe, despite the short-term costs.

BUILDING A SECURE CONTINENT

The absence of a common European foreign and defence policy can be attributed to five factors:

- a prevailing perception that economic and military power are separate entities (In fact, the two are complementary);
- fears that a common European defence policy would harm NATO, armed forces are still configured nationally;
- an increase in the popularity of political parties and leaders who pursue right-wing, anti-European, and "nation-statist" policies; and
- the asymmetrical integration of member states into the EU.

A redesigned European defence force is developing at a disturbingly slow pace. To remedy this, European governments must move faster to develop a common defence policy that ensures co-operation among international security organizations. A military rapid reaction force would form a key component of this policy, coupled with an improved decision-making process, especially regarding peace enforcement. Also, instead of reducing defence budgets, existing funds should be used more efficiently. Finally, European governments must express a stronger will to combat terrorism.

COPING WITH ETHNIC DIVERSITY

"Old Minorities" and "New Minorities"

European governments face the difficulty of integrating both "new minorities" and "old minorities" into modern states. The integration of "old minorities," or long-established minority communities, has acquired renewed prominence since 1989, particularly in Central Europe. For example, the lack of integration of Roma minorities is an often-cited example of an old-minority situation that requires further attention by Central European governments.

Other problems associated with "old minorities" include maintaining boundaries and fuelling secession. The fall of communism was followed by the resurrection of the nation-state in Eastern Europe. The break-up of Yugoslavia represented a major test for inter-ethnic relations in post-Communist European states. The multilateral response to this crisis included standard-setting by the Council of Europe, the Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe and other institutions. However, how the "old minorities" issue will be addressed in the context of enlargement remains an unresolved question.

Western Europe faces a slightly different challenge regarding minorities – that of integrating more recently arrived immigrants and refugees, or "new minorities". From the 1960s and 1970s, Western Europe began a transition from being an immigration source to North America to becoming a

receiver of immigrants from every corner of the world. In the future, Western Europe must continue to accept increasing numbers of immigrants due to a declining birthrate and skills shortages.

The Interplay of "Old" and "New Minorities"

In countries with established primary and secondary ethnicities (particularly in Western Europe), more recently arrived groups face difficulties because culture is often seen in zero-sum terms. Immigrants' desire to retain aspects of their identity (eg. wearing *hijabs* and turbans) has been met with suspicion and resentment from local populations. A series of public policy questions have arisen from this issue, most notably: 'How does the state respond to diversity?' While some European states have adopted assimilationist models (eg. France), others have opted for a multicultural model (eg. The United Kingdom). As well, the *gastarbeiter* model of non-integration of other identities was long pursued by Germany.

Some EU states have modified their older approaches to integrate "new nationalities." In the Netherlands, for instance, old policies of addressing religious plurality were extended towards immigrants, thus allowing for greater integration. As well, in Sweden, the social welfare system has taken on a more multicultural character. The problems resulting from the "new minorities question" highlight the need for a European-wide common asylum and refugee policy.

THE EMERGING EUROPEAN IDENTITY

The increasing importance of European Union symbols and institutions may be engendering a newfound European identity. The rights of citizenship conferred by European Union institutions could play a significant role in fueling sentiments of pan-European identity, which are seen by many as an important and necessary consequence of political and economic integration. Since holding multiple identities not uncommon in Europe, a new European identity is not likely to completely phase out state loyalties and nationalisms, some argue. Hence, European governing institutions could be more pro-active in nurturing a European identity among citizens. This could be achieved through public education, especially at the school level.

However, the concept of European identity is still fraught with difficulty. Without any enduring symbols and common memories, the European identity lacks the depth of culture and history to bring about a change in citizens' perceptions of their identities. Recognizing these difficulties, any attempt to create an artificial European cultural identity could backfire in the long-run.

Context (II): 'A Changing Canada'³

A NEW CANADIAN IDENTITY?

According to some, Canada has outgrown the 'two founding peoples' model, or the notion that Canadian cultural identity is drawn solely from Britain and France. A new Canadian identity has developed from the diversity of immigrant origins, particularly in large cities and Western Canada, where neither British nor French-origin Canadians form a majority of the population. This has resulted in a distinctive political culture, as shown by the emergence of what has been called a "demotic society."⁴ Reflecting a similar trend taking place in other immigrant societies, a "demotic society" can be defined as a broad centrist consensus in which democratic discourse is shaped primarily by debates within parties rather than between parties. This largely urban phenomenon is shared to some degree with the United States, Britain, France, and to a some extent the less heterogenous European Union member states.

Generational change has also had a profound impact on Canadian identity. Compared to earlier generations that could draw on such 'national' symbols and events as World War II, the FLQ crisis, and the Canada-Soviet hockey series, the younger generation is a "profoundly rootless" generation. Canadians between the ages of 25 and 35 have been living in a Canada characterized by trade agreements, sophisticated electronic communication, cutbacks to education, health care and other social services, and the corporate branding of marketable 'Canadian' symbols. However, despite their rootlessness, young Canadians long for a sense of community based on the values of a compassionate society committed to social justice.

As a result, a significant gap has emerged between the country Canadians (particularly young people) desire, and the realities of a society caught in the grip of the negative effects of economic globalization, cutbacks to social spending, and government policies motivated by pressures from the United States. Civil society must effectively mobilize in order to bring about the necessary changes to close this gap.⁵

Canadian Identity vs. Globalization

Contrary to the view that globalization is eroding Canadian identity, it can be argued that a re-

³For further detail on 'A Changing Canada,' consult online video presentations from the Retreat, available at www.ecommons.net/ccfpd-europe, including: Satya Brata Das (*Immigration, Demographics and the New Canadian Identity*); Andrew Nurse (*A Changing Canada: Canadian Culture*); Myrna Kostash (*The Next Canada*), and comments from Evan Potter and Haroon Siddiqui.

⁴Satya Brata Das, *Immigration, Demographics and the New Canadian Identity: Presentation for Thinkers' Retreat: Futures for Trans-Atlantic Relations*, available in online text and video at www.ecommons.net/ccfpd-europe.

⁵Myrna Kostash, *The Next Canada: Presentation for Thinkers' Retreat* available in online video and text at www.ecommons.net/ccfpd-europe.

assertion of Canadian identity has been occurring in recent years. Canadians are now more confident about their identity than ever before. This finding is reinforced through public opinion research, which suggests that Canadians are less likely to foresee a union with the United States than ever before. Canadians also seek to define themselves through a more personal definition of Canadian identity rather than through government policies.⁶

THE FUTURE OF CANADIAN CULTURE

In tandem with the evolving Canadian identity, Canadian culture has also undergone considerable change in recent years. The sources of these changes include: the emergence of strong aboriginal voices; the increased national and international popularity of Canadian women in music; an increase in the volume (and the export) of Canadian television; rising interest in Canadian heritage; and a “shattering” of old ideals of Canada, particularly the notion of Canada as either a British nation with a francophone minority or a country of “two nations”. What has replaced it, however, is unclear: “There is clearly an attachment to Canada and a general Canadian identity, but what this means beyond some general propositions about diversity and the welfare state is far from clear.”⁷ As well, a culture of activism among Canadian youth is beginning to play a key role in the development of Canadian culture. Youth are now demanding a role in public policy, as seen recently at protests in Quebec, Vancouver and Windsor.

Despite these new influences, Canadian culture is still characterized by important continuities. These include the maintenance of liberal democratic values, multiculturalism, and the Official Languages Act. However, the recent changes, juxtaposed over continuities in Canadian culture, have brought ambiguities that will be difficult to address. For instance, while multiculturalism policy may work well in some cases, some argue that it may not be appropriate for others: “What does one do with national groups (First Nations and Quebecois) who do not think of themselves as ethno-cultural groups within a multicultural framework?”⁸

Nonetheless, others maintain that multiculturalism can be seen as the only viable model to meet the needs of a diverse Canada. Looking upon ambiguity as a strength rather than a hindrance to integration, the multicultural model accommodates diversity by recognizing the equality of Canadian citizens, regardless of ethnic origin. Hence, it is seen as a valuable tool in the integration of immigrants and refugees. This is achieved through a balance of collective and individual liberties.

⁶Commentary by Evan Potter, available in online video at www.ecommons.net/ccfpd-europe.

⁷Andrew Nurse, “A Changing Canada: Canadian Culture,” available (both in online video and text) at www.ecommons.net/ccfpd-europe.

⁸*ibid.*

Conclusions: Building on Areas of Convergence in Canada-Europe Relations⁹

THE CHANGING NATURE OF THE RELATIONSHIP

Canada and Europe are confronted by forces pulling them further apart. In Canada, due to centuries of immigration and demographic change, a European character is being transformed. As well “common threads” between Canada and Europe are continually under stress due to increased European integration and enlargement, as well as greater North American economic integration. This trend is evidenced by the low levels of bilateral trade between Canada and Europe,¹⁰ a pattern that will be difficult to reverse as Europe trades more and more within itself.

Nonetheless, Canada and Europe share core common values and interests. These include important quality-of-life concerns, including health care, environment protection, fairness and social justice. Respect for democracy, human rights, diversity, rule of law and participation in public life also form important common values.

Based on these shared experiences and values, Canada and European states should further collaborate on common challenges and international objectives. These include shared approaches to achieving peace and security (and promoting these approaches to other states, particularly the United States); trade and economic issues; Arctic cooperation; federalism; quality-of-life concerns (including environment protection and social programs); democratic challenges (including declining interest in politics and lack of confidence in government institutions); immigration and ethnic diversity; and preserving culture in an era of globalization.

PEACE AND SECURITY: BUILDING ON SHARED WORLDVIEWS

Drawing on a base of common core values, Canada and Europe share similar approaches to international affairs. Reflecting this, September 11 drew Canada and Europe closer. After an initial period of solidarity with the United States, Canada and European states leaned toward an attitude of “friendly scepticism” toward the American-led ‘war on terror.’ Against the current of post-September 11 exceptionalism of the United States, Canada and Europe share a commitment to multilateralism.

Canadians and Europeans hold a critical view of some American policies, including refusal to sign

⁹For further detail on ‘A Changing Relationship’, consult online video presentations from the Retreat, available at www.ecommons.net/ccfpd-europe, including: Ron Halpin (*Opening Comments*) Emanuele Castano (*The European Union and Canada: Laboratoires Identitaires à hauts risques*); Armand de Mestral (*EU-US Agreements: Whither Canada? The Case of Air Transport*); Omar Taspinar (*A View from the US*); Sima Godfrey (*Canada-Europe Scenarios Viewed from the West Coast*); and comments from Jeffrey Peck and Steven Lee.

¹⁰Europe accounts for just six percent of Canada’s international trade. For further details, see Ron Halpin (*Opening Comments*) available in online video at www.ecommons.net/ccfpd-europe.

the Kyoto Protocol and the landmines treaty; reluctance to support the International Criminal Court; and low level of foreign aid in comparison to defence spending.

Policy Options

Canada-Europe partnerships should be renewed further to better project shared values in foreign policy. In particular, Canada and Europe could work together to follow up on the work of the International Commission on State Sovereignty on sovereignty and intervention, and to promote human rights, and the rule of law.¹¹

In addition, following a legacy of cooperation between Canadian and European military forces in peacekeeping, Canada and Europe should work more closely on peacekeeping missions, particularly in Europe, Africa and the Middle East. Military technology and surveillance of frontiers also represent important areas for collaboration. In particular, Canada and European states should engage in frank discussions on border surveillance and monitoring.

TRADE AND ECONOMIC ISSUES

Policy Options

Canada-Europe free trade could be useful for strengthening ties and partnerships, in addition to economic benefits. However, in light of a 'traditional' mindset in Brussels that views transatlantic free trade as problematic venture, a free trade agreement between Canada and the European Union may take more time than originally anticipated. In the interim, Canada and Europe should concentrate on building bolstering existing economic and trade links. As well, Canada could provide further moral and political support to Central European EU candidate countries as they move to become fully economically integrated into the EU.

THE NORTHERN DIMENSION

Policy Options

Canada shares the Arctic region with the EU and Russia, ties should be strengthened on issues particular to the North, including the environment and social issues.

APPROACHES TO FEDERALISM

While Canadian federalism is continually in a process of adaptation and flexibility, the EU must also maintain a balance of power between European Union institutions, state governments, and non-state minorities and groups demanding a political role (such as Basque and Catalan minorities). Both systems are therefore deeply affected by what has been called the "politics of recognition." While

¹¹Some participants drew attention to the *Report from the International Commission on Intervention and State Sovereignty's* definition of sovereignty as a starting point for further collaboration. Defined as "the responsibility to protect," it was noted that both Canada and Europe could use this definition as a platform to shape the agenda in global discussions. The Report of the International Commission on State Sovereignty (December 2001) is available online at <http://www.iciss.gc.ca/report-e.asp>.

in Canada this question has been addressed in part through policies of bilingualism and multiculturalism, the EU structure faces a similar challenge regarding the recognition of minority languages in its governing institutions.

In addition, the Canadian interpretation of the concept of federalism is of particular interest to European policy makers. In Canada, unlike in many centralized European states, federalism is largely seen as a unifying force. By contrast, many Europeans view federalism as a process that could destroy their national or regional identity. Therefore, the Canadian experience could help clarify some European misconceptions about federalism and its consequences.

CONTINUED CO-OPERATION ON QUALITY-OF-LIFE CONCERNS

Quality-of-life concerns, including an emphasis on a clean environment, health care, and a commitment to social justice, must be key areas for further Canada-Europe collaboration. For instance, Canada and European governments could share expertise on public health models.

DEMOCRATIC CHALLENGES: RESTORING CITIZEN CONFIDENCE IN GOVERNMENT

Policy Options

Canada and the European Union continue to contend with diminishing public confidence in the democratic process and government institutions. Canada's expertise in civil society engagement would be helpful to European governments in their efforts to increase public confidence in government. However, despite Canadian gains in connecting citizens to governments, further partnerships should be initiated to prevent a "democratic deficit" in Canada, particularly among the youth. Thus, youth engagement, in Canada and Europe, is a crucial part of any solution to the problem of public disengagement with the democratic process.

DIVERSITY AND MULTI-ETHNIC SOCIETIES

While Europe grapples with the integration of 'old nationalities' and 'new nationalities,' Canada's 'two founding nations' model has been challenged by more recent waves of immigration from all over the world. Given the similarity of experiences, Canadian experience in accommodating diversity could be helpful to assist Europe in developing policies on immigration and diversity.

At the conceptual level, Canadians and Europeans may share a respect for diversity. However, at the practical level, some have argued that it has not translated into similar policies. On the contrary, the differing policies on immigration and cultural diversity practised in Canada and Europe could reflect a fundamental difference in values.

Policy Options

As Europe contends with a declining population and skills shortages, it would be useful to follow a Canadian model for government policies on immigration and diversity. In fact, the Canadian model has already been consulted in the development of new immigration policies in Germany, the

U.K. and Italy. Further, if European countries continue to pursue restrictive immigration policies, Europe risks “shutting itself out” from skilled workers who would more readily immigrate to Canada and the United States.

European countries should increase their immigration intake and develop policies that more easily integrate newcomers. However, immigrants will not integrate without a policy that accords them full economic and political rights. In addition, European countries must move beyond ethnically-based concepts of nationality. Hence, the question of nationality must be resolved in terms of geography and belonging rather than ethnicity. Canada’s multicultural policy avails immigrants of the opportunity to retain elements of their own culture while acquiring full social and economic integration into Canadian society. As well, any conflict of values between ‘immigrant’ and ‘host’ cultures must be resolved through the rule of law.

However, the Canadian multicultural model may not be completely applicable in Europe, as ethnically-based perceptions of nationality may be difficult to change. As well, the notion that visible minorities are well-integrated in Canada has come under scrutiny; Canadian urban centres are not immune to ‘ghettoization.’ Also, some argue that immigrants to Canada express a desire to integrate, while immigrants to Europe wish to remain separated from the mainstream.

PRESERVING CULTURE IN AN ERA OF GLOBALIZATION

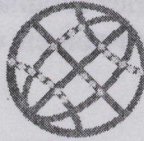
Concerns about the preservation of culture are becoming increasingly important for Canada and Europe. Since American culture and symbols are able to be disseminated more easily through the communication networks fostered by globalization, the preservation of other cultures remains an increasingly important shared challenge.

Policy Options

Canadian international cultural policy should focus on dialogue and exchange rather than the sale of popularized “Canadian” symbols. As well, some argue that the development of Canadian culture in Canada is needed.

In order to remedy a perceived imbalance between diplomacy, trade and culture in Canadian foreign policy, further emphasis should be made toward promoting Canadian culture and values abroad. Arts and culture could be used as tools to promote these values. As well, Canadian centres of culture, drawing on European examples like the British Council, could be established abroad to achieve this end. Furthermore, a culture promotion component could be added to Team Canada trade missions, using the expertise of Canadian artists. Further links should be created between Canadian cultural organizations in order to better promote the work of Canadian artists. Canada should also nurture cultural links with EU candidate countries.

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Thinkers' Retreat The Future of Canada-Europe Relations

Program
March 17-19, 2002
Fairmont Chateau Laurier
1 Rideau Street, Ottawa

Goals:

- To provide a critical appraisal of the realities, challenges and possible futures for Canada-Europe relations.
- Hard-nosed analysis, forward-looking assessment of where Europe is going and implications for Canada-Europe relations.
- Emphasis will be given to the way in which the changing identities of Europe and Canada and the evolving structures of Europe are / will affect the relationship.
- To view Trans-Atlantic relations in the context of EU enlargement, possible deeper EU integration, continuing North American integration, changing international security and other environments, and Canada-EU free trade proposals.

Sunday March 17 Museum of Civilization

- 1700 European Visitors' Tour of Grand Hall, Museum of Civilization (others welcome)
- 1800 **Reception** for all Participants and Guests (River Lobby)
- 1830 **Welcome**
Gar Knutson, M.P. - Secretary of State (Central and Eastern Europe and Middle East)
- 1845 **Keynote Speech** - "*The Future Context of Canada-Europe Relations (Security, Trade, International Relations, the US and Triangularism)*"
John Lloyd - Foreign Policy Centre (London) and former Editor, *The New*

1900 *Statesman*

1915 **Questions**

1930 *Dinner*

Monday March 18

MacDonald Room, Chateau Laurier

0845 **Welcome, Goals and Objectives**

Steve Lee - Executive Director, Canadian Centre for Foreign Policy Development,
Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade

0900 **Session I: A Changing Europe**

Panel I

Rapporteur: Jan Nemecek

Paul Dubois - Assistant Deputy Minister (Europe)

"Europe 2002: A View from Ottawa"

Tom Arbuthnott - The Foreign Policy Centre (London)

"European Democracy, Public Opinion and Politics"

Kurt Hübner - Berlin School of Economics

"The Impact of the Euro on Trans-Atlantic Relations: Building Euroland"

Jennifer Jackson Preece - London School of Economics

"Minorities, Multicultures and States"

1000 **Comments**

Robert Hage - Director, European Union Division, *Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade*

John Beck - Institute for European Studies, University of British Columbia and
Canada-EU Roundtable

1020 *Coffee*

1030 **Panel II**

Rapporteur: Sylvie Fossey

Ferdinand Kinsky - Centre international de formation européenne

"Europe after Nice and Gothenberg"

Xavier Arbos - University of Girona (Spain)
"Regions, Identity and Evolving Federalism"

Ryszard Piasecki - University of Lodz (Poland)
"What Europe, what Union? Poland's Perspective"

François Géré - Institut Diplomatie et Défense
"The Changing Foreign and Defence Architecture: Europe as a New Superpower?"

1130

Comments

Fredericka Gregory - Director, Northern Europe Division, *Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade*

Robert Toulemon - French Association of European Union Studies

1145

Questions and Discussion

1230

Lunch

1400

Session II: A Changing Canada
Rapporteur: Maciej Wilga

Satya Das - Author
"Immigration, Demographics and the New Canadian Identity"

Andrew Nurse - Mount Allison University
"Canadian Culture"

Myrna Kostash - Author
"The Next Canada"

1500

Comments

Evan Potter - Policy Planning Division, *Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade*

Haroon Siddiqui - The Toronto Star

1520

Questions and Discussion

1730

End

1900 **Reception** (Marriott Hotel)
Comments: Jeff Peck - Canadian Centre for German and European Studies, York
University / Université de Montréal

1930 *Working Dinner* (Marriott Hotel)

Tuesday March 19

Quebec Suite, Chateau Laurier

0900 **Opening Comments:**
Ron Halpin - Director General, Central, East and South Europe Bureau,
Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade

0930 Session III: A Changing Relationship?
Rapporteur: Szymon Stelmaszyk

Emanuele Castano - University of Kent at Canterbury
"The European Union and Canada: Laboratoires Identitaires à hauts risques"

Armand de Mestral - McGill University
"EU-US Agreements: Whither Canada? The Case of Air Transport"

Omer Taspinar - School of Advanced International Studies, Johns Hopkins
University
"A View from the US"

Sima Godfrey - Institute for European Studies, University of British Columbia
"Canada-Europe Scenarios Viewed from the West Coast"

1030 **Questions and Discussion**

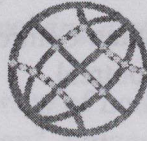
1200 **Closing Remarks**
Steve Lee

Light Lunch available

In partnership with the European Union Division of the Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade (Ottawa), the Centre international de formation européenne (Nice), the Canadian Centre for German and European Studies, York University / Université de Montréal and the Foreign Policy Centre (London)

Conference Organizer: Julie Rechel
Chief Rapporteur: Suman Bhattacharyya
Conference Support: Karen Philp
Communications: Chantale Walker

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THE FUTURE OF CANADA AND EUROPE: A THINKERS RETREAT

March 17-19, 2002

Fairmont Chateau Laurier, Ottawa

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Européenne (CIFE)

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Biographies of Participants

Xavier Arbos is a professor of constitutional law at the University of Girona (Spain), and Head of its Public Law Department. As a researcher, he works on the constitutional dimension of federalism, identity and governability problems. In this field, he takes Canada, and the comparison between Canada and Spain, as his main case studies. He has taught Spanish and Canadian Constitutional Law in the universities of Girona, Barcelona and Rovira i Virgili (Tarragona). He has been president of the Spanish Association of Canadian Studies (1995-96) and president of the International Council for Canadian Studies (1998-99).

Tom Arbuthnott is the Europe Programme Researcher at The Foreign Policy Centre in London. He has written on the euro, on public opinion, on European democracy and on German, Italian and Irish politics. He has a Masters degree in European Studies from Cambridge University and has worked extensively in Brussels, Italy, Germany and throughout Central and Eastern Europe. He speaks German, Italian and French, and has basic Spanish and Romanian.

John Beck is an official of the European Commission for over 26 years (1973-1999), John Beck has followed the growth of the European Union from the inside. John Beck was initially assigned to manage the EC-Canada desk and was subsequently appointed Head of Division for GATT and Multilateral Trade Policy. In 1988 he became Deputy Head of the EC's Permanent Delegation in Geneva in which capacity he represented the EC at GATT, UNHCR, WHO and other UN agencies. At the conclusion of the Uruguay Round, John

Beck was accredited to the Government of Canada as Ambassador and Head of Delegation of the European Commission in Ottawa. During his 5-year assignment in the Canadian capital, he took an active interest in promoting academic linkages across the Atlantic. In 1998 John Beck was recalled to Brussels to take charge of the Commission's Directorate for relations with the US, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, NAFTA and APEC. He served in that capacity until his retirement from the European public service in October 1999.

Emanuele Castano obtained his Ph.D. in social psychology at the Catholic University of Louvain, Belgium. His research on the determinants and consequences of social identification was financed by a Marie Curie grant of the European Union, and by the Mershon Center of Ohio State University, where he was a post-doctoral fellow. He has taught social and political psychology at the University of St. Andrews, Scotland, and he is now a lecturer at the University of Kent at Canterbury, England. He has published chapters and articles in both social psychology and international relations journals on the issues of collective identity and intergroup relations.

Satya Brata Das, with more than 25 years of journalistic experience, has served as a columnist, foreign affairs writer, editorial writer and member of the editorial board of the Edmonton Journal. Satya is an experienced opinion leader; a pioneer in defining and advocating Canadian values and a noted analyst of political, economic, social and cultural issues. His publications include "Dispatches from a Borderless World"

(NeWest Press, 1999), and “The Best Country: Why Canada Will Lead the Future” (forthcoming, Fall 2002). He has been awarded the Citation of Merit for Editorial Writing, National Newspaper Awards 1997; the Media Human Rights Award, League for Human Rights of B’nai Brith Canada 1998; and The Alberta Human Rights Award, for leadership in advancing human rights in Alberta, Province of Alberta 2000, among others.

Paul Dubois is the Assistant Deputy Minister, Europe, in the Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade (Canada). He was Ambassador and permanent Representative (International Organizations) from 1996-1997 and served as the Director General of the North and West Europe and European Union division of the Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade from 1994-1996.

François Géré is the director of the Institut Diplomatique et Défense in Paris. He was the scientific director of the Fondation pour les Études de Défense and then of the Fondation pour la Recherche Stratégique. He is also a professor at the Université de la Sorbonne Nouvelle (Paris III), member of the International Institute for Strategic Studies (IISS) in London, member of the American Institute of Aeronautics and Astronautics, and an associated member of numerous scientific academies in France, Italy, Germany and Russia. He was a visiting professor at the School of Advanced International Studies at the Johns Hopkins University in Washington, DC. From 1997 to 2001.

Sima Godfrey is currently director of the Institute for European Studies at the

University of British Columbia (UBC) and Associate Professor of French in the Department of French, Italian and Hispanic Studies at UBC.

Fredericka Gregory is Director for Northern Europe in the Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade in Ottawa. Since joining the Canadian Foreign Service, she has served abroad in Canada’s Permanent Mission to the United Nations in New York and at the Canadian Embassy in Paris. Her most recent assignment was in Berlin, where she served as Embassy Minister for Political & Public Affairs. Her previous experience at headquarters has included work in the areas of Western Europe and Southeast Asia and on such issues as the G-8 Economic Summits and relations with developing countries.

Robert Hage is currently Director for the European Union in the Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade (Canada). He joined the Department of External Affairs in 1972 and subsequently served in Canadian Embassies in Washington, Lagos, Paris and as Deputy Head of Mission in the Canadian Mission to the European Union in Brussels. With the Department in Ottawa, Mr. Hage has been Director of Legal Operations, Director of International Financial and Investment Affairs and, Director for Southern Europe. He was also Principal Counsel for the Canada-US Free Trade Agreement and Alternate Representative for Canada to the United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea.

Ron Halpin is the Director General of the Central, East and South Europe Bureau of the Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade (Canada). He has served

in Canadian embassies in Pretoria (1976-78), Moscow (1980-82) and Warsaw (1988-92). At the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, he has worked in such areas as the Defence Relations Division, African Affairs Division, the Political and Strategic Analysis Division, and the Personnel Division. From 1983 to 1987 he was responsible for Canada's relations with the Soviet Union, as the Deputy Director of the USSR and Eastern Europe Division. From 1992 to 1995, he was Senior Advisor for Security and Counter-terrorism. From 1995 to 1997, he was Director General of Resource Planning and Management at the Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade. From 1997 to 2000, he was Ambassador to the Czech Republic and to the Slovak Republic.

Kurt Hübner, Professor of International Political Economy, Berlin School of Economic, and Visiting Professor, Canadian Centre for German and European Studies at York University. His areas of expertise include economic globalization, regimes of foreign direct investment, currency regimes, and european economic policy.

Ferdinand Kinsky is the Director of the Centre international de formation européenne (CIFE) in Nice. He is also a Professor at the European Institute of International Studies in Nice and President of the Conseil de perfectionnement of this same institute. Mr. Kinsky also holds the position of President of the Europäisches Bildungsinstitut in Bonn and is Director of the journal "L'Europe en formation," Nice.

Gar Knutson, M.P., Secretary of State (Central and Eastern Europe and Middle East), was first successfully elected to

Parliament in 1993 and then re-elected in 1997 and again for his third term in 2000. Gar enjoyed a second term of success in 1998 when he was appointed Parliamentary Secretary to the Prime Minister, the Right Honourable Jean Chrétien. During his two-year tenure as Parliamentary Secretary, Gar was a member of the Procedures and House Affairs Committee, Agriculture and Agri-Food Committee, and Chair of the Private Member's Business Committee. Currently, in the 37th Parliament Gar sits on the Environment and Sustainable Development Committee and the Scrutiny of Regulations Committee. Gar Knutson has a Law degree from the University of Windsor and a Masters in Business Administration from the University of Western Ontario. Prior to being elected, Gar managed a small business support corporation and developed an expertise in the financial start-up of small business. Gar has been a part-time instructor at Fanshawe College and has been a member of the Board of Directors for Family & Children's Services - Elgin.

Myrna Kostash is a Canadian non-fiction writer of magazine articles, books and radio documentaries. She is also an award-winning author of several books, including *Bloodlines: A Journey into Eastern Europe*, *All of Baba's Children* and *The Doomed Bridegroom*. She has published numerous articles in cultural and literary magazines and was the Chair of the Writers' Union of Canada from 1993 to 1994. She has been awarded the Writers' Guild of Alberta award for best non-fiction in 1994 and 1988. She also received the Canadian Magazine Award, silver medal in 1985 and was shortlisted for the same awards again in 1997.

John Lloyd is the former Editor of *The New*

Statesman and a Senior Writer at the *The Financial Times*. He writes widely on British, European and international politics. He is one of the leading international commentators on Russia and the former Soviet Union, through his influential book *Rebirth of a Nation*. He will be writing for *The Foreign Policy Centre* on the lessons to be learnt from the failure of the Russian reform process. As well as his role on the *News Statesman*, John also writes for the *Financial Times & New York Times*, the *Toronto Globe and Mail* and *Les Echos* (Paris). He is Director of the Moscow School of Political Studies and an advisor to the Foreign Policy Centre, London. In 1998 his book "Rebirth of a Nation: an anatomy of Russia" was published by Michael Joseph.

Armand de Mestral teaches constitutional law, international trade law, and the law of the European Community at McGill University. His current research interest is the law of international economic integration. He has prepared articles and studies in English and French on international trade law and on Canadian comparative and constitutional law and international law. He is currently at work on a new book on international public law. He is also president of the Canadian Red Cross Society.

Andrew Nurse teaches in the Canadian Studies programme at Mount Allison University. He obtained his PhD from Queen's University in 1997 after completing his dissertation on Marius Barbeau, the noted French-Canadian folklorist and anthropologist. He currently holds the rank of Assistant Professor in the Department of History and Canadian Studies, where he

teaches courses on gender in Canada and on Canadian culture. His research interests reflect these broad themes and he is currently completing work on a book-length study on the history of Canadian anthropology and is editing a collection of essays on the politics of nationalism in Canada.

Jeff Peck is the Director of the Canadian Centre for German and European Studies at York University, Toronto and the Université de Montréal. He has taught at the University of Washington, Seattle, and Georgetown University. During 1990-1991, he was a Fulbright Professor at the Free University, Berlin, and has taught at the Humboldt University in Berlin. His recent work has been in interdisciplinary German cultural studies, especially addressing questions of national and minority identities, particularly German-Jewish life since unification and contemporary responses to the Holocaust.

Ryszard Piasecki is Professor of International Economics at the University of Lodz (Poland) and Business University - National Louis University (Polish-American). He has served as an advisor to the Foreign Ministry of Poland since 1991. His areas of expertise include economics, international economic relations and cross-cultural communication. He served as chief of the economic delegation of Poland at the 47th session of the General Assembly of the United Nations (New York, 1993). He is a member of the Directorate of the Policy Council of European Movement and a member of the Directorate of CIFE since 1979.

Evan Potter is Special Advisor (Communications) in the Policy Planning Division of the Department of Foreign

Affairs and International Trade (Canada). He is also an Assistant Professor in the Department of Communication at the University of Ottawa. His fields of interest include communications planning, political communication, public opinion towards foreign policy, and international communications.

Jennifer Jackson Preece is a graduate of the University of British Columbia and is currently a Lecturer in Nationalism in Europe at the London School of Economics. Her research interests are nationalism, ethnic conflict and European security; problems of secession and irredentism; minority rights and multiculturalism in Europe and North America; history of the European states system.

Haroon Siddiqui is editorial page editor emeritus of The Toronto Star, Canada's largest newspaper. He writes a twice-weekly column which explores, among other things, the pioneering theme of cosmopolitan, post-modern Canada as a global village and a 21st century trend-setter in peaceful heterogeneity. He seeks a broader definition of Canadian collectivity, inclusive not only of the distinct identities of our First Nations and French-Canadians but also newer immigrants. Hence his critiques of outmoded clichés and stereotypes of immigrants and minorities in our public discourse. He has been awarded the Order of Canada, the Order of Ontario and an honorary doctorate of letters by York University. Prior to his current position, Mr. Siddiqui was The Star's Editorial Page Editor from 1990 to 1998. Earlier, he was National Editor, News Editor, and a foreign affairs analyst. He has visited 40 countries, and covered, among others, the Soviet

invasion of Afghanistan, the American hostage crisis in Iran, and the Iran-Iraq war. Before joining The Star in 1978, he worked for 10 years at the Brandon Sun in Manitoba, the last four as managing editor.

Omer Taspinar teaches about Europe and Islam at the School of Advanced International Studies, Johns Hopkins University where he received his doctorate. He was a consultant with the Strategic Planning Department of FIAT (Istanbul, 1996-97). His publications include "Political Islam and the Kurdish Problem in Kemalist Turkey" (Brookings, forthcoming).

Robert Toulemon is the former Director General of the European Commission. He is a member of the executive committee of the French division of the European movement. He also served as the president of the French Association of European Union Studies (AFEUR). He has authored several works on European construction.





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Asia-Pacific

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Commerce international et diversité culturelle: à la recherche d'un difficile équilibre. Ivan Bernier, Université Laval and Dave Atkinson. 2000.

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