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ROUNDTABLE ON CANADA-NORWAY RELATIONS: THE LYSØEN DECLARATION

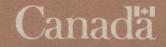
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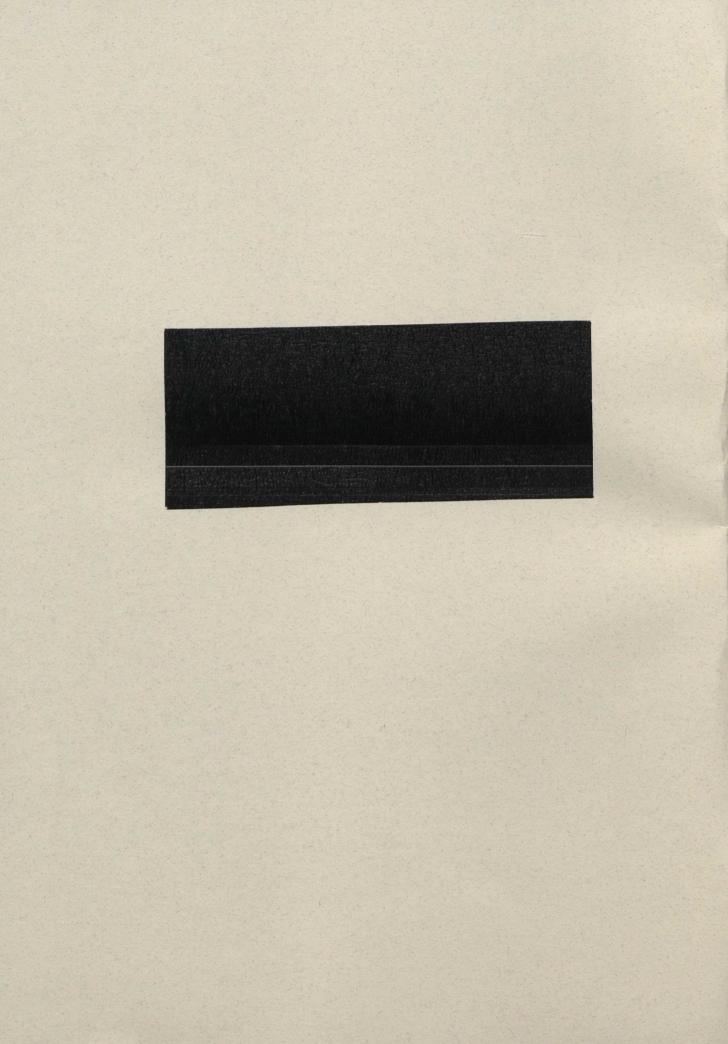
October 9, 1998

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Department of Foreign Affair: and International Trade Ministère des Affaires étrangères et du Commerce international





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ROUNDTABLE ON CANADA-NORWAY RELATIONS: THE LYSØEN DECLARATION

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CANADIAN CENTRE FOR FOREIGN POLICY DEVELOPMENT Roundtable on Canada-Norway Relations

9 October 1998

On October 9, 1998, Ambassador Lovald of Norway, Eric Hoskins, Andre Ouellet, Senator Landon Pearson, Irwin Cotler, Peter Johnson, Wendy Cukier, Nigel Fisher, Necla Tshirgi, Nancy Smyth, Dr. Marshall Conley, Professor Don Desserud, Paul Hannon, Phillip Pinnington, Christopher Hale, Ingrid Urberg, Laurie Wiseberg, Marc Hecht, met to provide civil society input on the Canada-Norway Co-operation Agreement (Lysoen Declaration). The meeting was hosted by the Canadian Centre for Foreign Policy Development (CCFPD) and was chaired by Steve Lee, its National Director. The participants were invited to contribute to the Lysoen Declaration themes based on their own fields of expertise.

Following the introductions, Ambassador Lovald of Norway began the discussion by congratulating the CCFPD for its innovative work in strengthening civil society-government relations and suggested a Norwegian interest in this model. He also congratulated Canada and the Canadian government for the successful campaign for the UN Security Council seat and noted Norwegian support for Canada, and drew attention to the Canadian campaign for election to the Security Council based on a Security Council program and policy ideas. This, he said, had never been done before and was especially important. The Norwegian ambassador drew attention to Minister Axworthy's emphasis on human security issues and stressed that human security issues were the key elements of Canada-Norway co-operation. Canada's seat on the Security Council in the next two years makes this co-operation even more important. He drew attention to the Axworthy-Volleboek Foreign Minister's meeting in New York and Canada's efforts to broaden the group of countries addressing human security issues. He also said that what is going on, including community-building of like-minded countries and the broad political appeal to both North and South, is very interesting from the political science point of view.

It is very important that Norway and Canada pursue these human security issues and use the time now to concretise these ideas. Can these human security elements become a constant in foreign policy-making efforts? To this end, Canada and Norway are both independent actors in the UN and NATO and have freedom to take initiatives.

The Chair thanked the Ambassador for his introduction to the discussion and outlined the goals of the meeting: to share expert views and experience from outside government and apply them to the elements of the Lysoen Declaration, to explore:

- possible concrete steps and activities: what to implement, division of labour, resources, funding, role of experts and civil society;

- what "like-minded" means;

- the definitions of human security.

The Chair stressed that this was the first round of what would be an on-going discussion and a good place to start on sharing views, experience and perspectives.

Developments with the agreement at DFAIT since early August include draft action plans, the co-hosted lunch in New York on 25 September, and the look ahead to the next senior officials' meeting and further drafts of an action plan. It was stressed that a number of people were struck by the one page simplicity of the bilateral agreement and also that it is an issuesdriven agreement being dealt with at an issue-by-issue level by experts on both the Norwegian and Canadian sides. Ambassador Lovald noted that Norway was pushing for early ratification of the International Criminal Court (ICC) agreement and stressed that Canada-Norway co-operation was being coordinated at a high level of officials and at the political level on this matter. He stressed to keep in mind academics, NGOs and civil society and to encourage people to bring project ideas forward and requests for funding.

In presenting how the Canada-Norway agreement is understood in Norway, the Ambassador said that the important players are well informed of it and that there is a well-established network in Norwegian civil society, including four or five big NGO players like Norwegian People's Aid.

The discussion was organised along the following topics: the landmines campaign, child labour, the International Criminal Court and humanitarian law, human rights, the child soldier, small arms control, Arctic and Northern co-operation, new technologies, and democracy and good governance.

The presentation on the landmines campaign noted that it exemplified the success that can be achieved via government-NGO co-operation on an international scale. It followed a simple, three-step process: identify a growing humanitarian crisis, propose a solution, and promote the solution (with the governments of the world and civil society). It was also noted that although the exact process of the landmines campaign may not be replicated, the following lessons could be learned from it:

NGOs should be present at international negotiations alongside state officials;
the need for continued NGO-governmental co-operation regarding the implementation and monitoring of the success of an agreement (such as in the landmine monitor system);
capitalisation of communication technologies by NGOs to communicate and make an international impact.

Canada and Norway can continue to co-operate in further exploration of the landmine campaign as a model for foreign policy development, especially regarding the role of civil society. In this respect, it was stressed that the successful elements of the landmines campaign could be applied to Canada-Norway interests and formal channels, such as conventions and the UN system, new technologies, stronger NGO presence on official delegations and commitments of money and other resources at critical moments. A cautionary note was sounded about governments sometimes responding to hot issues followed by a loss of government and media attention. It was recommended that Canada and Norway pursue specific invitations to help maintain focus and attention on the landmines campaign as implementation is the hardest part of the initiative with little media attention on it and the need for even more resources. Child labour was discussed as an issue that has been championed by international civil society for years. For example, Norwegian civil society has been involved in this issue for years. However, Canadian civil society has not yet embraced the issue. According to a poll taken in the summer of 1998, the Canadian public considers the child labour issue very important and would like to see it addressed. The challenge is to link this public interest with Canadian and other international NGOs. Attention was drawn to Ambassador Lovald's description of civil society and Norway and the value of development education in Canadian schools was stressed. It was noted that there was no coalition in Canadian civil society on child labour and that working with Norwegians could be helpful in building a Canadian community around this issue. It was also suggested that co-operation with Norway and links to other Europeans could be helpful in addressing both sex exploitation of children and follow-up to the Victoria Declaration of Action.

The International Criminal Court and the state of international law was also reviewed by the round-table. In particular, it was stressed that the July 17 agreement in Rome was a watershed for the promotion of humanitarian law and protection of human rights. In this respect, there are few crisis issues as important in the 20th century and the 1990s as genocide, ethnic cleansing, war crimes and human rights. Now 50 years after the Nuremberg and Tokyo trials, there is an international court with global jurisdiction able to deal with war criminals. The features of the court were outlined as well as the evolution of international humanitarian law, the basic principles of which include jurisdiction over internal conflicts and crimes against humanity in times of war and peace.

Recommendations on this topic included:

- Canada to sign and ratify the International Criminal Court (ICC) agreement;

- Canada and Norway to lead the international ratification campaign (perhaps through the Helsinki process framework);

- Canada and Norway to lead on building the gender perspective into the ICC and extending it to protect women and children in conflict;

- institutionalise the NGO role and co-operate with the Steering Committee for the ICC (i.e. International Helsinki Foundation for Human Rights);

- as a teaching tool, pursue with NGOs a public education campaign on the ICC and international humanitarian law;

- Canada and Norway to lead PrepComm in 1999;

- Canada and Norway bilateral experts groups for policy development and implementation as well as selection of judges;

- Canada and Norway could pick-up on work concerning control of terrorism, in which new efforts are needed.

Canadian-Norwegian co-operation on human rights is exemplified by the participation of NGOs from both countries in the Vienna +5 forum. Specifically, Canada-Norway co-operation has resulted in recommended changes to the Vienna Declaration involving freedom of religion issues. The Vienna +5 forum was a great opportunity for NGOs to connect and establish common projects and programs.

Areas for future Canada-Norway co-operation in human rights:

- freedom of religion, specifically possible projects and future initiatives on creating a website and generating a civil society role in discussing these issues;

- New technology has been instrumental in promoting human rights around the globe. It provides for the rapid transmission of information on human rights abuses to NGOs, governments, international organisations and media. However, access to this information in the southern hemisphere is limited. It is proposed that Canadian and Norwegian interests in the field of human rights could be advanced by exploring methods through which information skills and technology could be transferred or promoted in the southern hemispheric NGO community:

- indigenous communities, with possible co-operation on the Inuit Circumpolar Conference and its interests and activities, including human rights and strengthening indigenous communities.

Further to human rights, it was also pointed out that codes of conduct and the role of the private sector in human rights could also be areas for Canada-Norway co-operation.

With respect to the issue of the child soldier, it was noted that, in war, children are exploited intentionally and the problem cannot be framed as 'collateral damage.' For example, children are exploited for slave labour and soldiering. However, they have also become the targets for violence in conflict as combatants pursue ethnic cleansing agendas and wage campaigns of terror against civilians. The exploitation of children in conflict is indicative of the moral bankruptcy that many combatants embrace during conflict. At the same time, this ethical vacuum also exists within the international community as evident in the small effort to enforce existing international standards or to amend those standards that have proven ineffective.

The issue of children in conflict simply does not appear on the international political agenda. The visibility of children can be an important element in peace accords and demobilisation. For instance, children can be more prominently featured as subjects of dialogue and advocacy, and children's activities, such as children's theatre, can contribute to peacebuilding. The issue of the child soldier needs to be addressed more vigorously in such frameworks as problems of demobilisation, reintegrating child soldiers into society and linking that to the development agenda. Examples of success do not exist. Canada and Norway could take a long-term leadership approach to this challenge.

Other areas of Canada-Norway co-operation regarding the child soldier and children in war: - Canada, in co-operation with Norway, should use its Security Council seat to promote the issue of "kids in conflict;"

- further study of the possibility of using children as a subject for organising a forum for dialogue when other avenues of communication for peace are closed. For example, a program for the vaccination of children during a conflict could be expanded to include cease-fires and possibly a settlement to the conflict;

- the reintegration of children into post-war societies.

The issue of small arms control has been on the international agenda for approximately three years and it is still in the early stages of development. International control of small arms is a very complex issue and as a result, the international community is still struggling to conceptualise the issue. Canada and Norway contiue to be active on this issue, promoting it in many different fora, including the UN and NGO round-tables. However, the potential for increased co-operation and leadership on the issue stems from common Canadian and Norwegian foreign policy objectives, such as crime prevention, values-building and good governance, post-conflict decommissioning and social reintegration of combatants.

The various approaches and perspectives on small arms issues and problems were reviewed, including the human security perspective, conflict prevention, democracy and good government. As well, gender is an issue from the perspective of women as victims of small arms use and as agents for change. At the same time, small arms are not landmines. In this respect, Norway and Canada have many household firearms and an international ban will not work. South Africa has shown that crime perspectives and conflict perspectives cannot be separated. The big problem is to further refine the concept for small arms control. Various Canadian and Norwegian initiatives and the NGO conference in Orillia were also reviewed. Canada has taken the lead in the crime perspective in the OAS and the UN. Canadian and Norwegian work that could be complementary includes the Orillian NGO network-building, lessons from landmines and the Peace Research Institute of Oslo on illicit trade, Coalition on Gun Control in Canada on public health and gun control. There is a need for capacity building to deal with small arms in areas like justice, the police, the legal community and the need to address the culture of violence. In this respect, Canada and Norway could support capacity building within the NGO community, thereby increasing the ability of civil society to promote the issue. Canada and Norway could also provide leadership in the enforcement and development of international law regarding the global small arms trade.

Unlike the other topics discussed at the round-table, the issues of the circumpolar region are focused mostly on culture and environment. Arctic countries have long co-operated on these issues, including the devolution of power to native peoples, the affects of pollution on Arctic food and environment, sustainable development, bio-diversity and emergency response programs. As part of this co-operative effort, Norway has relocated all of its polar programs to Tromsø in an attempt to centralise circumpolar research and education. Unfortunately, circumpolar research is currently restricted by a lack of new technologies, specifically communications technology.

Human security in the circumpolar world can be advanced through Arctic co-operation including empowerment of Peoples in the region and their regional relationships. Canada is leading in addressing the human security interests of indigenous peoples in the Arctic and can now pull together various experiences such as land claim, devolution, new political power and cultural interests to share with others. Human security in the Arctic is also fundamentally based on environmental problems. Canada and Norway can co-operate by possibly spearheading efforts to expand satellite communications to northern communities in an effort to provide e-mail, telephone and other electronic communication services. Also, Canada and Norway could push for increased scientific funding as increased financing for circumpolar projects is seen as vital to the success of northern foreign policy. On education, Canada and Norway can help lead the creation of a university of the Arctic and better education in the region.

From the fax machine to the World Wide Web, the invention of information technology has vastly expanded the ability of governments and civil society alike to communicate and organise. NGOs campaigning against landmines and the MAI have acknowledged that e-mail was an invaluable communications tool allowing the rapid transfer of information around the globe. NGOs, universities and governments continue to expand the use of the world wide web, by setting up sites promoting culture, peace and education. UNESCO has created the virtual "University of Peace" to promote peace and understanding through the medium of education.

Particular mention was made of the role of the fax machine in Tiannemen Square, e-mail on the International Criminal Court and the MAI and the ability of NGOs to lead through data sharing and presentation, while governments trying to catch-up to the level of these communications are often constrained by security issues. A presentation was also made on the IDRC's partnership agenda on new technology. The trend for the future is for interactivity, which can be applied to foreign policy interests like creating a culture of peace, new virtual international universities, and greater public participation in public policy. Discussion on new technology also included comments about access, particularly in the South, the continuing value of radio, the Minister's interests in addressing cyber-hate, Austria's concerns about child pornography, and the January 1999 UNESCO conference on that subject and the value of including these subjects in the Canada-Norway partnership. In this respect, areas of greater co-operation between Canada and Norway include increased access to the internet for lesser developed countries and a collective policy on governing the internet and content on the WWW. Two other participants participated in the discussion by telephone and expressed the hope that they could contribute to the next meeting on the Canada-Norway partnership.

Concluding remarks were framed in the context of the Enlightenment and common Canadian-Norwegian traditions. It was noted that Canadian foreign policy and our preference for conflict mediation is a part of our heritage, developed in part from our unique relationships with Britain and the United States. Attention was drawn to the 1774 petition by Nova Scotians to Britain fearing a threat to their security by being caught in an American-British conflict. They asked, "Is it permittable to live in a peaceable state?" Their attempt to establish an active neutral model in international affairs at a time of international crisis and their commitment to good governance, peacebuilding and conflict resolution are experiences we can build on today. Since 1776, Canadians have gained experience as war refugees and victims of political and ethnic conflict. In this respect, there is a need for the Canadian public to better understand our own history and country as the public plays a larger role in foreign policy. The discussion that followed generated the recommendation that Canadian studies in Norway could be strengthened as part of the Canada-Norway relationship.

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It was agreed that there is a continuing challenge to define human security and the continuing need to involve experts and others from civil society in concretising the elements of the Canada-Norway partnership. Participants thanked the Chair and each other for the useful and engaging meeting and offered to continue to participate in these discussions.

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Canada Norway Roundtable Lester B. Pearson Building 125 Sussex Drive A3-boardroom 10:00-14:00p.m. AGENDA

10:00 Welcome by Steve Lee

10:05 Roundtable introductions

10:15 Greetings from Norway's Ambassador to Canada, Mr.Lovald

10:20 Greetings from Canada's Ambassador to Norway, Ms. Morin

- 10:25 The Lysoen Declaration -Phil Pinnington Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade
- 10:35-10:45 Landmines -Paul Hannon/ Jeff Woods (for John English)
- 10:45-10:55 Child Labour -Senator Pearson

10:55-11:05 International Criminal Court and Humanitarian Law -Irwin Cotler

11:05-11:15 Human Rights -Laurie Wiseburg

11:15-11:25 Child Soldier -Nigel Fisher

11:25-11:35 Small Arms -Wendy Cukier

11:35-11:45 Arctic and Northern Cooperation -Peter Johnson

- 11:45-11:55 New Technologies -Marshall Conley
- 11:55-12:05 Democracy and Good Governance -Don Desserud

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12:05-12:30 Comments

12:30-13:00 LUNCH

13:00-14:00 Discussion

Canada-Norway Roundtable October 9th Ottawa list of participants A3-500 Boardroom

Ambassador Lovald Kingdom of Norway

Ambassador Morin Canadian Embassy: Norway(tbc-conference call)

Eric Hoskins Office of the Minister of Foreign Affairs

Andre Ouellet Departmental Assistant Office of the Minister for International Cooperation and Minister Responsible for La Francophonie

Senator Landon Pearson

Steve Lee CCFPD

Irwin Cotler Faculty of Law, McGill University

Peter Johnson President Assos of Can Uni for N. Studies

Wendy Cukier Ryerson University

Nigel Fisher CCFPD

Necla Tschirgi/Nancy Smyth IDRC

Dr. Marshall Wm. Conley Political Science Acadia University NORWAY-CAMADA PARTIVERSHIP FOR ACTION

Don Desserud UNB

Paul Hannon Mines Action Canada

Phillip Pinnington Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade

Stared objectives

Christopher Hale(conference call) Scandinavian Studies University of Alberta

Ingrid Urberg(tbc-conference call) Augustana University College Camrose Alberta

Laurie Wiseberg/Marc Hecht Human Rights Internet

Jeff Woods Consultant

Gerard Duhaime-regrets President International Association of Arctic Studies

John English-regrets Waterloo University

Michael O'Shaughnessy CCFPD

NORWAY-CANADA PARTNERSHIP FOR ACTION

- THE LYSØEN DECLARATION -

Norway and Canada share common values and approaches to foreign policy. With the evolution of international affairs, particularly with regard to emerging human security issues, we have agreed to establish a framework for consultation and concerted action.

Shared objectives

To enhance foreign policy consultations and cooperation on priority issues of international concern.

To strengthen Arctic and northern cooperation.

To coordinate and concert actions with a view to:

- enhancing human security
- promoting human rights
- strengthening humanitarian law
- preventing conflict
- fostering democracy and good governance.

To develop and enhance partnerships between governments, international organizations, nongovernmental organizations and other elements of civil society.

Framework

To achieve these foreign policy objectives, we agree to establish a flexible framework for consultation and cooperation, to include:

- Ministerial meetings at least once yearly to review progress, set priorities, and impart direction.
- Bilateral teams to develop and implement joint Ministerial initiatives.
- Meetings will be held alternately in Norway and Canada or, where convenient, on the margins of international meetings.

In pursuing these goals, we will seek the advice and involvement of civil society and relevant international bodies.

Using the bilateral cooperation framework as a basis, we intend, where practicable, to involve other countries as well.

Bergen, 11 May 1998

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PARTNERSHIP AGENDA

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Landmines

International Criminal Court

Human rights

International humanitarian law

Women and children in armed conflict

Small arms proliferation

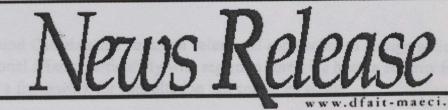
Child soldiers

Child labour

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Arctic and northern cooperation

Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade



May 11, 1998 No. 117

CANADA AND NORWAY FORM NEW PARTNERSHIP

ON HUMAN SECURITY

Foreign Affairs Minister Lloyd Axworthy today announced in Bergen, Norway, the establishment of a new partnership between Canada and Norway to take action on human security issues. The announcement was made at the conclusion of meetings between

Mr. Axworthy and his Norwegian counterpart, Mr. Knut Vollebæk.

Outlined in the Lys n Declaration signed by the two Ministers, the partnership commits Canada and Norway to a framework for consultation and concerted action in the areas of enhancing human security, promoting human rights, strengthening humanitarian law, preventing conflict, and fostering democracy and good governance.

"As we saw in the development of the Landmines Treaty, "soft power" techniques, such as ideas, negotiation and bridge building, have become effective new tools of international diplomacy," said Mr. Axworthy. "Canada's partnership with Norway throughout the process that led to the Treaty demonstrates that our shared values and approaches to foreign policy can make a difference in the international agenda. We want to build on that success and expand it to other areas."

Ministers Axworthy and Vollebæk will meet at least once a year to review progress, set priorities and impart direction, and bilateral teams will develop and implement joint activities. Partnerships between governments, international and non-governmental organizations, and other elements of civil society will be developed and enhanced throughout the process.

The two Ministers agreed to an agenda for action including: the landmines issue; the establishment of an international criminal court; human rights; international humanitarian law; women and children in armed conflict; small arms proliferation; child soldiers; child labour; and northern and Arctic co-operation.

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The Lysin Declaration and the Partnership Agenda are attached.

For further information, media representatives may contact:

Debora Brown

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Backgrounder

NORWAY-CANADA PARTNERSHIP FOR ACTION

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To strengthen Arctic and northern co-operation.

To co-ordinate and concert actions with a view to:

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promoting human rights;

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Using the bilateral co-operation framework as a basis, we intend, where practicable, to involve other countries as well.

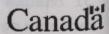
Bergen, May 11, 1998

PARTNERSHIP AGENDA

- 1. Landmines
- 2. International Criminal Court
- 3. Human rights
- 4. International humanitarian law
- 5. Women and children in armed conflict
- 6. Small arms proliferation
- 7. Child soldiers
- 8. Child labour
- 9. Arctic and northern co-operation



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Terrorism

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Summary Report from the Roundtable: The Impact of September 11 on International Relations and Canada's Foreign Policy. CCFPD. November 27, 2001.

New Diplomacy

Report from the Conference on New Diplomacy: The Development of International Law. CCFPD. April 5-7, 2001.

The New Diplomacy: The Global Compact and United Nations Institutions. CCFPD. July 14-15, 2000.

Report from the Conference on 'New Diplomacy': The United Nations, Like-minded Countries and Non-Governmental Organizations. CCFPD. September 28, 1999.

Report from the Roundtable on Just War and Genocide. CCFPD. December 8-9, 2000.

Report from the Ottawa Roundtable for the International Commission on Intervention and State Sovereignty (ICISS). CCFPD. January 15, 2001.

Conflict Prevention and Peacebuilding

Summary Report from the Roundtable on Afghanistan: Governance Scenarios and Canadian Policy Options. CCFPD. October 12, 2001.

Nile Waters Management and Links to Conflict Management and Food Security in the Horn of Africa. Tag El Khazin, Subsahara Center. July 3, 2001.

Report from the Roundtable: Judges and Peace Operations. CCFPD. March 9, 2001.

Renewing Partnerships for the Prevention of Armed Conflict: Options to Enhance Rapid Deployment and Initiate a UN Standing Emergency Capability. Peter Langille, Global Human Security Ideas and Initiatives. Fall 2000.

Report from the Roundtable on Expert Deployment to International Peace Operations. CCFPD. September 12, 2000.

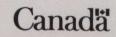
Canadian Peacebuilding in the Middle East: Case Study of the Canada Fund in Israel/Palestine and Jordan. Tami Amanda Jacoby, University of Manitoba. Fall 2000.

Les enterprises canadiennes et la consolidation de la paix. Jean-Francois Rioux, Francisco-José Valiente, and Christian Geiser, Université du Québec a Montréal. Le 31 octobre 2000.

New Directions in US Foreign Policy

Report from the Denver Roundtable: New Directions in U.S. Foreign Policy. CCFPD. November 2, 2001.

Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade Ministère des Affaires étrangères et du Commerce international



Summary of Key Point From Presentations and Discussions: Foreign Policy Trends in the U.S. Roundtable. CCFPD and the Institute on Global Conflict and Cooperation, University of California at San Diego, California, United States. March 20, 2001.

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Nuclear Weapons and Small Arms

UN 2001 Conference on Illicit Trade of Small Arms in All its Aspects: Briefing and Discussion. Wendy Cukier, Coalition for Gun Control. December 19, 2000.

The Ottawa Group Report on Small Arms, Light Weapons (SALW) and Non-State Actors. CCFPD and Centre for Defence Studies. November 7-8, 2000.

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Small Arms and the OAS Roundtable Report. CCFPD. April 28, 2000.

Examen des récentes initiatives gouvernementales et d'ONG concernant les armes légères et évaluation de leur éfficacité: proposition pour un indice de sécurité individuelle (ISI). Frances Gaudreault et al. été 2000.

Globalization and Firearms: A Public Health Perspective. Wendy Cukier et al. Fall 2000.

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Perspectives on the Borderless World: Issues for Canada. Heather Nicol and Ian Townsend-Gault. Fall 2000.

Technology

Privacy, Sovereignty and Technology Roundtable Report. Marketa Geislerova, Canadian Centre for Foreign Policy Development. March 23, 2001.

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Children and Violent Conflict: Meeting the Challenge of Diversity. Erin Baines, Dalhousie University; Barry Burciul, University of Toronto. Summer 2000.

Business and Labour

Canadian Corporate Contributions to Democratic Development and Citizen Participation in Developing Countries: Recommendations on Identifying and Supporting Corporate Efforts through Canadian Foreign Policy. Darin Rovere, Centre for Innovation in Corporate Responsibility. September 26, 2000.

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Rebirth of the Somali State: Policy Options and Programme Opportunities for Canada. Partnership Africa-Canada, Som-Can Institute for Research & Development. November 3-4, 2000.

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Democracy and Identity Conflicts in Asia: Identifying the Issues for Canada and Multilateral Institutions. University of Toronto-York University Joint Centre for Asia Pacific Studies. March 2001.

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