

doc
CA1
EA752
2002C17
ENG

Canadian Centre
for Foreign Policy
Development



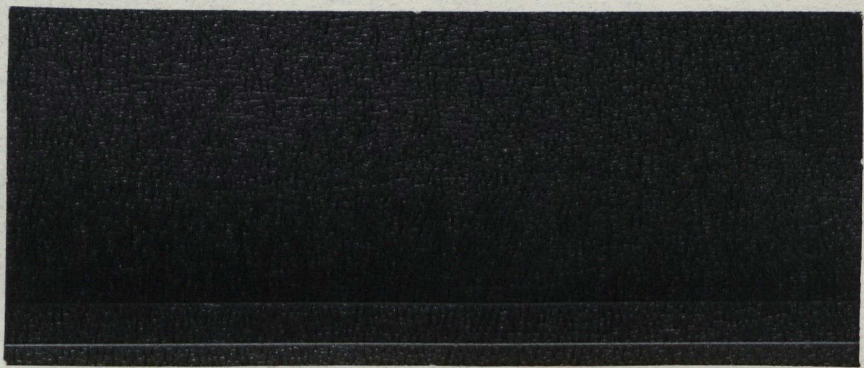
Centre canadien
pour le développement
de la politique étrangère

125 promenade Sussex Drive, Ottawa, Ontario K1A 0G2
Telephone/Téléphone : 613.944.8278 www.cfp-pec.gc.ca Fax/Télécopieur : 613.944.0687

**Canada and Security Challenges
Note from the Retreat with
the Honourable Bill Graham, M.P.,
Minister of Foreign Affairs**

**September 6, 2002
Ottawa**





CAI EA752 2002 C17

Canadian Centre
for Foreign Policy
Development



Centre canadien
pour le développement
de la politique étrangère

Document de la série des documents
de référence: 9800-103-0000-000-1000-1000-1000

Canada and Security Challenges Note from the "Retreat" with Minister Graham

On Friday, September 6, 2002, at the request of the Minister of Foreign Affairs, the Canadian Centre for Foreign Policy Development brought together a group of thinkers to examine Canada and security challenges. The meeting took place under Chatham House rules. Participants included: John Macfarlane (Co-Director of the Program on International Security Policy at the University of Toronto), Andrew Ross (Director of the Program on International Security at the Liu Centre for the Study of Global Issues at the University of Toronto), Nephise Roussel (Université du Québec à Montréal), Lester B. Pearson Peace Centre (Saint John's), Wesley Wall (Royal Military College), Christian Leuprecht (Royal Military College), Barbara Aronell (University of British Columbia), Robert Ross (University of Toronto), Centre for Military and Strategic Studies, University of Calgary, University of Toronto, Marcus Gee (The Globe and Mail), and Permanent Mission of Canada to the United Nations. The meeting was moderated by Don Costello (Executive Assistant), Robert Fry (Public Policy Advisor), Roger Gendron (Senior Departmental Assistant), and Sharon Christie (Policy Advisor). Responding to the Minister's wish to have a small group of 'outside' thinkers, participants were invited to discuss:

Canada and Security Challenges Note from the Retreat with the Honourable Bill Graham, M.P., Minister of Foreign Affairs

September 6, 2002
Ottawa

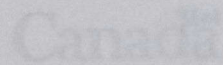
The objective of the discussion was to stimulate the Minister's thinking, expose him to outside views, and create an opportunity for intellectual exchange. The discussion aimed to explore a broad concept of security, not necessarily focusing only on military and intelligence matters. Since September 11, 2001, the "war on terror" has dominated international affairs, including the OS meeting. In the context of the "war on terror," the challenge for Canada is to identify appropriate responses to the threat of terrorism, and to work to achieve human rights goals. Participants discussed the following questions:

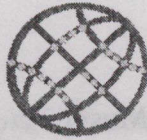
Dept. of Foreign Affairs
Min. des Affaires étrangères

MAY 30 2006

Return to Departmental Library
Retourner à la bibliothèque du Ministère

17112790





Canada and Security Challenges Note from the "Retreat" with Minister Graham

On Friday, September 6, 2002, at the request of the Minister of Foreign Affairs, the Canadian Centre for Foreign Policy Development brought together a group of thinkers to examine Canada and security challenges. The meeting took place under Chatham House rules. Participants included: John Mearsheimer (Co-Director of the Program on International Security Policy at the University of Chicago), Andrew Mack (Director of the Centre for Human Security at the Liu Centre for the Study of Global Issues, University of British Columbia), Stéphane Roussel (Université du Québec à Montréal), Jocelyn Coulon (Director of the Montreal campus of the Lester B. Pearson Peacekeeping Centre), Michael Dartnell (University of New Brunswick at Saint John), Wesley Wark (University of Toronto), Hal Klepak (Royal Military College), Christian Leuprecht (Royal Military College and Queen's University), Barbara Arneil (University of British Columbia), Rob Huebert (Associate Director for the Centre for Military and Strategic Studies, University of Calgary), Elizabeth Dowdeswell (University of Toronto), Marcus Gee (*The Globe and Mail*), and Paul Heinbecker (Ambassador, Permanent Mission of Canada to the United Nations). The Minister was accompanied by Dan Costello (Executive Assistant), Robert Fry (Senior Policy Advisor), Pierre Guimond (Senior Departmental Assistant), and Sharon Cardash (Policy Advisor). Responding to the Minister's wish to have a small group of 'outside' thinkers, department participants were: limited to Gaëtan Lavertu (Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs), Paul Thibault (Associate Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs), Lorenz Friedlaender (Head of Policy Planning Secretariat), and Steve Lee (Chair) and some staff of the Canadian Centre for Foreign Policy Development.

The objective of the discussion was to stimulate the Minister's thinking, expose him to outside views, and create an opportunity for intellectual exchange. The discussions aimed to explore a broad concept of security, not necessarily focussing only on military and intelligence matters. Since September 11, 2001, the "war on terror" has dominated international forums, including the G8 meeting. In the context of the "war on terror," the challenge for Canada is to identify appropriate responses to the threat of terrorism, and to achieve a balance between containment, repression and the achievement of human rights goals. Participants were challenged to think about the following questions:

- What is terrorism, and what should the response be?
- How do we avoid a perception of a "Clash of Civilizations"?

- How do we engage the moderate Muslim World and support notions of shared (global) citizenship?
- What are the consequences of what has been called a *hyperpuissance* of the United States?

The Chair invited participants to address five broad themes:

- Security Threats/Perceptions
- “Homeland”/Global Responses
- Perspectives on Terrorism
- “Security for Whom?”
- Canadian Interests and Values: Security Policy Implications.

Ten participants agreed to lead off discussions on those themes.

Security Threats/Threat Perceptions

Leading U.S. policy-makers hold a narrow, military-oriented view of security. From this point of view, there are four general categories or sources of threat to U.S. security: the possible rise of a potential Great Power competitor; conflict in Europe, Asia and/or the Persian Gulf; nuclear proliferation; and terrorism. None of these present any real challenge to the U.S., and even Iraq does not constitute much of a threat against the military might of the U.S. A potential nuclear war between India and Pakistan, while not likely, is not impossible at some time in the future. Other states, such as Iran and Iraq, wish to gain nuclear weapons, and in fact the greatest threat arises from the “loose nukes.” The threat of terrorism, though important, has been somewhat exaggerated, and perhaps the greatest significance of September 11 was that terrorists demonstrated their capability to wreak damage. Other specific threats include stability in Pakistan and Afghanistan, and the lack of solution to the Arab-Israeli conflict.

For societies outside the United States and for many Americans, this view of threats to security is incomplete. For some, the security of individuals has gained recognition and importance. This definition is broader than the traditional interpretation of security which was narrowly defined as security of the state alone. Furthermore, the nature of conflict has evolved, creating a situation where, in the 1990s, the absolute number of wars or armed conflicts had declined, in part because of UN involvement in peace-building. Nevertheless, certain regions, notably Africa, have not experienced a decline in conflict, and today the vast majority (90%) of wars occur in poor countries, and the vast majority are intra-state conflicts. Such evidence suggests that lack of economic development is the core cause of global conflict and, therefore, development in the South should be seen as an important security policy for the North. Also, a greater priority should be assigned to conflict prevention (which also has the added benefit of being less costly than war or peacebuilding). Nevertheless, lack of economic development cannot be the sole explanation

for conflict: ethnic dominance, group inequality and regime transition also appear to be causal factors. Finally, conflict in certain regions of the world (eg. Africa) has resulted from the lack of an 'American pacifier' in the region.

Historically, the U.S. has demonstrated a powerful unilateralist impulse. Nevertheless, because the U.S. relied on alliances during the Cold War, American unilateralist tendencies have only more recently become apparent. As well, the U.S. swings toward multilateralism only when it is compelled to do so. Keeping with this worldview, it was argued that the U.S. only sees international organizations as useful when it is able to play a dominant role in their operations. Given the American trend towards further unilateralism, and presupposing that playing a pacifying role require multilateral behavior, it is increasingly unlikely that the U.S. will be able to play a pacifying role.

In fact, public debate on foreign policy issues in the U.S. is mostly between Realists and 'superhawks.' Other approaches have been marginalized. Amongst the most strongly unilateralist American thinkers, the notion that the U.S. should be the sole imperial power goes unquestioned. Keeping with this point of view, any move toward multilateralism or alliance formation is resisted because of a fear of potential peer competitors. In particular, the U.S. administration has been pursuing a policy of containing China (which is viewed, in the long term, as a potential peer competitor).

However, others argue that the U.S. has been multilateral in the past, and efforts must be made to push the current administration in that direction. Past multilateralist actions of the U.S. were noted. Can allies' views have an impact on the Bush Administration policies, as opposed to internal factors (ie: public opinion)? It is worth noting that perhaps fewer than 50% of Americans support an attack on Iraq, and of those who do, perhaps 60% say it must be done multilaterally. Given that American public opinion is not well-formed on Iraq, an opportunity exists to win over "hearts and minds," and it is all the more pressing that Canada encourage the Bush administration to pursue a multilateral route. A respondent felt that if all allies refused to support a war on Iraq, American public opinion would not support an attack. It was recommended that Canada can also influence the American government by looking to European allies for support, especially France, Germany and Spain. However, this approach is fraught with difficulty, as European allies are seen by some as unreliable partners.

An opposing viewpoint argued that Canada should unequivocally back an American attack on Iraq, based on Iraqi contravention of international norms. Further, according to this view, Iraq represents a threat to the region and must be contained. Proof of Saddam Hussein's weapons program will be impossible to obtain. Yet, others responded that a high standard of proof of an Iraqi weapons program is required given that the consequences of an attack on Iraq could be very serious.

“Homeland” and Global Responses

‘Security perimeters’ deserve further policy attention. Since September 11, 2001, we have been attempting to build a security perimeter in a piecemeal fashion, but the institutional design of security perimeters needs to be considered in a comprehensive fashion. Factors to consider are the functional and geographic limits of the security perimeter, and which security factors (eg. energy) should be part of the perimeter, and which should be explicitly excluded (eg. culture). Given that polls demonstrate that Canadians are willing to sacrifice some freedoms for the sake of security, how should this affect policy development on security perimeters?

It was argued that Mexico must enter the common North American security perimeter, at least in the long-term. However, any discussion of integration of Mexico into the security perimeter has been met with resistance arising from concerns of a possible strain in the U.S.-Canada ‘special relationship’ and corruption in Mexican police and administration. It was recommended that the integration of Mexico and the rest of Latin America must be seriously considered as future partners in a possible hemispheric security perimeter.

In terms of global responses, it was felt that the priorities in our foreign policy are our relations with the U.S., and in the international sphere; peacekeeping, disarmament and human security. In particular, some lament the decline in Canada’s contributions to international peacekeeping, an area in which Canada used to make strong contributions. Canada should enter into coalitions with allies to counter U.S. influence, because when Canada and allies are united, the U.S. pulls back. Furthermore, Canada should not shrink from emphatically stating its position to the U.S.

Perspectives on Terrorism

To understand the causes of terrorism, the nature of the changed international system in the aftermath of the Cold War must be taken into consideration. During the 1990s, the power of non-state actors increased to such a degree that global politics can no longer be centred on states alone. Furthermore, state governments are no longer able to contain violence perpetuated by non-state actors, as shown by the terrorist acts of September 11th, so states are increasingly going to have to enter into dialogue with non-state actors. This is not to suggest that the regime of states is over: the state system is alive, and virtually all states oppose organizations such as al-Qaeda because they cannot control them.

The causes of terrorism have also stimulated a rift within American policy circles. Some believe that terrorism results from a hatred of the West and, more specifically, Americans because they are ‘western,’ Christian, wealthy and have liberal values (the “Clash of Civilizations” argument). On the contrary, others maintain that terrorism stems from a hatred for American policies, such as sanctions against Iraq and support of Israel. If terrorism results from simple hatred of Americans and other Westerners, some feel there is not much we can (or would be willing to) do about it. However, if terrorism stems from the latter reason, then the West can go to lengths to

win over 'hearts and minds.' It seems the U.S. has not come to a decision on the causes of terrorism.

Canada should also make efforts to better understand the root causes of terrorism and alienation. To do this, Canada must deepen its engagement with the Arab and Islamic world, both bilaterally and multilaterally, and should endeavour to establish closer links with civil society in the Muslim world. Finally, Canada should assist countries that cannot afford to implement security measures.

From some perspectives, intelligence failures played a significant role in determining the course of events on September 11th. An improved independent analytical capacity is important to formulating national decisions on courses of action. More broadly, intelligence must be seen as a base for sound foreign policy. Canada must improve its own intelligence capacity in order to better formulate its own security policy and reduce excessive dependence on intelligence from other countries. An independent knowledge base is important to formulating national decisions on courses of action that are distinct from, and uninfluenced by the intelligence provided by others who may be trying to influence such actions. Notwithstanding, information and intelligence sharing should continue. Canada should also assign a higher priority to sharing the intelligence burden with our allies, in order to strengthen links and increase its international influence. Intelligence is also a valuable tool in gaining an understanding of other societies.

Nevertheless, some argue that the success of the September 11 attacks arose from a failure of imagination rather than a failure of intelligence. Canada, like the U.S., must learn to use its intelligence information more efficiently to avert crises, and coordination and cooperation between different government agencies is essential. The question arose as to where Canada should focus its efforts to increase this intelligence capacity, and whether Canada can make use of its multicultural society in monitoring and tracking developments in other countries as a way to complement its other foreign policy initiatives.

Much discussion focussed on the intelligence available regarding Iraq, and whether the U.S. could demonstrate that Iraq has weapons of mass destruction. From some perspectives, the U.S. has made no attempt to provide any specific information to substantiate their assertions against Iraq. Others argue that Saddam Hussein's record of aggression, the possibility that Iraq either already has weapons of mass destruction or, at a minimum, is working towards having them, and the fact that it has demonstrated its willingness to use such weapons on its own people means Canada should support an attack against Iraq.

Others, however, noted that action against Iraq requires a high standard of proof because the consequences of action are significant in terms of relations with the Muslim world and broader impacts on the region and Israel. Furthermore, supporting an attack on Iraq solely because the Iraqi government *may* be producing weapons of mass destruction sets a dangerous precedent for attacks against sovereign states. As one participant noted: "There is no end of speculation for preventative attacks. This has serious consequences for the new global order."

Security for Whom?

Some proposed that the beneficiaries of security are those who can afford it, such as the U.S., or those who have friends who can afford it. Yet, September 11th clearly demonstrated the vulnerability of the U.S. and others to low-level technology attacks. Further, states appear unable to prevent drugs, illegal migrants, and small arms from crossing borders, which is but a further challenge to the security of the state. In the new world order, and where justified, states must retain the capacity for violent response. While Canada provides only token forces to international security initiatives, the Canadian Armed Forces are considered one of the best in the world.

Alternatively, others noted that discussions have tended to focus exclusively on security for the state, with the implicit assumption being that the state will take care of its citizens. The failure of many states to do so necessitates a broader definition of security focussing on the notion of human security. This broader view includes: security for women, human rights, aid, governance issues, environmental security and sustainable development. A human security lens also highlights domestic concerns, in that we the need to consider what happens after a war is over and soldiers return home (perhaps to bring the mentality of war into the home). Most importantly, while there are deep implications of Iraq having weapons of mass destruction, this is not the main security concern of the vast majority of people around the world, many of whom are more concerned with more pressing issues, such as access to clean water, food and shelter.

Canada has a role to play in promoting human security, for example by remaining in Afghanistan to ensure the protection of women's right, and the promotion and provision of education for all. Another way of advancing human security is to address the greatest problems (for both women and men) of a weak state.

Canadian Interests and Values: Security Policy Implications

The need to define security more broadly parallels the path that has now led us to think of the environment more broadly and to consider and address concerns regarding the global commons (such as the problem of climate change, management of the oceans and deep sea mining, and the militarization or pollution of space). Recently, Canada's performance on key environmental issues has contributed to diminishing our former position as a bridge-builder. Yet, this international standing could easily be reversed. At the recent World Summit on Sustainable Development in Johannesburg Canada acted upon the interests and values of Canadians by taking a key leadership position on the issue of human rights, and almost single-handedly advanced the inclusion of the term in key documents.

Other perspectives on Canadian interests and values focussed on the issue of Iraq. A core value of Canadian foreign policy is the rule of law. While Canada may be reluctant to endorse U.S. action on Iraq because it would undermine international law, we were willing to act in the case of Kosovo even without Security Council approval. Furthermore, a military attack on Iraq is not contradictory to Canadian values, as the Iraqi state has been circumventing international law.

Yet, others argue that regardless of pressure from the United States, Canada should continue to pursue a foreign policy based on Canadian values, including respect for human rights, arms control and disarmament and respect for international law. Reflecting this, Canada should not be intimidated to enter into an alliance to attack Iraq. Instead, Canada should be able to speak frankly to the U.S. in defence of the principles and Canadian values as expressed in foreign policy.

A number of participants in this discussion were interviewed on video for webcast, which will soon be available on the Canadian Centre for Foreign Policy Development's (CCFPD) website (www.cfp-pec.gc.ca). Commentaries from participants in a related CCFPD retreat, "Thinkers Retreat: Clash of Civilizations?," held in Ottawa, May 2-4, 2002, are also available in online video (at: www.ecommons.net/ccfpd-thinkers2002). The report from this retreat, *Clash of Civilizations? Summary Report from the Thinkers' Retreat*, will be available soon. Finally, papers from the Graduate Student Seminar "Can Democracy and Open Societies Overcome the Causes of Conflict in a Divided World?," April 29 - May 3, 2002, are also available from the CCFPD (email to: info.cpc@dfait-maeci.gc.ca).



125 promenade Sussex Drive, Ottawa, Ontario K1A 0G2
Telephone/Téléphone : 613.944.8278 www.cfp-pec.gc.ca Fax/Télocopieur : 613.944.0687

SELECTED CCFPD REPORTS FROM 2000-2002

Terrorism

Report from the Roundtable: The New Face of Terrorism. CCFPD. October 26, 2001.

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, Sub Sahara 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 entreprises canadiennes et la consolidation de la paix. Jean-Francois Rioux, Francisco-José Valiente, and Christian Geiser, Université du Québec à 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.



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.

Summary of Key Points from Presentations and Discussions: The Washington D.C. Roundtable on Trends in U.S. Foreign Policy. CCFPD and the Woodrow Wilson Centre, Washington DC. April 2, 2001.

Summary of Key Points from Brief Presentations and Discussions: Foreign Policy Trends in the U.S. Roundtable. CCFPD and University of Alberta, Edmonton, Alberta, Canada. April 12, 2001.

Summary of Key Points from Presentations and Discussions: The Toronto Roundtable on the Bush Administration's Foreign Policy - Challenges and Implications for Canada. CCFPD and the Munk Centre, University of Toronto, Toronto, Ontario, Canada. May 18, 2001.

Halifax Roundtable on US Foreign Policy. CCFPD and Saint Mary's University, Halifax, N.S.. June 15, 2001.

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.

Ballistic Missiles Foreign Experts Roundtable Report. Ernie Regehr, Project Ploughshares and CCFPD. March 30, 2000.

NATO-Nuclear Weapons Roundtable Report. CCFPD. August 24-25, 2000.

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 efficacité: 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.

Borders

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.

Children's Rights

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.

Canadian Firms, Canadian Values. Canadian Business for Social Responsibility. May 2000.

Law

Canadian Council on International Law 29th Annual Conference - Policy Options Paper. Kim Carter et. al. December 2000.

Africa

Report from the National Forum on Africa. CCFPD. January-February, 2002.

Summary Report from the Roundtable on Good Governance and Africa. CCFPD. October 25, 2001.

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.

Sudan Civil Society Symposium. Sudan Inter-Agency Reference Group. June 5-6, 2000

Report from the Ottawa Nigeria Roundtable. CCFPD. March 20, 2000.

Asia-Pacific

Report from the Roundtable: Good Governance and the Philippines. CCFPD. March 16, 2001.

Decentralization and Challenges to Unity: Report on the Indonesia Roundtable 2001. Centre for Dialogue, Simon Fraser University. April 19-21, 2001.

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.

Report from the North Korea Roundtable. CCFPD. January 22, 2001.

Report from the Burma and Drugs Roundtable. CCFPD. May 15, 2000.

Europe

Report from the Thinkers' Retreat: The Future of Canada-Europe Relations. Suman Bhattacharyya, Canadian Centre for Foreign Policy Development. March 17-19, 2002 (Ottawa).

Report from the Roundtable Living Together: Sharing the Canadian Experience. Marketa Geislerova, Canadian Centre for Foreign Policy Development. March 28-30, 2001 (Banff, Alberta) and June 15-17, 2001 (Larnaca, Cyprus).

Report on Cyprus: Living Together in the New Century Roundtable. CCDPE. February 14, 2000.

Americas

Workshop Report: Canadian Media Coverage of the Americas. FOCAL. March 2, 2001

Canada, Indigenous Peoples and the Hemisphere Roundtable Report. CCFPD. March 23, 2000.

Canadian Voices: The Americas. CCFPD. Fall 2001.

Threats to Democracy in America. Max Cameron, FOCAL. March 3-4, 2000.

Report from the Roundtable on Canada-Cuba Relations. CCFPD. January 18, 2000.

Culture

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

Circumpolar Issues

Roundtable on Northern Foreign Policy: Feedback and Look Ahead. CCFPD. February 5, 2001.

Foreign Policy Research

Gendered Discourses, Gendered Practices: Feminists (Re)Write Canadian Foreign Policy. Claire Turenne Sjolander, University of Ottawa; Heather Smith, University of Northern British Columbia; Deborah Stienstra, University of Winnipeg. May and July 2000.

Visit www.cfp-pec.gc.ca for more reports and other publications.

LIBRARY E A / BIBLIOTHÈQUE A E



3 5036 01024803 0

DOCS
CAI EA752 2002C17 ENG
Canada and security challenges :
note from the retreat with the
Honourable Bill Graham, M.P.,
Minister of Foreign Affairs Se
17142790

