



CANADA IN THE WORLD

A GLOBAL NETWORKS STRATEGY




Liberal

CANADA IN THE WORLD

A GLOBAL NETWORKS STRATEGY

SUMMARY

The Global Networks Strategy is about Canada embracing the world. Canadians do that because we have a lot to offer the world, and because our long-term prosperity depends on doing so. They want their government to be as open, confident, ambitious and practical as they are. This Strategy outlines how the federal government can once again play a leadership role among Canadians in a rapidly changing world.

Networks define how the world works today, as hierarchies did in the past. Influence is gained through connectedness, and by being at the centre of networks. That is good news for Canada, because we have a reputation for being able to work with others, we have shaped many multilateral organizations, and our population today reflects the diversity of the world. The Global Networks Strategy is designed to leverage these assets. It sets priority areas in which the federal government must collaborate with the full range of players who contribute vigorously – and most often in networks – to Canada’s presence in the world: other governments, non-governmental organizations, the private sector, young Canadians, academia, faith-based groups, artists and others.



“It’s time for Canada to re-engage with the world. We have tremendous assets – our diversity, our resources, our technology, our geography, our armed forces, civil society groups, our history, our youth, – all tailor-made for how globalization works today. We can accomplish so much more for ourselves and with others if we get smarter and more ambitious about leveraging those assets. Let’s get to work.”

– MICHAEL IGNATIEFF –
Leader of the Liberal Party of Canada

Canada’s engagement with the world in the coming years will be multi-faceted, reflecting our interests, values and capabilities. Under the Global Networks Strategy a Liberal government will:

- Propose a new kind of bilateral agreement with **China and India**, and other countries over time, in order to place the highest possible priority on building productive, long-term relationships in key economic, knowledge and cultural sectors and stronger ties at all levels;
- Renew our partnerships with the **United States and Mexico**, and work together in North America and on the world stage;
- Pursue a new, multilateral agreement on the **Arctic** to advance cooperation on social, economic, environmental and security issues;
- Reverse the current government’s withdrawal from **Africa**, supporting innovative new ways to empower Africans, build capacity for stable, transparent government and encourage private investment;
- Act on a “whole-of-Canada” approach to helping partners in the developing world, based on Canadian ideas like **Peace, Order and Good Government**, and the **Responsibility to Protect**; this will leverage the expertise and commitment of civil society, business and government, and include a return to United Nations **peace operations** by an experienced and accomplished Canadian military, after the end of its combat mission in Afghanistan;

- Make **empowering women in the developing** world an over-arching priority for development assistance;
- Renew Canadian **multilateralism**, to help shape new institutions and reform existing ones, addressing both threats and opportunities that transcend borders;
- Implement a **Branding Canada** initiative in key foreign markets focusing especially on Canadian culture and our strengths in higher education in order to boost trade, investment and Canadian influence;
- Leverage the passion of Canadian youth, with a new **Canada Youth Service program** to support volunteer service abroad;
- Re-establish Canadian credibility and leadership in **energy and the environment**, working with the international community to fight climate change, while at the same time ensuring we transition successfully to the low-carbon economy of tomorrow, with good jobs in a competitive and innovative Canada; and
- Renew the **government's capacity** to act on the Global Networks Strategy, in part by reallocating the incremental spending by the Department of National Defence in Afghanistan, after the combat mission ends in 2011.

The Global Networks Strategy is a comprehensive and coherent plan for securing Canadian prosperity, and our place in a complex and changing world, by taking full advantage of the capabilities of all Canadians.



Introduction

A CANADIAN OPENNESS TO THE WORLD

Canadians have always embraced the world with confidence, optimism and a blend of new-world idealism and old-fashioned practicality. Doing well in the world, and *with* the world is part of who we are. We have always wanted to contribute to progress, leave things better for our children, and right wrongs where we can. A modest population spread across a vast geography, Canadians understand those ambitions require working with others, beyond our borders. Blessed with the prosperity of a developed, Western economy, but unburdened by any history of conquest, we are welcomed by many, often envied, but seldom resented. We're dependable partners, honest brokers, balanced mediators, steadfast allies.

This is what we tell ourselves.

We see ourselves this way because of our past. But in a rapidly changing world, it is now essential that Canadians re-conceive our role, our manner of contributing, our way of pursuing our interests and applying our values. The world has changed in ways to which we have not yet adapted, and at a pace that we have yet to confront. It is not that our history in international affairs, of which we are justifiably proud, is irrelevant. But it is the past, and its lessons must now be applied to the future with fresh thinking to move beyond old debates and answer the next decade's questions.

Lester B. Pearson invented United Nations peacekeeping. But we have gone from its leading practitioner to the world's 56th ranked contributor to peace operations today. During that shift, the practice has become vastly more complex – and dangerous – than in its earlier decades. Is Canada a peacemaker and conflict preventer of the future? If so, how should we go about it in the years ahead?

Pierre Trudeau led the world's opening to China, with Canada crafting a careful diplomatic recognition in 1970 that was emulated by other countries in subsequent years. Since that time, China has gone from an isolated, backward economy to a global powerhouse, forecast to become the world's largest economy in the next two decades. Will Canada again be a leader in innovative engagement with China, or continue sliding off the radar screen of Asia's emerging giants?

Brian Mulroney put Canadian values into practice when he played a leading role in the Commonwealth to end Apartheid in South Africa. Those efforts contributed to the high regard many Africans have for Canada, and yet the current government has removed a number of African nations from among its priorities, reduced commitments to African development assistance, and shifted its limited attention elsewhere. Does Canada still care enough to stand with the world's poorest in the years ahead, and partner with a changing Africa? If so, should the debate be about the right amount of money to devote to aid, or is it about finding innovative new ways to build capacity and eradicate poverty?

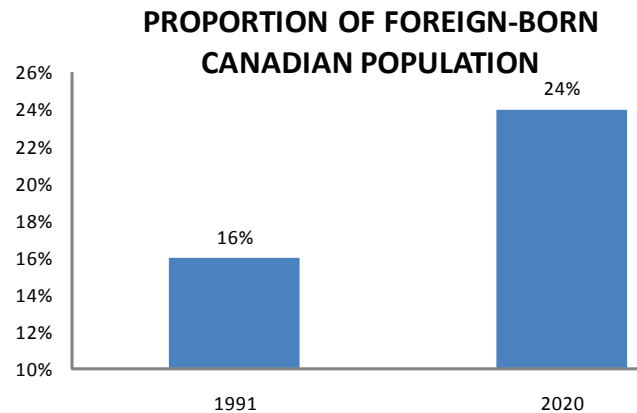
These are the kind of questions to be answered as Canada looks to the future, and rethinks its objectives, interests, values, challenges and advantages in an ever more complex world. Canada was once a credible player in the world's debates, a source of knowledge and fresh thinking. Canadians want to play such roles again, and they can.

CANADA IN THE WORLD: WHY CHANGE IS NEEDED

What happens in the world matters to Canada more than ever before. In the 21st century, decisions and events across the planet have direct impacts on our communities, our stores, factories, schools, and our governments. The distance between an office tower in Mumbai and a main street in Canada can today be measured in seconds. If there was any remaining doubt that no nation is an island, the global events that bookended the first decade of this century dispelled it: the attacks of September 11, 2001, planned in the caves of remote Afghanistan, and at the end of the decade, the world's first globally synchronized recession and financial crisis. These events changed Canada despite our having little or no perceived connection to their causes.

But the globalized world offers as much opportunity as peril – for those who understand how it works, and are willing to lead.

We are among the most trade-reliant nations on the planet, and stand at the geographic and cultural crossroads of goods, people and knowledge flows linking the emerging giants of Asia, and the mature economies of Europe, with the North American market of nearly 500 million people. Canadians are the people of the world: by 2020, one-quarter of our population will have been born in another country. Our cities are brimming with courageous immigrants from Asia, Africa, the Middle East and Latin America, people among the world's most talented and hard working.



Canadians are also spread widely across the globe.

At any given time nearly three million Canadians are living, working and traveling abroad, more than half a million of them in Asia. Nearly four million Canadians are of Asian descent. Over one million Canadians live in the United States. This makes Canada networked with the world. The potential benefits are huge, *if* our policy makers begin to recognize such facts for purposes other than domestic wedge politics.



Canada has lost ground on the world stage. Governed by an ideological tactician who did not travel outside North America before becoming Prime Minister (except for one trip as Leader of the Opposition when he accompanied Prime Minister Paul Martin to a World War II commemoration), Canada has stood still in a fast-paced world. Happening to be in office when it is Canada's turn to host summit meetings does not add up to a vision for Canada's place in the world. Liberals, like many other Canadians, believe the Harper government cares about international affairs exclusively in a tactical sense for chasing votes of particular demographic groups. This leads to a long and growing list of embarrassments and missed opportunities, including:

- At the Copenhagen climate change summit, Stephen Harper earned for Canada the disdain of the world, attending only because President Obama went, and then thwarting progress, not even attempting to reconcile conflicting views within the Canadian delegation he was purportedly leading.
- The Harper government's simplistic approach to the Arab-Israeli conflict, and calculated efforts to exploit it for partisan advantage, have not only undermined Canada's credibility, thus squandering our influence in the region, it has even led to uneasiness among some supporters of Israel, who fear the consequences of further polarization in Canada.

- Mr. Harper took nearly four years as prime minister to go to India and China, an astonishing fact making him stand out in an era when world leaders are working hard to develop deeper relations with the emerging economic giants. Though it was unprecedented, it was hardly surprising that China's Premier Wen openly rebuked him for being a laggard when he finally did show up.
- Suffering another unprecedented low point, the Harper government had to listen in embarrassment as the visiting U.S. Secretary of State Hillary Clinton took it to task in unusually blunt language on three different issues in a single visit: mishandling a meeting of the Arctic countries with a lack of inclusiveness; ignoring evidence and experience about maternal health in the Third World by reversing Canada's decades old consensus on abortion; and a continuing and stubborn reluctance to clarify what Canada's role in Afghanistan will be after the end of its combat mission in 2011.

Such failures demonstrate an underlying approach in which all foreign policy is transacted solely on the basis of votes at home.

Canada cannot afford to continue falling behind more ambitious countries. No one is waiting for us. Afghanistan is of course, a significant exception. Canadian troops have fought bravely and effectively alongside our NATO allies. Our diplomats and aid workers have also distinguished themselves in profoundly difficult circumstances. But in every other region, and every other field of endeavour, Canada is losing presence and losing ground. Our 20th century reputation as constructive players on the international scene has not vanished from memory, but it has certainly faded from view. It will have to be earned anew in this new century, through action, not nostalgia.

Thankfully, millions of Canadians understand and embrace global opportunity. Many of our citizens, especially young Canadians, are working in international development, doing business abroad, and studying overseas. Many of our universities have created new programs in international affairs to harness and focus the energies of young people eager to engage constructively with the world. Our artists and scientists compete successfully and collaborate confidently with their peers among the world's best. But they know – they know from experience around the globe – they could do so much more with enlightened and practical leadership from their government. They deserve a government that embraces the world in all its diversity, rather than one that trades in division and suspicion.

Governments matter in international affairs today, but not as they did in the last century. The world is ever more complex. This is as true of conflict as it is of commerce. In the cold war, conflict and tensions could usually be understood through the lens of rivalry between two superpowers. But today there are multiple new centres of economic and political power in a multi-polar world. In the last century, we could focus on simple exports and imports. But today, deeply integrated global value chains drive business strategies and investments in which all the elements of a finished product - research, development, design, manufacturing, marketing, distribution and more - are disaggregated and located for lowest cost around the planet and re-integrated with the use of cutting edge information and transportation technology.

Ours is a networked world, and this is good news for Canada. Today, influence is concentrated at the centres of globe-spanning networks, much more than at the top of old hierarchies. In the networked world, the best connected are the most successful. Those able to work across boundaries, across oceans, within global partnerships, connecting between governments, business, and civil society, bridging cultures, speaking languages, embracing diversity and mediating difference – *those* people will excel in this century. And those people are Canadians.

"The 21st century is an increasingly network or webbed world, and in that world, power is not going to be defined by who's got the most, the biggest economy or the biggest army. It's going to be defined by who's the most connected and who knows how to use those connections."

- ANN MARIE SLAUGHTER -

Director of Policy Planning, US State Department, former Dean of the Woodrow Wilson School of Public and International Affairs

CANADA IN THE WORLD: WHAT AND HOW TO CHANGE

There are two fundamental objectives for Canada in the World:

- Secure **Canada's prosperity** for the long term by creating the jobs of tomorrow, engaging with the world confidently and creatively today; and
- Make the **world a safer and more secure place**, by contributing to rising living standards for all, environmental responsibility and respect for human rights.

The two objectives amount to a single fact: our values and our interests point in the same direction. Liberals believe that in an interconnected world, self-interest and altruism are inextricable. Doing what we can to improve the lot of others is the right thing to do. But it's also smart. We'll prosper in a more stable, more equitable world, a world safe for commerce. Our children will prosper if we don't sap the planet's ecosystems of their ability to support future generations as well.

Peace in the troubled regions of the globe also matters to Canada, because of our deep human connections to every one of those regions. Most Canadians who are part of global diasporas chose Canada for its peace, stability and prosperity. Here, new Canadians, indeed all Canadians can reconcile differences, deepen respect for diversity, and live in peace and prosperity. Canadians of all origins expect that their leaders do not exploit ethnic divisions for political gain, and that they will never hesitate to discourage and oppose violence used or advocated for political purposes.

Canada, of course, also has interests in preventing conflict and instability abroad in order to maintain our own security. In the globalized world of the 21st century it is not only commerce and information that travel rapidly. Hatred and violence bred in the far corners of the globe where instability festers can cross borders and oceans rapidly. Our security is therefore connected to stability in many lands.

The old rhetorical debate that forced choices between interests and values is passé. So is another false choice between continued closeness to the United States versus intensifying economic relations with emerging economies. We must have both. And in a networked world, the two will be mutually reinforcing, not mutually exclusive. In an integrated economy, the Canada-US partnership will remain crucial to our prosperity. Vast and deep family ties will continue to link us. But it would be foolish to continue ignoring the shift in the world's economic centre of gravity toward Asia. It's a matter of understanding how the world is changing, and acting to make the best possible future in it for Canadians.

LEVERAGING GLOBAL NETWORKS

A Liberal approach to Canada in the World will be based on our interests, our values and an understanding of the power of global networks. A Liberal government would implement Canada's first Global Networks Strategy, cutting across what previous governments have treated as the separate silos of diplomacy, trade, defence, overseas development and culture.

Leveraging Canada's strengths will require leveraging our opportunities in networks, at home and abroad. The federal government is uniquely placed to lead in this task. It is responsible for Canada's official presence and representation on the ground in all countries of the world, and consular support to all Canadians abroad. It is also responsible for our bilateral relations and our membership in a wide range of political and specialized multilateral bodies. These formal responsibilities underpin a vital power to convene a wide range of players at home, connecting with sources of influence and action well beyond federal government circles. Away from home, Canada's convening power is nourished by our reputation as honest brokers, free of any colonial past.

But leveraging networks is a task that demands not only the exercise of traditional responsibilities, but also a new willingness, and new capacities, to connect and collaborate with partners in the private sector, other governments, civil society, academia and the full range of international counterparts. It's a task for

those who have explored the world, and understand it. It's a task for those who understand Canada's most enduring strengths, and are willing to apply them in new ways to new challenges.

The Global Networks approach will require a new kind of leadership from the federal government both at home and abroad. The days have long since passed when the Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade had a monopoly on Canada's interests abroad, or on international economic relations. Today, many actors contribute to Canada's presence in the world, from the transportation executives providing mass transit rolling stock to China, to Waterloo software engineers conquering foreign markets, to the Canadian doctor who headed Médecins Sans Frontières, to the global artistic genius of Cirque du Soleil. All reflect Canadian interests and values. All flourish not by asserting power in a hierarchical sense, but by understanding the needs and desires of people in other lands, and mastering global networks of human relationships to get things done.

And yet none of these private sector, civil society or cultural leaders have the legitimacy to articulate the country's overall priorities and objectives in the world. That's what the federal government must do. It must also represent those objectives with foreign governments energetically. But ultimately to achieve real results in today's networked world, the federal government must be prepared to act in collaboration with many more partners than it has in the past. That kind of leadership can knit together the many contributions into more than the sum of their parts. By convening all those who can contribute to a particular shared objective, national leadership can help identify the tangible results to be sought, and locate concrete responsibilities. So the challenge for both the political leadership and federal officials will be creative, dynamic and collaborative engagement with multiple partners. That applies to the framing of specific Canadian priorities, pursuing them abroad, and in implementing relevant obligations at home.

The network approach is about how to exercise leadership that reflects a solid grasp of how the world is changing, and how that change can be harnessed by Canada. A fundamental shift to be sure, but its true significance can only be defined and appreciated in the context of concrete, substantive actions. In moving from how we will pursue Canadian priorities, to what those priorities should be, it must be acknowledged that the potential list is nearly endless. But they will only truly be priorities if they are few. What follows are the crucial geographic areas of emphasis, cross-cutting policy imperatives, and defining concepts that comprise the Global Networks Strategy.

PRIORITIES IN THE GLOBAL NETWORKS STRATEGY

- **New bilateral accords proposed first with China and India.** "Global Network Agreements" will take a long-term approach to deepening relationships between governments, industries, and other actors in strategic sectors that drive 21st century economic relations.
- Revitalized engagement with the **United States and Mexico**, leveraging the vast range of cross-border interactions among all levels of government, business, universities, individuals, and cultural and other non-governmental groups.
- A new, inclusive approach to **Canada's North and the international Arctic region**, based on partnership with the people of the North, confident engagement with northern countries, and a new multilateral agreement to advance cooperation on social, economic, environmental and security issues.
- Reversing Canada's recent drift away from **Africa**, supporting innovative new ways to empower Africans, build capacity for stable, transparent government and encourage private investment;
- An integrated approach to **human development**, based on Canada's inter-related strengths in defence, diplomacy and development, the three Ds. What troubled states need most is assistance building stable, transparent governance. Therefore a Liberal government will mobilize Canadian expertise from within and beyond federal departments

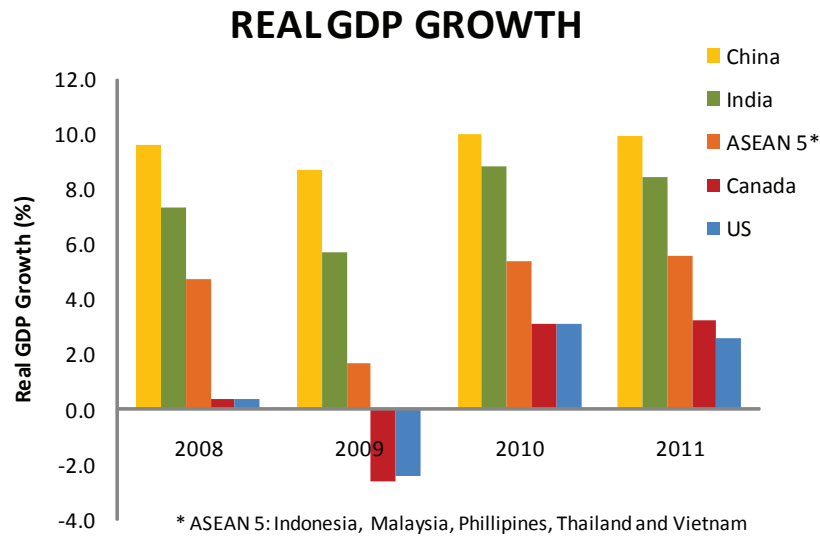
and agencies. Our tradition of “**Peace, Order and Good Government**” will provide the overarching framework for integrating across the three Ds.

- Canada’s battle-hardened military will serve this human development agenda, where all diplomatic efforts are exhausted, through Canada’s return to United Nations-backed **peace operations**. Another Canadian-inspired idea, **Responsibility to Protect**, will ensure that military intervention is truly a last resort, but that when sovereign states fail to protect their people and the international community mobilizes to stop large-scale harm to innocent life (for example in genocide and ethnic cleansing), Canada will be there.
- A muscular approach to renewing Canadian **multilateralism**, working toward reform of old organizations where necessary, building new ones, particularly the G-20, and fully leveraging Canada’s memberships in many global bodies to advance our objectives. At home, a Liberal government will work with provincial governments to seek consensus in advance, and support for implementing obligations we consider in multilateral negotiations.
- A **Branding Canada** program, working with the private sector, artists and academia to make Canadian strengths, especially in higher education and culture, more widely known in key foreign markets.
- Action to regain credibility for Canada in **energy and climate change**. Regaining lost ground in pursuit of clean energy jobs in the lower-carbon economy of tomorrow is essential, and will require new policies and collaboration with all provinces, and international counterparts.

GLOBAL NETWORK AGREEMENTS WITH CHINA AND INDIA

Canada must act boldly and confidently to seize its opportunities with the major emerging economies that are shaping the future. A Liberal government will reach out to key partners and negotiate groundbreaking agreements to deepen ties and build long-term relationships in economic, knowledge and cultural spheres. The priority will be our offer to negotiate **Global Network Agreements with China and India**. The proposed Global Network Agreements will provide frameworks for accelerating interchange and strengthening networks in strategic fields that reflect the breadth of opportunity between Canada and these emerging giants. Those fields could include some of the following:

- Trade and investment
- Financial services
- Transportation, logistics and global value chains
- Higher education, research and development
- Energy, natural resources and sustainability
- Water and other environmental technology and expertise
- Global health
- Food safety and security
- Culture, entertainment and tourism
- Immigration



A new model is now required for bilateral economic agreements. There has been little innovation in this regard since the Canada-US Free Trade Agreement. And yet since that time, the nature of economic interactions in the rapidly evolving global economy has changed dramatically. Simple exports and imports of goods produced entirely in one country and sold in another are a shrinking component of global wealth creation. Complex, rapid, multi-directional flows of knowledge, people, and value chain inputs today drive prosperity. Governments can play important roles in facilitating those flows, and their policies and regulations can inadvertently impede them. Relationships that transcend borders and cross oceans matter more than ever. In the emerging economies, particularly China and India, relationships among both public and private sector counterparts are essential currency. But they require sustained commitment. Global Network Agreements will mandate ongoing action to foster mutually beneficial relationships at all levels, and to facilitate the flows driving 21st century commerce.

At home, Global Network Agreements will embody a Liberal government's strong commitment to national leadership *and* partnership with the full range of players who wish to collaborate, in all levels of government, the private sector, academia and civil society. In particular, diaspora communities in Canada, as well as Canadians living abroad, will be engaged as key elements of the human networks that can drive economic opportunities to new levels.

The proposed Global Network Agreements will include highest-level leadership commitments to facilitate and support formal and informal interchange at the government-to-government level, as well as between private sectors, institutions of higher learning, and other interested organizations in each of the selected sectors. They will mandate jointly developed programs of action with specific timelines and deliverables. The Canadian government will draw on the energy and ideas of all its partners to identify innovative and mutually beneficial initiatives to flesh out the Agreements.

Renewed Team Canada missions will be part of the Global Network Agreements. Modernizing the previous, successful model, each mission would be focused on one or several of the highlighted sectors, include a formalized program to support sustained interaction rather than one-off events, and call for reciprocal visits by a similar range of leaders from the partner country to Canada.

Other countries may also be interested in building partnerships under new Global Network Agreements. The model could be effective in advancing Canada's engagement with countries like Brazil, Russia, South Africa, Turkey, Indonesia and others over time. Russia, for example, is a country with whom Canada could be doing much more to partner in numerous vital areas: oil and gas equipment, agriculture, arctic mapping and climate change concerns. Of course, new bilateral agreements will not diminish the pursuit of a multilateral agreement in the World Trade Organization that is in Canada's interests.

“The changes going on in Asia are of a profound nature and I think it’s something that as Canadians we not only should be aware of, we should look at what it is we’re going to do about it, and how are we going to participate in this massive opportunity.”

- DOMINIC BARTON -
Global Managing Director, McKinsey & Company

We’re a big country and we don’t need to be fearful or defensive about embracing the world in this manner. Of course we have national interests, and standing up for them requires a stronger presence in the world on the part of government and business. Sometimes, strong support of the Canadian interest will mean careful scrutiny of overtures from other countries, for example in takeovers by foreign government-controlled companies in sensitive industries. We will support our national champions, and protect the safety and security of Canadians. But we’ll be better able

to do that within robust and mature relationships with other countries. A Global Network Agreement will provide the vehicle *both* for pursuing mutual interests *and* safeguarding national interests.

The same is true for human rights. In the 21st century, it is outdated and one-dimensional thinking which holds that the way to enhance human rights around the world is to have one foreign minister haranguing another for the benefit of the cameras.

Today, human rights and human opportunity are advanced through networks - through the myriad interactions not only of political leaders, but those of commerce and exchange of knowledge, through development assistance, sharing governance expertise, dialogue among religions, youth and cultural exchanges, education, travel, and tourism; through people connecting digitally and face to face. In other words, if we deepen and broaden human interactions, we will advance human rights. Global Network Agreements will help this cause by expanding human interactions, and building a more mature relationship in which dialogue flourishes over time.

Global Network Agreements will also provide a healthy, respectful atmosphere for government-to-government dialogue on human rights. In the context of a long-term and robust commitment to deepening relations, Canadians can expect fruitful exchanges to become the norm. Of course, international agreements alone will not solve all the world’s human rights issues. Respect for international law will remain essential, though insufficient.

Canada is an Asia-Pacific Nation, with nearly four million Canadians of Asian descent, extensive family, cultural, and economic links, and the closest seaports and efficient air routes linking North America and Asia in a constant two-way flow of goods, people and knowledge. With China and India emerging as world leaders in economic development, other Asian nations such as Indonesia and Viet Nam growing rapidly, and long-standing partners like Japan and South Korea, Canada’s future in a rapidly changing global economy is increasingly Asia-focused.

Under the Global Networks Strategy, Canada will embrace this future. That means more energetic leadership from the federal government at home and abroad. It means working with diaspora communities, promoting Asian language instruction, and deeper knowledge of Asian cultures among Canadian officials and business people. It means working with provinces and institutions of higher learning to foster much greater presence in key Asian markets of Canadian expertise in learning, and facilitation of the constant flow of students between Canada and partners in the Asia-Pacific. These are just some of the areas in which Global Network Agreements will provide significant new impetus.

The Canadian foreign service must play an expanded role in deepening Canada’s ties with Asia. So must officials and experts in many other functional areas – such as trade, transportation, natural resources, energy, agri-food, finance – where future success depends extensively on deeper understanding and stronger relations with Asian counterparts.

Still, Canada’s future as an Asia-Pacific nation relies on actions well beyond the public sector. Canadian business has long relied on a cheap dollar, and proximity to the United States. While the US will remain our most important economic partner, our future cannot be one-dimensional. Innovative entrepreneurs will become as familiar with China as their predecessors were with the United States – its needs, its trends, its diverse regions, people, customs, history, culture, niche markets, and of course its language.

In 2005, the Liberal government launched the Pacific Gateway Strategy, having worked extensively with the government of British Columbia, which has continued to play a leadership role in promoting links with Asia. The Harper government continued the transportation aspects of the Strategy, but narrowed its focus, and appeared to lose interest after its infrastructure funds were committed, and relations with China soured as a result of politically motivated and unnecessary provocations from Ottawa.

The gateway concept represented a promising opportunity for building relations with significant trade partners by convening key players all along transportation supply chains, and unifying them behind a shared goal – expanding trade flows in both directions. The private sector showed up and did its part, but federal political leadership was not sustained beyond the sod-turning photo ops. Indeed, the Harper government has failed to bring forward two new promised “gateway” strategies, many months after the deadlines set out in formal agreements with provincial governments in Atlantic and central Canada.

The opportunity remains for federal leadership, working in a sustained, networked fashion with partners in the private sector and others, to advance long-term Canadian economic interests by deepening relationships with counterparts in Asia. While trade policy could once aim to support Canadian interests at the beginnings and ends of export routes, today the goal must be to help Canadian businesses invest and integrate in the global chains and webs that drive 21st century commerce. In other words, our future prosperity requires a Global Networks Strategy.

RENEWING PARTNERSHIPS IN NORTH AMERICA



Photo: Jean-Marc Garise

Canada’s geographic, economic and cultural advantages in a North American market of nearly 500 million people will remain among our major strategic assets in a rapidly changing world. Over \$1.5 billion worth of goods and services cross the Canada-US border every day as part of the largest commercial relationship between any two countries in the world. But it is a relationship about so much more than exports and imports. In recent years, the integrated market has meant that more than just selling things to each other, Canadians and Americans make things together and sell them to themselves and the world.

However, the “thickening” of the shared border is undermining the vitality of the economic relationship. Implementation of a range of security-related measures by U.S. has put into question cross-border business strategies. Canadians readily understand, support and share the security concerns of the United States. We also know that more innovative methods can and must be found to integrate security with efficiency, and constantly improve the administration of that border over which so much recreational, social, family, industrial and intellectual energy flows. However, much depends on a widespread awareness in the U.S. of the stakes, especially their own stakes, in the trade relationship, and the crucial role the border plays in it. And that takes a great deal of hard work and imagination.

And yet, under its *laissez-faire* approach, the Harper government has sat back and missed opportunities. Its response to the Buy American legislation was too little and too late, built around a photo-op agreement after most of the U.S. stimulus money had been spent. Furthermore, the federal government has failed to take advantage of the full range and full power of the vast array of relationships and shared interests that still transcend that thickening border.

As part of the Global Networks Strategy, a Liberal government will lead and collaborate with Canadians at home, as well as the more than one million who live and work in the United States to **raise the profile of the vast and rich Canada-US relationship in America**. Every day, provincial officials, local mayors, business people, scientists, academics and average citizens from the two countries are interacting. With enlightened

leadership from the federal government – not the command and control which has become the unfortunate norm in recent years – the power of those relationships can be harnessed in support of the overall objective: keeping the shared stakes and common interests front and centre. With many thousands of jobs in Canada depending on the Canada-US economic partnership, our economy cannot afford the steady decline of the past four years in our relevance and profile in the U.S. on every issue with the possible exception of the war in Afghanistan.

A Liberal government will also explore the possibility of new, **smarter administrative arrangements for managing the shared border**, in order to contain and reverse its “thickening” in recent years, while maintaining the highest levels of security.

Canadians and Americans often share common perspectives and a Liberal government will **work collaboratively with the United States in multilateral settings**, building larger alliances with likeminded nations, and reaching out to bridge differences with others. This is an important facet of the relationship, but one apparently escaping the attention of Canada’s current leadership. While we must not hesitate to differ with the U.S. where our interests diverge, we must also be confident enough to support the U.S. where we share objectives. An important example is the technical capabilities (particularly around verification techniques) Canada can contribute to multilateral efforts on nuclear non-proliferation, a high priority of the U.S. Administration, and nuclear disarmament. Another example is the development of the international community’s capacity and policy rigour underpinning peace operations. The new U.S. National Security policy, released by the White House in May, 2010 highlights the concept of “Responsibility to Protect”, which was developed with considerable Canadian leadership, and adopted by the United Nations (see “Peace, Order and Good Government section below). This convergence offers a significant opportunity to collaborate with the U.S. in the multilateral sphere. Seizing these and other opportunities can advance Canadian interests while continuing to strengthen the Canada-U.S. relationship.

The Canada-US relationship on energy is important, and holds great potential for further benefit to both sides. Canadian provinces export and import a variety of energy products, and advancing collaboration with the US will strengthen continental and global efforts to reduce the carbon emissions that cause climate change. Canada has not kept pace with much more ambitious efforts south of the border to develop clean energy, but catching up and succeeding in the North American market will be a priority for a Liberal government.

Much more must be done to advance shared interests and opportunities in the energy/environment sphere. Rather than waiting for others to act, as the Harper government insists on doing, a Liberal government would engage American counterparts in the Administration and Congress proactively on key issues including: carbon pricing, research and development for standards and regulation, clean energy technologies, cooperation on electricity transmission grid development, and transportation.

PARTNERSHIP WITH MEXICO

Building Canada’s relationships with Mexico is another vital task. A neighbour and partner in North America and in many substantive areas, Mexico’s further success matters to Canada. A range of shared interests point to bilateral and trilateral priorities for cooperation including: fighting protectionism in North America, international action on climate change, and supporting Mexico’s efforts and progress on domestic security. A Liberal government will also work with Mexico toward the objective of phasing out the visa requirement for Mexican citizens visiting Canada, while addressing Canada’s concerns regarding refugee claims.

CANADA’S NORTH AND THE INTERNATIONAL ARCTIC REGION

Canada is an Arctic nation, and should be playing a leadership role, in collaboration with all Arctic people and all Arctic countries, to safeguard the well-being of Arctic residents, stewardship of the sensitive Northern environment, its cultures, its economic development and security.



A new approach to Canada's North, and the international Arctic region is essential, one which will move beyond flag planting, hollow rhetoric and grandstanding about sovereignty. A Liberal government will focus on the social needs among the peoples of Canada's north, as well as their knowledge, ideas, and energy. Canada will lead international cooperation on climate change, environmental stewardship, responsible resource development, future shipping through the Northwest Passage, security, culture, and more. The best path to strengthening Arctic sovereignty involves partnership with those Canadians who call the Arctic home. They know the region best, and are the most able to shape a new set of priorities.

The Canadian government must be a strong partner with Northerners, and a strong ally with other Arctic Nations, fostering shared interests, building and strengthening multilateral institutions. Canadian sovereignty will not be undermined, but Canadian interests - particularly those shared with Northern partners - will be more effectively advanced when our sovereignty is exercised more strategically. The Arctic is an excellent example of the Canadian interest being most effectively pursued from the centre of a network, rather than through an attempt to dictate terms from the top of an old-fashioned hierarchy.

A skillfully applied multilateralism will be necessary to build essential partnerships with Russia and the United States, both of whom have interests in Arctic issues, as well as the other Arctic nations and indigenous peoples.

As part of its simplistic approach, the Harper government has downgraded Canada's participation in the Arctic Council, an innovative and successful multilateral body, and eliminated the position of Ambassador for Circumpolar Affairs.

A Liberal Government would reverse these mistakes, appointing a **new Ambassador for Circumpolar Affairs**, energizing Canada's participation in the Arctic Council, and would go further by proposing a **new international agreement on the Arctic**. Such an agreement would bring together all members of the Arctic Council, including indigenous leadership, to formalize cooperation on environmental stewardship, economic and social development, transportation, search and rescue, and security. It could also mandate a joint mapping exercise of Arctic lands and waters to help establish international protected lands, oceans, fisheries and wildlife, sacred indigenous sites, and further cooperation on security. A Liberal government would also act to **establish a permanent secretariat** for the Arctic Council in Canada. It would support negotiations for the new international agreement, and capacity building for full participation in this exercise.

BUILDING A NEW PARTNERSHIP WITH AFRICA



It is time to reverse the slide away from Africa. The Global Networks Strategy will extend the hand of partnership to those most in need. That means focusing first where extreme poverty - not short-term political opportunity - exists. It also means encouraging private investment, and building capacity of African states to serve their people. At a time when a renewed commitment to the Millennium Development Goals is more essential than ever, the developed world must engage with Africans at all levels.

In 2009 the Harper government changed Canada's international aid targets dramatically, with virtually no public or Parliamentary discussion. It shifted aid away from sub-Saharan Africa countries to middle-income Latin American countries. The government removed eight African countries from the list of priority aid recipients. This followed a reduction in African aid by \$700 million in June 2007.

And now, overseas development assistance has been frozen by the government for the foreseeable future. A Liberal government will return Africa to the top of our aid priorities, matching Canadian resources, capacities, and economic interests with the greatest needs. The continent is the location of a disproportionate number of the world's poor, the world's conflicts, and crushing diseases like HIV-AIDS and malaria. It will also bear the brunt of the impacts of climate change. These facts make the Harper

government's slide away from Africa short-sighted at best. But Africa is also a continent of change. Opportunities exist to build new partnerships and make progress on issues not thought possible in the past.

At the same time, we must move beyond stale debates about the necessary amounts of foreign aid. Although more money for the poorest countries may help, experts are increasingly looking at new ideas and alternative methods of supporting growth in the developing world. The key is not how much money to spend, rather how to empower people. Canada must be a leader in advancing innovative new ways of assisting African states that are developing their economies, attracting private investment, and delivering services to their citizens. Micro-finance has proven effective in many circumstances, and there is potential for encouraging more private investment on larger scales in Africa, thus leveraging private sector potential rather than injecting Canadian taxpayers' money into dysfunctional states. Canada will need to focus sharply on where its partnership and interventions can really make a difference in Africa.

MARSHALLING CANADA'S STRENGTHS IN HUMAN DEVELOPMENT

A key part of the Global Networks Strategy, a highly integrated approach to **human development** will not only span the traditional silos of defence, diplomacy and development, but will also leverage Canada's full range of strengths fostering greater coherence, synergy and impact on the ground than has ever been achieved in the past.

PEACE, ORDER AND GOOD GOVERNMENT

In most troubled nations, the most profound need is support to build stable and transparent **governance**, based on the rule of law and respect for human rights. Experience has shown vast quantities of foreign aid provide no lasting change where a people cannot govern themselves. So aid must go together with the building of stable states, with police, financial administration, justice and healthcare systems, for example. Governance in post-conflict states requires expertise in the building of institutions that successfully manage diversity, and prevent further conflict. Canada's historical strengths and contemporary capabilities are well-suited to meeting these needs. In addition to a wide range of civilian, public administration fields, our military will move on at the close of its combat mission in Afghanistan experienced and proven not only in war-fighting, but in supporting state-building, training, leadership development and in engaging local populations to forge alliances that actually improve people's lives on the ground.

"The solutions for the future will be those that integrate economy and environment, unity and diversity – its' not just in the movies that we'll have to get used to seeing things in 3-D."

- MARIE BERNARD MEUNIER -

Visiting Scholar, German Institute for International and Security Affairs,
former Canadian Ambassador to Germany, the Netherlands and UNESCO

Ideas matter in human development, and two distinctly Canadian ideas will be at the forefront. The over-arching concept will be "**Peace, Order and Good Government**" a highly practical doctrine that underpins Canada's own constitution. It will provide the frame of reference for not just a "whole-of-government" program, but a "whole-of-Canada" effort to marshal our governance expertise within and beyond federal departments and agencies.

Canadians have long been sharing their expertise in developing, emerging and rebuilding states around the globe. For example, Engineers Without Borders, founded by two young Canadians in 2000, comprises 50,000 volunteers and 34 professional and student chapters applying the creativity, technical skills and problem-solving ability for which engineers are known, working with rural Africans. Canadians are particularly active in elections administration, financial administration, policing and justice, – all critical areas in many developing countries. Since 2004 the RCMP have deployed 120 officers to the UN Stabilization Mission in Haiti. These men and women have made a significant contribution to criminal justice and human rights standards, working closely with the Haitian National Police, and providing valuable skills training. These are examples of major contributions to human development around the world, but the efforts of Canadians could be better leveraged through more effective partnership, support and leadership from the Canadian government.

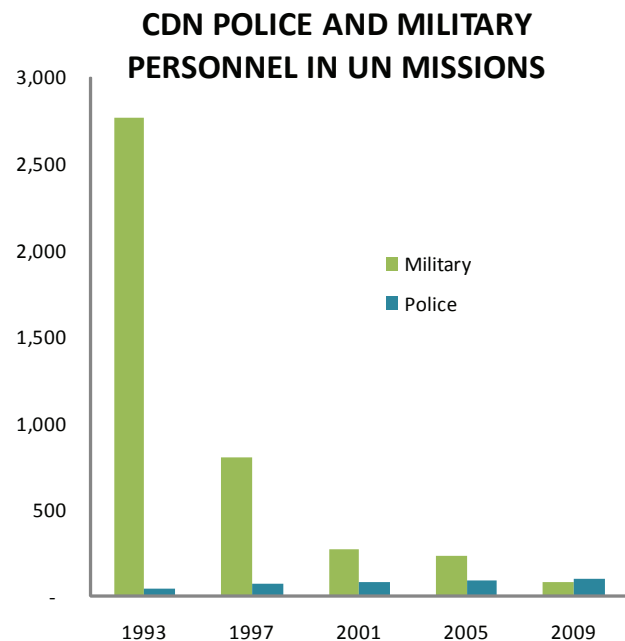
A Liberal government will make Canadian **support for Peace Order and Good Government abroad** a central priority by creating a capacity to broker, coordinate and fund deployments of Canadian governance support and expertise, from both within federal agencies, and beyond – including other governments, retired professionals, the private sector and NGOs. That federal coordination capacity will include fostering innovation, providing training, harvesting lessons learned and sharing best practices from deployments. These efforts will channel Canadian good will and expertise more effectively, and contribute substantively to conflict prevention, conflict resolution, leadership development, the building of democratic institutions, and the spread of human rights and economic stability in post-conflict states.

Under the umbrella of Peace, Order and Good Government, the doctrine of **Responsibility to Protect (R2P)** will provide a rigorous framework for preventing and addressing conflict and mass-scale human rights abuse. The doctrine emphasizes that sovereign states have an obligation to protect their citizens from harm, and when they do not, the international community must make every possible diplomatic effort to coerce them to do so. When a sovereign state will not or cannot protect its people, R2P requires intervention of the international community, including military intervention as a last resort, in UN-mandated operations to stop large-scale loss of innocent lives, such as in genocide or ethnic cleansing. By advancing the acceptance and implementation of R2P, formally adopted by the UN General Assembly in 2005, Canada will not be dragged into conflicts haphazardly, or act as a boy scout trying to break up fights wherever they occur. What principled support for R2P does mean, however, is that when the world must act to stop large-scale slaughter of innocent people, Canada will be there with a highly skilled, battle-hardened military capacity, experienced in the complexities of modern conflict.

Canada is well-placed to make an important contribution to this area, as in many others, by building knowledge networks. A Liberal government will establish a **centre of excellence in conflict prevention and resolution**. It will bring together experts and practitioners from around the world to deepen knowledge about ethnic and other conflicts, and what methods work best to prevent and resolve them. It will also contribute to the knowledge base needed for implementation by the United Nations of the Responsibility to Protect doctrine on a global basis.

Some have called for a return to Canada's traditional role as one of the world's leading peacekeepers. In 2009, the United Nations deployed more peacekeepers than ever before – five times the number of ten years ago. There were almost 100,000 military and police personnel in 15 UN missions around the globe. Yet, while the number and the need for UN peacekeepers has never been greater, Canada's contribution has never been smaller. Where once we contributed about 3,300 troops, today we are contributing 57, and about 121 police officers, spread over 12 existing UN missions.

However, traditional peacekeeping has evolved significantly since Canada began vacating the field. Increasingly, deployments are undertaken to more complex and often dangerous situations, better described as peace-making. They increasingly involve combat. A Liberal government would develop a new leadership role for Canada in today's United Nations **peace operations**. It would include training, commanding and deploying personnel where it is clear that a mission is consistent with Canada's interests, values and capabilities. This direction will be another important element of a broad, Canadian approach to human development.



AFGHANISTAN

Canada's role with NATO in Afghanistan was the right mission at the right time. The mission remains an honourable one, supporting security and development for men and women in a troubled land previously governed by a retrograde Taliban regime, which provided safe haven to the Al-Qaeda architects of terror attacks, including those of September 11, 2001.

Canada's sacrifice has been profound. Nearly 150 men and women have lost their lives, with many more facing disabilities and post-traumatic stress disorder. The government estimates it is spending nearly \$1.7 billion this year in incremental costs on the mission, compared to \$39 million for all other Canadian overseas military missions combined. This worthy, dangerous mission will intensify in the summer of 2010, with the likelihood of more Canadian casualties through the rest of this year, and into 2011. Canadian veterans deserve the best possible care and support once home, and to that end the Veterans Charter must be adjusted to reflect the circumstances they face today.

The Harper government has refused to lead any discussion about whether Canada should play a role in Afghanistan after the completion of the combat mission in 2011, and if so, what form it would take.

The purpose of the mission, from its beginning, has been to help the people of Afghanistan become able to govern themselves and assume responsibility for their own security. That task will not be completed at the end of Canada's combat role.

In light of its hard-won credibility, the sacrifice of those who made it possible, and long-standing solidarity with our NATO allies, Canada should pursue a **post-combat role, for a fixed period, based on training** of police and military personnel in a staff college setting in Kabul, and **civilian capacity-building** in various areas of public administration vital to building stable, competent and transparent governance in Afghanistan. The objective is to help the Afghan people build a better future for themselves. A responsible, transparent decision process on such a role will require the Harper government to engage in dialogue and provide information to the Canadian public, and Parliamentarians. Its exercise of these democratic obligations is overdue.

Contributing to the capacity of the Afghan people to govern themselves effectively continues to be in Canada's interest. If they do not achieve that goal, the country risks becoming again the safe haven from which Al-Qaeda could resume its previous threats and planning against western democracies. Building on hard-won gains to help achieve effective governance would therefore enhance our own security, and help justify Canada's contribution to training and governance capacity-building after the combat mission.

Any post-combat presence for Canada must also include a substantive role in the diplomatic process and any political talks on Afghanistan's future. A Liberal government would appoint a **Special Envoy** to the peace process for the region.

Under the Harper government, Afghanistan has seemed to represent the entirety of Canada's role in the world. Apart from partisan rhetoric and the occasional photo op, there has been little else. Under a Liberal government, an experienced and resourced military will be a significant asset in the service of a much broader vision of Canada's international opportunities, obligations and pursuit of our interests beyond Afghanistan. The practical framework for that vision is the comprehensive approach to human development described above, which will marshal Canada's military strengths, together with diplomatic, development, trade and cultural strengths in a "whole of Canada" engagement with the world, underpinned by Canadian-inspired concepts of Peace, Order and Good Government, and the Responsible to Protect. Under the Global Networks Strategy of a Liberal government, Canada will transition from a narrow focus on combat in Afghanistan to a broad and ambitious set of objectives for Canada in the world, bringing to bear our interests, values and capabilities.

MIDDLE EAST PEACE

Before the current government came to office, Canada was known as a voice of reason in the Middle East, respected by both sides in the Arab-Israeli conflict. The objective of serious diplomacy is to be capable of playing a constructive role, and exerting influence to advance Canada's interests and those of our allies. The Harper government has squandered Canada's influence in the region, because of its simplistic approach. It has also polarized debate in Canada for partisan reasons. The Harper approach has sacrificed any possible Canadian contribution to actual results on the ground. That is a loss that must be reversed.

The objective of Canada must be peace in the region. The short-term objectives must include a reduction in hostilities, economic growth for those who need it most, and a de-escalation of inflammatory rhetoric. Liberals believe in the two-state solution and that true stability in the region can only happen when a safe, secure and democratic Israel exists in peace beside a viable, safe, secure and democratic Palestinian state. Canada is a friend of Israel, an important, democratic ally, with a right to defend itself. The targeting of civilians is never acceptable and should always be condemned by Canada. However, Israeli construction of settlements in East Jerusalem and elsewhere in the Palestinian West Bank continues to be unhelpful and an obstacle to peace.

On these fundamental questions, our political leaders must say the same thing whether they are in a mosque in Calgary or a synagogue in Montreal. Otherwise, they are just playing politics. Politicians also have a duty to discourage the importing tensions and hostility into Canada. On the contrary, we should try to bring the Canadian experience of tolerance, diversity and principled compromise to bear on the search for solutions overseas.

Canadians must be realistic about our ability to impact long-standing, entrenched hostilities. We should also have the courage and initiative to act where we can, particularly with respect to specific problems for which practical solutions can contribute to progress. For example, Canadians today are contributing to capacity-building in the Palestinian West Bank by helping set up communications systems for security services, and a logistics centre. This is the type of practical work with tangible benefits that Canada should be leading on a more ambitious scale in more places.

Canada should also continue pressing for more building materials to be allowed into Gaza. This is essential to enable its people to improve living conditions. It can be done – as it must – without compromising legitimate security concerns of Israel.

OVERSEAS DEVELOPMENT ASSISTANCE

The Liberal human development thrust clearly goes well beyond traditional approaches to foreign aid. Modernizing the government's approach will provide the opportunity to remedy serious mistakes of the Harper government. There is no room for ideology in development assistance. And there is no justification for imposing a chill on democratic dialogue on international policy issues through intimidation, threats and politically motivated withdrawal of funding. Under the global networks approach, a Liberal government will **renew partnerships with the many Canadian organizations working to improve the lives of those most in need**. Canadian objectives will be best achieved by combining federal leadership with effective support for the networks in which Canadian NGOs, churches and other faith-based groups, women's groups, youth organizations, labour, academic institutions, individuals and government officials are working around the world every day.

Unfortunately, an ineffective bureaucratic structure for delivering Canadian aid, and a total absence of political will to fix it, have meant that both our dedicated officials and our inspiring civil society actors have been impeded significantly. This can and will change. International affairs experts have made promising proposals for new models to greatly improve efficiency, transparency, innovation and responsiveness in aid delivery. More effective mechanisms will allow Canada to set and pursue international priorities that match our government and civil society capabilities against real needs and opportunities in development.

In addition to **governance**, under a Liberal government Canadian aid will be guided by an overarching emphasis on the **massive untapped potential of women in the developing world**. Empowering women

is often the key factor in economic development, small-holder farming, health initiatives, and education among others. Vast human potential in many developing countries can be unlocked by focusing on the role of women. This will be a central focus of a Liberal government's approach to development assistance. Other major priorities will include food security, disaster relief and reconstruction, climate change adaptation and water management. In effective networks of responsibility, Canada can set concrete goals for world-leading results in all of these areas.

YOUTH SERVICE ABROAD

Canadian youth are a potent force shaping Canada's presence in the world. Many are passionate about making a difference, ambitious about what can be achieved abroad, and curious about other cultures and places. They are a generation that has grown up with the pervasiveness and power of the internet, and they know how to use it to bridge distance. Experience in the world benefits young Canadians by broadening their horizons. Their humanitarian efforts benefit people in less fortunate countries, and it benefits Canada when they return enriched with ideas, inspiration and practical experience with the world's diversity and its challenges.

That is why a Liberal government will implement a **Canada Youth Service** program. It will leverage the energy and engagement of Canadian youth by financially supporting their volunteer service abroad, bringing international experience within reach for greater numbers of young Canadians. The program will also support volunteer service at home.

"The best ambassadors of Canada are Canadians working around the world."

- JEREMY KINSMAN -

Project Head, Community of Democracies, former Canadian Ambassador to Moscow, the European Union, and High Commissioner in London

RENEWING CANADIAN MULTILATERALISM

Multilateralism is not a policy choice, but a pragmatic recognition of the world as it is: more than ever, both our threats and our opportunities are trans-national. Global terrorism, cybercrime, pandemics and of course instability in international finance threaten our way of life, but are not confined to any state's boundaries. On the other hand, trade, investment, clean technologies, higher education, are all fundamental to our long-term prosperity and are fundamentally global in scope.



As a founding member of the United Nations and NATO, leaders in la Francophonie, the Commonwealth, NAFTA, APEC and an original advocate of the G-20, Canada is extremely well placed to advance its objectives in the world by taking a renewed, 21st century "network" approach to multilateralism. That means dedicating sufficient resources to Canadian engagement in these institutions, as well many specialized, multilateral agencies dealing with a range of issues from food safety to arms control, where Canada has both an interest and an opportunity to contribute to a larger good. It means embracing the complexity of today's diplomacy, in which only some of the players are on government payrolls. Multilateralism in the 21st century calls for more nimble political leadership.

Multilateral institutions are essential to advancing Canada's interests and relationships in the Americas. The Organization of American States (OAS) and several specialized, affiliated bodies play a key role on a range of issues, and have still greater potential. They require more focused attention from Canadians, including a number of ministries in the federal sphere.

Renewed multilateralism will require realistic and determined leadership in the **reform of established institutions**, especially the United Nations - realistic about the considerable imperfections of most global bodies, and determined to achieve improvements. Collective deliberation is indispensable, so engagement in multilateral institutions remains essential in spite of their frustrations. Reforms must be pursued with vigour, especially in the UN, in order to more firmly connect the entitlements of membership

with its obligations, to modernize key bodies to better reflect new realities, and to bring about greater accountability for results, as well as transparency and efficiency.

G-20 AND THE CHANGING WORLD

The transition taking place from the G-8 to the G-20 as the world's leading body for economic cooperation is a compelling example of institutional change, and the absence of nimble leadership on Canada's part. The government has been slow to realize or accept that the **G-20 must replace the G-8** as the world's pre-eminent body for economic cooperation. In the unique position of hosting overlapping summits of the two bodies, Canada could have enhanced its influence by managing the passing of the torch from a small club formed in the Cold War, to an emerging body that reflects the world as it is today. Instead, the Harper government clings to its continued membership in the smaller body, oblivious to the inevitable changes that are occurring, and being led by others. It has also exhibited a haphazard approach to the role of chair, short on thoughtful planning and consultation, and long on improvisation driven by partisan tactical calculation, and self-promotion. One unfortunate result has been the astronomical cost of staging the events, well in excess of one billion dollars, **an expense unheard at previous summits around the world.**

The members of the G-20 represent 90 percent of the world's gross national product. No leader who is serious about the future can believe anymore that global challenges ranging from economic stability to climate change, to food insecurity and poverty can be adequately addressed without countries like Brazil, Mexico, South Africa, Indonesia, South Korea, China and India at the table. Still, it will take time and effective leadership for the new body to develop the institutional maturity, collective processes and knowledge foundation to underpin its emerging role. In that context, a Liberal government will support a **permanent G-20 secretariat hosted in Canada**, to conduct policy research, engage civil society and private sectors, and advance long-term issues of concern to G20 members. The cost of this secretariat will be less than one percent of the Harper government's outlay for the June 2010 summits, and will produce lasting benefits for Canada and the other G-20 members, including the sharing of best practices for affordable organization of summit meetings.

STRONG TIES WITH EUROPE

Canada's ties to Europe are deeply rooted in our past, and important for our future. Our \$50 billion in exports to the European Union underlines the economic significance of our trans-Atlantic connections, and our two official languages are a testament to shared history and cultural affinities. The future of these ties can be even more compelling, with free trade negotiations currently underway. Healthy relations with Europeans in NATO, and a range of multilateral bodies are key to Canada's interests in many areas. As part of the Global Networks Strategy, relationships with European partners at all levels will continue to be essential to Canada's prosperity at home and our presence in the world.

COLLABORATION WITHIN CANADA

More effective collaboration within Canada, with provincial governments, the private sector and civil society, is essential for effectiveness in many multilateral processes, particularly preparing Canadian positions in advance of multilateral negotiations, and for implementing Canadian commitments. That was never more evident than at the Copenhagen conference on climate change in late 2009. NGOs attacked Ottawa and some provinces; some provinces were pitted against Ottawa, and against each other. Stephen Harper presided over one of Canada's most embarrassing moments on the international stage, seeming not to care enough about the issue to perceive the embarrassment. A new federal government will need to do much better.

Provincial premiers and mayors have become increasingly active internationally. In a networked world, this is good for Canada. Provinces have legitimate interests, expertise, and valuable relationships in the international sphere. That's especially evident on Canada-US issues, for example in the ongoing work of the Eastern Canadian Premiers and US Governors, and groundbreaking partnership of the Western Climate Initiative.

Unfortunately, part of what they have been doing is filling a vacuum left by the Harper government. During the four years when Stephen Harper failed to visit China or India, it was good for Canada that Premiers Jean Charest of Quebec, Gordon Campbell of British Columbia and Dalton McGuinty of Ontario did. But they need a partner. The prime minister must lead by supporting the efforts of fellow leaders, and many other

players in the private sector and civil society, to advance Canada's interests in the world. Of course, the prime minister and the federal government have a unique set of responsibilities internationally. But they will be much more effective, in a networked world, if they exercise federal leadership responsibilities in coordination and partnership with provincial premiers and others.

A Liberal government will **recognize the interests and expertise of provinces** in many subjects of multilateral discussion, and put in place the structures and processes necessary to meaningfully engage them in the preparation for relevant multilateral events. We will also ensure personnel are in place in key posts abroad, mandated to liaise with provinces on issues of substantive interest to them. None of this will compromise the responsibility of the federal government to speak for Canada internationally. On the contrary, it will allow Canada to speak more effectively to the world, with the coherence of an effectively-led team.

BRANDING CANADA FOR SUCCESS IN A NETWORKED WORLD

Modernized multilateralism will also be supported by a new **Branding Canada** initiative in key markets around the world, working in collaboration with the private sector, leading artists and academia. Such an effort is long overdue. Making Canadian strengths more widely understood abroad will bolster all other aspects of the Global Networks Strategy, and all efforts to advance Canadian interests and values. It will help boost trade, investment and other strategic sectors highlighted under new Global Network Agreements. Canada's embassies and consulates must be liberated to play a leading role in branding Canada, and reaching



broad audiences overseas, once freed of the muzzling imposed by the Harper government. While the Branding Canada initiative must be fleshed out with the benefit of market research and consultation with partners, certain under-promoted aspects of the contemporary Canadian brand are certain to be central.

Knowledge fuels global networks, and learning and higher education is becoming an increasingly international endeavour as a result. Canada is in a unique position to leverage its reputation for openness, multiculturalism and excellence in this field. We have some of the best universities in the world, and have traditionally been a prime destination for students wishing to study abroad. However, in recent years, Canada's share of foreign students has declined. And yet, foreign students represent a huge opportunity for Canada to forge life-long links with the future leaders of emerging economies

Canadian expertise in learning and **higher education** must be better promoted in a more coordinated fashion. Currently many of Canada's leading institutions of higher learning, and some provinces have established facilities overseas, and work to attract foreign students to study here. But little is done to project this country's strength in this field, or to better understand how a Canadian brand could boost the otherwise isolated efforts of individual institutions and provinces. As a result, Canada is falling behind other nations, such as Australia and the United Kingdom, that are expanding their presence in international education significantly. A Liberal government will work with provinces and post-secondary institutions to attract the best and brightest students from major emerging economies to study in Canada and remain connected to Canada on an ongoing basis after completing studies. We will also support efforts by major Canadian institutions to establish presence in major emerging markets, and student exchanges that provide Canadians greater access to opportunities for foreign study.

A Liberal government will also work with partners to develop practical ways to cultivate ongoing connection with foreign alumni of Canadian institutions of higher learning, many of whom hold influential positions abroad. In broader terms, the three-million strong *Canadian* diaspora around the world will be harnessed to inform, build and promote the Canadian brand.

Another key Liberal initiative will be **Canada Global Scholarships**, which will grant outstanding students

from lower- and middle income countries full scholarships to study at Canadian universities. The program will also foster ongoing connection to Canada after graduation through alumni outreach by Canadian embassies and consulates, events with visiting Canadian dignitaries, and online communities and databases.

CANADIAN CULTURE IN THE WORLD

One of the more egregious errors of the Harper Government has been the abandonment of federal action to help bring Canadian culture to the world. A Liberal government will return culture to a prominent place in Canada's international policies. Exports of our cultural industries totalled \$5 billion in 2007, but the potential is far greater given the dynamism of Canadian creators and burgeoning digital technologies and new media that help reach global audiences. That reach will be extended through renewal of broadbased programming that supported exports and cultural exchanges but was cancelled or undermined by the Harper government, as well as emphasis of culture within new Global Network Agreements with key partners. Canadian culture will also be a major focus of the new Branding Canada initiative.

Canadian creators working in French, English and indeed other languages of the world, contribute to Canadian prosperity *and* identity, while deepening our connections in a networked world.

NETWORKED LEADERSHIP ON ENERGY, ENVIRONMENT AND ECONOMY

Another priority policy area for the Global Networks Strategy is **energy and environment**. Leadership on clean energy, conservation and energy efficiency is the key to the jobs of tomorrow as well as the foundation for a more credible approach to Canada's international obligations to fight climate change. To break the inertia, a new government must work with all Canadian provinces, the various sectors of the energy industry, a range of counterparts in the United States, and the international community, as well as constructive and well-informed players in civil society. It is, of necessity, a multi-faceted and outward looking approach, in contrast with the head-in-the sand denial of the current government.



Responsible development of Canada's rich variety of energy resources and potential should anchor a larger ambition: to earn recognition around the world as a leader in the responsible development of natural resources in general. Though Canada's economy is increasingly diversified, natural resources will continue to play a key part in our prosperity. But in the global economy, yesterday's strength means little tomorrow without constant innovation. Global markets are demanding ever higher environmental standards for resource-based products, as well as new technologies for environmentally sound management of natural resources. There is no reason for complacency, but Canada is meeting that challenge. One compelling example is that of the Canadian forest industry, which has undergone transformation in its practices, and partnered with former opponents to protect forest environments. There are other

world-leading success stories, as well as areas in which Canada still has much work to do. Still, our ability to lead the world in responsibly harvested natural resources, as well as the technologies and expertise required for modern resource management in emerging markets can be a key driver of long term prosperity for Canada in the years ahead.

RENEWING FEDERAL GOVERNMENT CAPACITY

Carrying out the federal government's work under the Global Networks Strategy will require a revitalized public service capacity. The neglect and mismanagement under the Harper government of Canada's diplomatic corps, Trade Commissioner Service, our posts abroad, and international capacity across the government will need to be corrected. All of these federal functions implicated in the Global Networks Strategy have suffered.

For the Department of National Defence, the story has been somewhat different. Since 2005-06, as a result of both Liberal and Conservative budget decisions, Canada's defence spending has risen nearly 50 percent and is set to continue growing even after the combat mission in Afghanistan has concluded. The Liberal Party, supports the recent investments in the Canadian Forces, but the trajectory for future years must be re-evaluated. A properly-resourced military is essential to our sovereignty and our constructive role in the world, but is not sufficient on its own. It's a matter of balance.

The government estimates that the annual incremental cost of the combat mission in Afghanistan is nearly \$1.7 billion. The Parliamentary Budget Officer has reported that the incremental costs of the mission are even higher than what has been disclosed. After the combat mission ends by December 2011, a Liberal government will **re-allocate that incremental spending in a balanced manner** across the full spectrum of defence, development and diplomacy. A Liberal government will also **re-evaluate all major procurement programs** in a post-Afghanistan combat era. A well-resourced military will remain essential, but as one element of a broader concept of what Canada does in the world, compared to the narrow view of the current government.

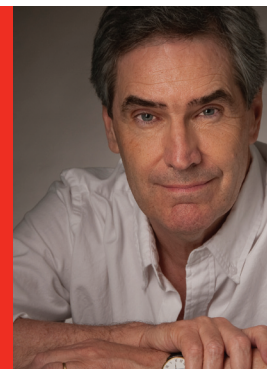
This change will free up resources to reinvigorate other international capacities across the federal system, better reflecting the full range of integrated functions and forward-looking engagement that will drive the Global Networks Strategy. This includes:

- Enhanced development assistance to underpin a new Human Development agenda, particularly in Africa;
- Renewal of Canada's foreign service, including an expanded, better trained, resourced and more foreign-based Trade Commissioner Service and diplomatic corps, and recruitment of Canadians abroad and those at home with relevant private sector and civil society experience;
- Greater capacity across the federal system to support a whole-of-Canada approach to our Peace, Order and Good Government agenda abroad, and support partnership-building in strategic sectors under new bilateral agreements;
- The opening of new Canadian posts in strategic markets; and
- New initiatives to Brand Canada, support youth volunteer service abroad, and attract the best and brightest foreign students to Canadian universities.

A Liberal government will enhance Canada's capacity to leverage the global networks that are crucial to our success in today's world, and tomorrow's.

"Under this plan, a Liberal government will restore the pride Canadians once felt about our place in the world, working as the captain of a great team – a team that will excel in the new century."

**- MICHAEL IGNATIEFF -
Leader of the Liberal Party of Canada**



SUMMARY OF COMMITMENTS

Global Network Agreements

- Immediately enter into negotiations with China and India to sign Global Network Agreements that will deepen our economic, knowledge and cultural ties, and build relationships at all levels;
- Modernize and renew Team Canada missions with more focused programs, more sustained interactions and reciprocal visits than the previous, successful model;

Renewing Partnerships in North America

- Build additional capacity in the federal government to raise the profile of the Canada-U.S. relationship within America;
- Work with the United States to explore improved administrative arrangements for the management of our shared border;
- Engage the White House and Congress proactively on carbon pricing, clean energy, research and development, electricity transmission grid development and standards, and regulation for new clean technologies in the North American market;
- Work with Mexico towards the objective of phasing out the visa requirement for Mexican citizens visiting Canada, while addressing Canada's concerns on refugee claims;

Canada's North and the International Arctic Region

- Pursue a new, multilateral agreement on the Arctic to advance cooperation on social, economic, environmental and security issues;
- Establish a permanent secretariat for the Arctic Council, and appoint a new Ambassador for Circumpolar Affairs;

Building a New Partnership with Africa

- Re-engage with Africa, by restoring it to the top of our international aid priorities, invest in governance capacity and private sector growth;

Marshalling Canada's Strengths in Human Development

- Make Canadian support for Peace Order and Good Government abroad a central priority by creating a capacity to broker, coordinate and fund deployments of Canadian governance support and expertise, from both within federal agencies, and beyond – including other governments, retired professionals, the private sector and NGOs;
- Advance international efforts to operationalize the doctrine of 'Responsibility to Protect', a rigorous framework for preventing conflict and mass-scale abuse of human rights;
- Establish an academic centre of excellence in conflict prevention and resolution that brings together experts on ethnic and other conflicts
- Undertake a new leadership role for Canada in United Nations peace operations. Renewing our commitment to multilateral training, commanding and other military missions that are consistent with Canadian interests, values and capabilities

- Pursue a post-combat role in Afghanistan that is focused on the training of police and military personnel in a staff college setting in Kabul, and civilian governance capacity-building
- Appoint a special envoy to represent Canada in diplomatic efforts in Afghanistan, Pakistan and the surrounding region
- Renew partnerships with the many Canadian civil society organizations working to improve the lives of those most in need;
- Adopt an overarching emphasis on empowering women in the developing world as a principal focus of Canadian development, including in health, education and economic development;
- Include food security, disaster relief and reconstruction, climate change adaptation and water management as additional priorities;
- Implement a Canada Youth Service program that financially supports youth volunteerism, including international volunteer experience;

Renewing Canadian Multilateralism

- Strengthen Canada's participation in multilateral organizations;
- Pursue reforms at the United Nations that create firmer membership obligations, modernize key bodies, bring greater accountability for results, and enhance transparency;
- Support the creation of a permanent G-20 secretariat in Canada, to conduct policy research, engage civil society and the private sector, facilitate transition from the G-8, and support G-20 members in sharing of best practices for the affordable organization of summit meetings;
- Work with provincial governments in the preparation for relevant multilateral meetings, and implementation of agreements;

Branding Canada for Success in a Networked World

- Launch an aggressive Branding Canada initiative to boost trade and investment, leveraging the use of our embassies and consulates abroad;
- Create Canada Global Scholarships to provide full scholarships for outstanding students from lower and middle income countries to study at Canadian universities;
- Restore and expand funding for international cultural promotion programming;

Renewing Federal Government Capacity

- Reallocate incremental spending after the end of the combat mission in Afghanistan, toward a more balanced investment across the range of defence, development, diplomatic functions and overseas posts, including renewal of Canada's foreign service.