

**F R O M
M I D D L E
T O
M O D E L
P O W E R**

RECHARGING CANADA'S ROLE IN THE WORLD

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

CANADA25 ASSERTS THAT Canada's identity as a Middle Power is outdated and uninspiring to a growing number of Canadians. The concept fails to reflect how Canadians have evolved, while the global hierarchy upon which it is premised has eroded. To be effective on the international stage Canada needs an identity that speaks to these important changes.

We submit that Canada should cease assessing its influence on the basis of its size or position within an obsolete global hierarchy. Instead, Canada25 calls on Canadians to look at the world as a network, where influence is based on the capacity of an individual, company, non-governmental organization (NGO) or country to innovate and collaborate. Building on this perspective, we propose that Canada become a Model Power—a country whose influence is linked to its ability to innovate, experiment, and partner; a country that, by presenting itself as a model, invites the world to assess, challenge, borrow from, and contribute to, its efforts.

In pursuit of our vision of Canada as a Model Power, we outline three priorities for action. These, accompanied by some of our recommendations, include:

MAKE CANADA A NETWORK NODE. Enhance the ability of Canadians to create, nurture, and tap into international networks:

- **Issue** five-year work visas to foreign graduates of Canadian universities
- **Reach** out to Canada's expatriate community by creating an international network of Canadian leaders

TRANSFORM OUR GOVERNMENT AGENCIES. Redefine our government's role from that of interpreter to coordinator:

- **Recast** Foreign Affairs Canada as a smaller, nimbler agency that coordinates, rather than implements, foreign policy
- **Transform** our military into an interoperable, effective, and focused tool of diplomacy

CANADIAN PRIORITIES FOR THE 21ST CENTURY. Canadians need to focus on areas that are critical to the safety and success of the country. Our members set forth recommendations that address four key areas of concern:

- **Cultivate** a 'model relationship' with the United States
- **Enhance** global markets
- **Foster** environmental sustainability
- **Internationalize** Canada's health policies

THE PEOPLE AND PROCESS

CANADA25 IS A non-partisan organization dedicated to engaging the perspectives of young Canadians around the world in our country's public policy debates. Coming of age in the midst of globalization, our members have watched networks supplant hierarchies and bureaucracies as the dominant organizational structure. Familiar with and confident in this new realm, Canada25 members bring a new and informed perspective to the debate over Canada's purpose and role in the new millennium. *From Middle to Model Power* introduces this perspective, presents a vision for Canada's role in the world community, and outlines actions that will help make this vision a reality.

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Canada25 is a non-partisan, non-profit organisation dedicated to bringing the voices and ideas of Canadians aged 20-35 to our nation's public policy discourse. Canada25 fulfils this mandate by developing policy ideas on issues of local and national significance and by acting as a resource for policy-makers interested in the perspectives of young Canadians. Founded in 2001, the organisation currently counts a global membership of 1,600.

For more information on Canada25, please visit our website at:

www.canada25.com

To get involved in the debate, email us at:

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CONTENTS

vi UNDERSTANDING THIS REPORT

2 A NEW WAY TO THINK THE CASE FOR THE MODEL POWER

- 4 The End of the Middle Power
- 6 New Canadians, Networked World
- 9 Our Vision for Canada: A Model Power

12 A NEW WAY TO ACT BECOMING A MODEL POWER

- 14 Make Canada a Network Node
- 25 Transform Our Government Agencies

34 A NEW FOCUS CANADIAN PRIORITIES FOR A 21ST CENTURY WORLD

- 36 Cultivate a 'Model Relationship' with the United States
- 45 Enhance Global Markets
- 53 Foster Environmental Sustainability
- 58 Internationalize Health Policy Thinking

64 CONCLUSION

- 66 Rethinking Our Role

68 APPENDICES

- 70 The Process
- 72 Regional Roundtable Summaries
- 92 Participant Bios
- 99 Reference Materials
- 103 Canada25 Thanks
- 107 Made Possible By

UNDERSTANDING THIS REPORT

THE PEOPLE

As the first generation of Canadians wholly shaped by globalization and the post-Cold War world, the members of Canada25 have a unique, informed, and constructive perspective to contribute as our country determines its direction in the new millennium.

THE PROCESS

In September 2003, Canada25 sent out a call to action to young Canadians, requesting their input on how to recharge Canada's role in the world. Nearly 400 young people responded to a web survey, and over 300 attended one of 11 regional roundtables held across the country and around the world.

From these roundtables, 20 outstanding individuals, whose biographies can be found in Appendix III, were selected to attend a National Forum. In preparation for the National Forum these delegates spent months interviewing academics, diplomats, community leaders, activists, and politicians, while also debating the issues amongst themselves via e-mails and conference calls.

THE GOAL

Our goal was to create an overall vision and series of actionable policies that could recharge Canada's role in the world, and avoid getting caught up in the specifics of current foreign policy challenges. Consequently, in assembling this report Canada25 sought to establish a long-term vision for Canada's global engagement and then work backwards, designing recommendations capable of making this vision a reality.

THE AUDIENCE

This report argues that the modern world is one where the capacity to affect international affairs is highly diffuse and shared amongst thousands of organizations and indeed each individual citizen. Consequently, this report shares recommendations aimed at a diverse set of stakeholders including Canadian citizens, corporations, non-governmental organizations (NGOs), and government agencies. Our hope is that these stakeholders not only find our ideas and vision compelling, but that they serve as the basis for both action and a broader dialogue.

A NEW WAY TO THINK

THE CASE FOR THE MODEL POWER

A NEW WAY TO ACT

BECOMING A MODEL POWER

A NEW FOCUS

CANADIAN PRIORITIES FOR A 21ST CENTURY WORLD

CONCLUSION

RETHINKING OUR ROLE

APPENDICES

3

- 1 THE END OF THE MIDDLE POWER**
- 2 NEW CANADIANS, NETWORKED WORLD**
- 3 OUR VISION FOR CANADA: A MODEL POWER**

1

THE END OF THE MIDDLE POWER

FOR MUCH OF the 20th century, three principles largely defined how Canadians engaged the world: a clear distinction existed between foreign and domestic issues; the federal government was the principal actor in addressing foreign issues; and international influence was linked to Canada's position within a recognized global hierarchy. As a guide to international engagement, these principles made possible many of Canada's international successes. In addition, they shaped the relationships of individual Canadians with the world. Until relatively recently, young Canadians interested in global issues would have been best advised to join the foreign service or military. There, their ambitions and career trajectories would have been defined by their country's Middle Power status.¹

Today, these principles often contradict how Canada, and more specifically Canadians, engage the world.

This is, in large part, because “the world,” unfiltered and unmediated by our government, is an increasingly integral part of our day-to-day lives.

Canadians now travel, study, work, marry, and live abroad more than ever before. We also invest overseas, engage in commerce across the globe, create independent aid and assistance organizations, adhere to foreign regulatory agencies, and maintain social, academic, professional, and cultural links with people around the world. Individual Canadians, non-governmental-organizations (NGOs), and companies now hold rank with our federal government as principle actors in “foreign” issues.

Moreover, the distinction between “domestic” and “foreign” has blurred. We worry about the local impact of international concerns such as global warming, terrorism, and SARS. And we watch our country evolve as new Canadians from a growing number of countries share their cultures, their priorities, and their histories—in the process influencing everything from our politics to our diet.

Finally, the world around us has also changed. The end of the Cold War and the re-emergence of globalization are transforming a world formerly dominated by a hierarchy of states into a complex global network of actors—a chaotic structure where states, NGOs, companies, and individual citizens can all play critical roles on an international playing field.

As a result, the Middle Power framework – which once allowed us to effectively and successfully navigate a world dominated by superpowers – no longer serves its purpose.

At best, it traps us in a worldview where our influence is limited by our position within an increasingly irrelevant global hierarchy. At worst, it offers us both a false safety net (an assumption that our influence will never dip below a certain fixed point) and an unnecessary ceiling (a belief that we inherently lack the ingenuity, capability, and resources to assume a leadership role on international issues that may be critical to our safety and success).

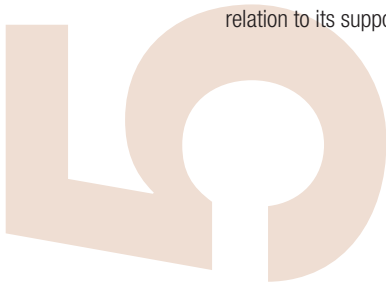
Current debates on how to recharge our role in the world are not providing a new direction. This is because they often focus on a single actor – the government – and then allow the perceived constraints of being a small player in the international system determine our capacity and role. This prevents Canadians from embracing a broader perspective that would reveal a more complex, interesting, and positive picture.

Our members agree that, as a *country*, we are adrift and unsure of our role but, as *individuals*, Canadians are more effectively and successfully engaging the world than ever before.

This report asserts that the answer to recharging our country's role in the world lies in understanding our individual successes and in developing a new framework that builds on the factors that have forged this success. Our goal is to outline a vision and a framework flexible enough to tap into the ideas, perspectives, and achievements of individual Canadians, while providing them with the means to maximize and replicate their successes through their companies, NGOs, communities, and governments.

Chapter End Notes

- 1 For the purposes of this report Canada25 will use the broadest possible definition of Middle Power such as that found on pages 16-27 of Cooper, Higgott, and Nossal's excellent book 'Relocating Middle Powers: Australia and Canada in a Changing World Order.' This text outlines four general approaches to defining Middle Power. These include: the positional approach, where the definition is linked to a state's location within the global hierarchy; the geographic approach, where the definition is linked to a state's ideological location in a bipolar world; the normative approach, where the definition is linked to either a state's past contribution or its attempts to exert influence without resorting to the use of force; and the behavioural approach, where the definition is linked to how a state acts, specifically in relation to its support of multilateral solutions, compromise, and good international citizenry.



2

NEW CANADIANS, NETWORKED WORLD

OVER THE PAST two decades Canadians, and how they engage the world, have undergone a fundamental change. “The world” has become part of our day-to-day life and Canadians now successfully capitalize on its opportunities and tackle its challenges directly.

Globalization, by opening up the world to a greater exchange of ideas, peoples, goods, and services, has almost certainly played a central role in our success. Its influence has changed how our governments, companies, and citizens engage the world. However, we assert that how Canadians have evolved over the past 25 years remains distinctly Canadian. External forces are relevant, but so too are the choices that our grandparents, our parents, and we as individuals made when deciding how to adapt to a changing world. It is the sum of these choices – and their impact on our identity – that Canada25 believes is at the heart of our individual successes. Canada25 members have benefited from the emergence of three new elements of Canadian identity: the Confident Canadian, the Cosmopolitan Canadian, and the Networked Canadian.

Confident Canadians

THE MEMBERS OF Canada25 are “Confident Canadians”: Canadians who express their individuality and aspire to make a unique contribution to the world.

The emergence of the Confident Canadian is symbolized by our parents’ decision to embrace two of the most significant global trends of the late 20th century – the expansion of human rights and liberalized trade – by adopting the Charter of Rights and Freedoms in 1982 and signing the Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement (FTA) in 1988.

The Charter solidified two of Canada’s strongest values: a quest for equality of opportunity and a respect for diversity. It achieved this by recognising the individual as the country’s fundamental political unit and ensuring equality by protecting and safeguarding that which makes us unique. The establishment of this protection has helped imbue our members with the confidence to express themselves as individuals, while challenging us all to accept and embrace diversity..

The Canada-U.S. free trade agreement positioned us to meet the economic challenges and opportunities of the 21st century. By trying to quantify its impact on employment and GDP, most analysts fail to consider the agreement’s transformational effect on young Canadians. Twenty years ago, a top graduate of a Canadian university might typically have chosen a lifetime career at a big domestic bank or law firm; today’s graduates can also aspire to work at, or even establish, organizations that serve the North American and global

markets. These Canadians seek to use their innovation and creativity to generate their own jobs, wealth, and opportunities. The FTA made us aware that we can compete and prosper as members of the North American economy — one of the largest and most competitive markets in the world.

Canada25 members are not just “Young Canadians” but “Confident Canadians” – citizens who live in a country where our individuality is valued, and where we have the opportunity to succeed on the global stage.

Cosmopolitan Canadians

MEMBERS OF CANADA25 are products of a powerful Canadian ideal —that people of different cultures, backgrounds, and religions can work together to build a better society.


Whereas many countries spawn from the ashes of revolution, Canada emerged from the intent at an orderly and negotiated process of evolution. This process, aimed at knitting a political and social tapestry out of our founding cultures, languages, and religions, has grown to recognize the important contributions of our indigenous and immigrant cultures. Consequently, as our communities are exposed to a wider set of ideas, cultures, and values, Canadians increasingly choose not to retreat, but to actively engage this grand diversity.

The result of this national experiment is that Canada25 members value communities that not only respect diversity but that actively seek to learn, understand, and work with our neighbours, whether they live around the corner or around the world.

Consequently, we avoid casting the world in dichotomies of us versus them, black versus white, or good versus evil. We have a nuanced view of the world, because we are repeatedly engaged in a process of reconciling multiple cultures, values, and ideas. Indeed, by engaging these various perspectives we continuously test our values and ideals as well as renew the very idea of what it means to be Canadian.

If, like all Canadians, our members have become more successful at engaging the world, it is in part because, on a very personal level, we are accustomed to interacting with those who are different from ourselves, and searching for the common ground upon which to develop a mutually respectful relationship.

Networked Canadians



CANADA25 MEMBERS ARE at the forefront of an emerging generation raised in a world where networks, as opposed to hierarchies and bureaucracies, are the dominant structure for everything from the international system to corporate entities to activist organizations.

Networks are systems whose members are connected directly to one another and where behaviour is governed by simple norms. As they are often self-organizing, networks are adaptable, and their mem-

bers are thus capable of reorganizing themselves relatively quickly to focus on new challenges. A network is not necessarily egalitarian — its members may be radically different in kind, capability, and status. However, the interconnected structure of a network enables its members to engage each other directly, and to share expertise, experience, and concerns, regardless of title. In fact, in a network, influence rarely flows from a central agency outwards, but is instead generated internally, based on the ability of its members to innovate solutions and collaborate.

Our members thrive in this new structure, not only because it rewards creative and engaged individuals, but because successful participation requires many of the skills Canadians possess as members of a multicultural society.

In the 21st century, no single organization or state will be able to solve the problems of the world. Those who are capable of establishing trusting relationships, who are comfortable with diversity and difference, and who are skilled at managing conflicts, will have a distinct advantage in creating, managing, and working within networks that will solve the world's problems.

If, as *Cosmopolitan Canadians*, our members have the skills to engage the world, and, as *Confident Canadians*, we have faith in ourselves and our abilities, then it is as *Networked Canadians* that we possess the medium by which to have an impact.

3

OUR VISION FOR CANADA: A MODEL POWER

IN ORDER TO recharge Canada's role in the world, we must agree on a vision that embraces our new identity as Confident, Cosmopolitan, and Networked Canadians.

As a starting point, our evolving identity and changing world call into question the principles that once guided us: the lines between foreign and domestic issues are often blurred beyond recognition; the federal government is rarely the only actor, nor often the most important; and there is no longer an obvious global hierarchy within which Canada's position can define its role or influence.

Our members propose adopting new principles, principles shaped and informed by our evolving identity and designed to maximize success in the 21st century.

First, we believe the individual is a powerful actor and essential for imagining, initiating, and implementing change. Second, we believe the network is the new organizing principle.

Based on these principles we assert that influence will increasingly be a function of a company's, NGO's, or country's ability to find innovative solutions by empowering individuals and partnering across networks.

Canada25 thus calls on Canadians to embrace these new principles as a necessary step in transitioning from a Middle Power to a Model Power — from a country whose influence is premised on its position within an outmoded global hierarchy, to one that bases its influence on the capacity of its citizens to provide fresh perspectives, innovative ideas, and sustainable solutions. As a Model Power, Canada will create influence by tapping into and establishing networks that enable it, as a leader, a partner, and a supporter, to focus on and solve pressing challenges.

Above all, as a Model Power, Canada will reflect its citizens' confidence by inviting the world to assess, challenge, borrow from, and contribute to, its efforts.

The members of Canada25 believe that our vision of Canada as a Model Power provides a powerful vehicle through which to recharge our role in the world. It capitalizes on the emerging skills, knowledge, and talents of Canadians, and provides us with both a lens for understanding the world and a framework for acting within it.

The aim of the following recommendations is to engage our fellow citizens, our governments, our companies, and other institutions by outlining three broad priorities for action. This introductory section advocates *a new way to think* – here we explain our perspective and lay the foundation for the ideas in this report. The next two sections outline *a new way to act* – here we describe some of the basic infrastructure necessary to become a Model Power. The final section suggests *a new focus* – here we outline four issues which Canada, as a Model Power, should make priorities.

MAKE CANADA A NETWORK NODE. Canada’s ability to solve problems and gain influence will depend on its ability to access and create networks of citizens, academics, NGOs, corporations, governments, and a range of other actors. These recommendations seek to enhance Canadians ability to create, develop, support, and tap into international networks, to enhance our ability to innovate, experiment, and collaborate.

TRANSFORM OUR GOVERNMENT AGENCIES. Our government agencies no longer reflect the way Canadians interact with the world. They must reconfigure themselves to more effectively pursue Canada’s national interests and capitalize on the ingenuity and creativity of all Canadians. These recommendations seek to transform our government agencies into network-savvy organizations, expert in working as coordinators and partners.

CANADIAN PRIORITIES FOR THE 21ST CENTURY. While the challenges, needs, and opportunities of the world are numerous, Canada’s resources and capabilities are limited. No country is capable of being everywhere and doing everything. To be effective Canadians need to make strategic choices, prioritizing those issues that are critical to the safety and success of Canada and the world. Our members identify and make policy recommendations on four key areas:

- **Cultivate** a ‘Model Relationship’ with the United States
- **Enhance** Global Markets
- **Foster** Environmental Sustainability
- **Internationalize** Canada’s Health Policies

THE THEMES AND recommendations in this report were designed to be both descriptive and prescriptive — they draw on the ideals and values that have made Canada successful in the past, and outline an evolutionary path for these principles to shape a Canada for the future. In this way, we have tried to create a vision for Canada as a Model Power that is both Canadian and attainable.

It is our firm belief that Canada is well equipped to distinguish itself as an influential citizen in the global community. To succeed, Canada must explore its capacity as a model for prosperity, peace and sustainability. The recommendations that follow are designed to bring us closer to realizing this vision.

A NEW WAY TO THINK

THE CASE FOR THE MODEL POWER

A NEW WAY TO ACT

BECOMING A MODEL POWER

A NEW FOCUS

CANADIAN PRIORITIES FOR A 21ST CENTURY WORLD

CONCLUSION

RETHINKING OUR ROLE

APPENDICES

13

1 MAKE CANADA A NETWORK NODE

2 TRANSFORM OUR GOVERNMENT AGENCIES

1

MAKE CANADA A NETWORK NODE

WITH VIRTUALLY EVERY country, culture, and religion represented within our borders, and with over two million Canadians living around the world, Canada is positioned to operate both as a conduit and a locus for the exchange of ideas, knowledge, and people.¹ However, to claim our place in this new, faster-paced, networked world, Canada must be more than a sponge that absorbs the best the world has to offer.

Canadian citizens, companies, NGOs, and government agencies need to facilitate the exchange of people and ideas in order to empower our world's most powerful resource: human capital.

The following five priorities for action share two common elements. First, they outline ways to create, plug-into, and expand our networks – strategies for identifying and engaging an important and diverse set of actors. Second, they propose actions for cultivating and encouraging – through international experience – a generation of innovators and experimenters.

Protect and support the network's most critical institution: the free press. Information, supplied by an independent, critical, accessible, and active press, is an essential ingredient for sound policy and the creation of safe, prosperous communities. Canada must nurture the development of this critical infrastructure at home and abroad.

View expatriates as an asset – not a problem. We must ensure that Canadians living outside the country feel connected to our society, culture, and government by creating mechanisms to collect and synthesize their knowledge and insights.

Make international experience an integral element of tertiary education. International educational exchanges are instrumental in creating a population of creative innovators, experimenters, and collaborators. Canadian universities, companies, and government agencies must work together to facilitate these exchanges and ensure their lasting impact.

Engage in “Brain Circulation” – policies that attract, retain, and circulate young talent. For Canadian institutions, companies, NGOs, and government agencies to remain relevant in the 21st century, they will need to attract and develop creative, innovative, risk-taking thinkers.

Support the geographic nexus of the global network – the international city. Our ability to recharge our role in the world is linked to our citizens' ability to innovate. We need to foster and support the physical places where this occurs – the international city – with the necessary intellectual and physical infrastructure.

Protect and support the network's most critical institution: the free press

IN A NETWORK, knowledge and information are the currency of exchange.

Reliable information, provided by a responsible, independent, well-trained, and vital media body, is essential in ensuring human rights, good governance, prosperity, community, and a healthy environment.

It is also a tool of individual empowerment. It enables citizens to make informed choices, elect and keep in check elected representatives, defend their rights and the rights of others, understand new perspectives, and to reflect their culture back on their community.

Unfortunately, many people around the world currently lack this power because their communities do not support free, critical, and functioning media.² Consequently, these individuals are excluded from engaging in authentic, educated expressions of political autonomy, undermining all efforts towards democracy, transparency, and freedom of expression. In these regions sustainable peace and prosperity is impossible.

By working to develop free and critical media at home and abroad, Canadian government agencies, non-profits, and media companies can help foster the most basic and important element for individual empowerment and a free society.

In addition, they can provide Canadians with an important window on the world, enhancing our ability to understand and engage global communities, cultures, and ideas. Canada25 thus calls on government agencies, universities, colleges, and Canadian media companies to:

1 Host a world forum on international media development and ethics. Although a number of NGOs from countries like Canada, Norway, and the United States are engaged in media development work around the world, there is no single network linking these organizations to identify gaps and facilitate the exchange of ideas and best practices.

Canada25 proposes that the Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA), in conjunction with Canada's media development NGOs, develop and host an international forum bringing together a broad set of stakeholders interested in international media development and ethics. These stakeholders might include: NGOs working in media development; govern-

ment funding agencies; private and public media enterprises; academics; bar associations; private law firms; and journalism associations, among others.

The purpose of the forum would be to enable a more coordinated approach to international media development, by assessing the state of global media development, identifying the gaps, and creating a global framework for action. In addition, the forum would foster an international network of media development stakeholders, united by their collective determination to improve the state of free media worldwide.

2 Provide technology and training for foreign journalists.

This kind of support can take a myriad of forms, from exchanges and mentorship programs to the provision of media seed capital to help embattled newspapers and their impoverished owners in countries like Zimbabwe, Afghanistan, and Ukraine. Even a simple program of tax credits for technology companies that donate equipment to NGOs in Canada and abroad, coupled with a distance-learning program to train journalists to use this technology, could be tremendously effective. Human rights groups like Witness have demonstrated how, with minimal training, cameras, camcorders, and laptops can be transformed into powerful tools that help spread democracy and freedom by documenting civil unrest, discrimination, and violence.³

3 Offer accelerated refugee status to foreign journalists

who are being threatened or coerced in their home countries. Journalists have increasingly become targets of violence as they cover religious, economic, social, and political conflicts around the world. The number of journalists killed every year grows steadily, and repressive regimes often unleash the full power of the state on members of their press corps.⁴ These refugees are in special need of protection, for they are in a unique position to promote positive, long-term change in their countries of origin. The Canadian government should open its doors to provide a safe haven for foreign journalists whose diligence and determination have forced them to flee their homelands.

4 Offer news and current affairs television programs on the Internet.

Access to news and information is paramount to democracy. Canadian print, radio, and broadcasting companies must challenge each other to reach out to Canadians and non-Canadians by employing new technologies and rethinking old ones. We applaud the National Post's PDF version of its newspaper, which can be emailed anywhere in the world every morning, and CBC's innovative Internet-only Radio3. We look forward to an era where TV news broadcasts will be simulcast over the internet, making their information available to Canadians in remote regions, expatriates, and non-Canadians interested in Canadian issues.

View expatriates as an asset – not a problem⁵

INSTEAD OF BEMOANING the so-called “brain drain”, we must encourage and celebrate Canadians who choose to work, study, and live abroad. Canadians living abroad are perfectly positioned to play an integral part in strengthening Canada’s role in the world. Canadian governments, companies, institutions, and citizens need to embrace a borderless perspective of Canadian citizenship.

Canadians have long held an inherently contradictory view of those who choose to live and work abroad.

On the one hand, they applaud some Canadians who, in pursuit of success, seek out international experience and opportunity. On the other hand, they begrudge other Canadians for those very same opportunities and experiences. This is a woefully outdated view.

Expatriate Canadians should not be perceived as Canadians who have abandoned Canada. Instead, we must view them as both presumptive returnees who will enrich our communities upon their return and as members of a Canadian diaspora – a valuable network of citizens, with international experience and perspective.

We recommend the following ideas to help foster a more positive role for expatriates in Canadian society:

1 Track graduate students who decide to study abroad.

Universities should consider tracking their graduates who choose to continue their studies overseas, and provide them with a forum through which to facilitate continuing study, collaborative research projects, and future exchange opportunities. For instance, universities could issue invitations to alumni studying abroad to return for Canadian conferences, or they could allow recent graduates studying abroad to access the fellowship, career, and grant offices of their alma maters (many Canadian business schools do this effectively already).

2 Reserve a handful of seats in the House of Commons for Canadian citizens who reside abroad.

Representatives directly elected by Canada’s expatriate population would create a powerful link between Canadians living at home and abroad. Expatriates would gain a relatively small but important political voice through MPs who would represent their unique needs, interests, and concerns. Canadians would gain a new and interesting perspective our parliament and another means

by which to re-engage our expatriate community. Croatia's Legislative Branch, for example, has 162 seats, six of which are reserved for, and directly elected by, expatriate Croats.

3 Reconceptualize the embassy. The traditional model of the embassy — as a listening-post and means of communication between two governments — is rapidly growing stale in an age of electronic communications and shuttle diplomacy. Canada's network of embassies around the world is an extraordinary asset and presents a rich opportunity to inject new energy into our international image. Embassies should no longer be staid and intimidating institutions that offer only visa applications and the occasional email terminal. In every world capital, the Canadian embassy should become one of the must-see cultural establishments, not just for tourists but, more importantly, for expatriates and host country citizens too. While some embassies have already begun to engage in activities that make them more accessible, this should become part of their core mission, not just the effort of some local ad hoc committees. Foreign Affairs Canada should:

- Use its embassies to promote exciting young Canadian playwrights, artists, architects, musicians, and thinkers, as well as more established luminaries and business organizations
- Provide grants for a host country artist to live and work in residence
- Make its embassies international community centres that link Canada's diaspora with their country of origin. Some embassies and consulates already host non-partisan election parties, topical discussion groups, and "Hockey Night in Canada" broadcasts

4 Build a network of Canadian world leaders. Expatriate Canadians should establish a network, composed of successful expatriates in top positions abroad. This network could serve as a senior policy advisory body to Canadian governments and businesses, providing direct input into policy, trade or investment strategies, while helping to foster connections between Canadians at home and abroad. Universities, industry groups, and other organizations could also implement such an initiative by integrating expatriates into networks focused on specific industries, activities, or fields of study.

Make international experience an integral element of tertiary education

EXPOSING YOUNG PEOPLE to international experiences should become an integral component of a Canadian education. Educational exchanges promote understanding and provide students with new perspectives through which to view the world.

The members of Canada25 assert that Canadians who study abroad are able to make unique contributions to Canada and their adopted communities. Through immersion, travel fosters steep learning curves in cultures, languages, and academic ideas. Furthermore, exchanges do more than just benefit the participant. Members of the host country are exposed to new ideas and perspectives, as are other Canadians upon the participant's return to Canada.

Enabling a generation of Canadian students to graduate with international experience creates a society with more diverse thinking, broader international networks, and expertise in engaging other cultures.

In addition to promoting studying abroad, Canadians should work to bring the world to our educational institutions. International students who study and graduate from Canadian institutions come to our country to learn, share, and synthesize ideas. These unofficial ambassadors challenge us, establish international networks, and bring new ideas and opportunities to all Canadians. They are an effective way to both bring the world to Canada and share Canada with the world.

Canada25 asserts that international experience is an essential element of any 21st century education.

Our members call on the educational institutions, governments, and donors to find creative ways of increasing opportunities for young people to expose themselves to the ideas, cultures, politics, and lifestyles of other countries.

Specifically, we recommend the following ideas:

1 Vastly expand and promote international programs for young Canadians. Increasingly, universities offer exchange opportunities to students through bilateral and multilateral exchange agreements, and through organizations such as AIESEC. Canada25 applauds these efforts, and calls on major universities to set a goal for 25% of their student body to participate in an international experience. In support of this goal universities must:

- Engage domestic and foreign governments, along with private donors, to help offset the costs of exchange programs through grants and student loan programs. Most exchange programs are tuition swaps, so additional financial burdens

are minimized. However, if exchanges are to become a realistic option for all students, additional funds must be made available to offset flight costs and additional living expenses.

- Integrate exchanges more seamlessly into current programs. While most universities offer numerous exchange programs, often these programs remain separate from the established academic programs. A common barrier to international study is the uncertainty involved in gaining credit toward degrees. Colleges and universities should work to make exchanges a seamless part of any degree. Universities will only benefit from a more internationally experienced student body when they start offering flexible choices that students can plan their degree around.

2 Simplify the work-study visa application process. The Canadian government should consolidate the myriad of work-study and working holiday programs that now exist into one simple visa. A simplified application process would expedite both application and approval.

3 Offer a two-year work visa to any graduate of a global top 50 university. Under this work visa, anyone graduating from one of the top 50 universities in the world could work in Canada for two years, any time within the five years of graduating. Marketing this program aggressively would bring a host of new faces, new ideas, and new investment to our country, and would promote Canada as an innovative country interested in top talent.

4 Issue five-year work visas to foreign graduates of Canadian universities, useable any time after graduation. International students graduating from Canadian institutions are currently limited to a one-year “practical experience” visa following graduation. After this one year they are lumped into the same pool as other international individuals looking for work: they must either apply for a work visa through traditional channels, or apply to become a Canadian citizen. Five-year work visas for international students who have studied in Canada would send a powerful message that Canada is looking to attract international talent.

These visas would be defined by three key criteria. First, they would not require that the former student have a job prior to applying for a permit – a condition that would allow students to conduct a job search from within Canada. Second, they would not be restricted by industry or job qualification. Finally, they would be valid at any time after the student’s graduation. Thus, if the student wished to return to their home country after completing their studies, they could still return to Canada, at any time, to pursue a professional opportunity, establish a company, or conduct research.

5 Create a premiere international scholarship program at Canadian Universities. The Rhodes Scholarship is one of the most successful international study programs in the world. While only a fraction of its graduates stay in the United Kingdom, the political, economic, academic, and social

benefits the program and its resultant networks have created for Britain are incalculable. A similar program at one or more major Canadian universities would revolutionize people's perception of Canada and place the pioneering institution on the international map. Such a scholarship would ideally mirror the key strengths of the Rhodes program: bring the recipients to a single university, provide full funding, focus on international recruitment (it is worth noting that the Rhodes scholarship program does not offer scholarships to British students), and, most importantly, possess a single physical facility where the program's participants can meet to engage socially and academically.

One example is the McGill University's Sauvé Scholarship program for young media and communication leaders from around the world. The Sauvé Scholars, 75% of whom are recruited from developing countries, are dynamic intellectuals from a variety of disciplines. They are invited to McGill for nine months to research, reflect upon, and enhance their understanding of the world and their role in effecting positive change. While at McGill they receive a stipend, accommodation in a house dedicated to the project, and the freedom to attend any class they choose. At the end of the program all Sauvé Scholars are expected to publish as a way to share their knowledge and help improve societies around the globe.

6 Educational Equivalency Program. The newly created Council of the Federation is ideally suited to work with the Federal government to create a centralized registry for educational equivalency. This is a necessary first step towards enabling foreign-trained immigrants to practice in their profession in Canada. A Canadian educational agency should be modeled on the National Office of Overseas Skills Recognition (NOOSR) in Australia. It would achieve two valuable objectives. First, it would enable employers to easily identify Canadian equivalents to degrees and training obtained abroad by immigrants. Second, it would encourage more Canadians to fulfill an international education beyond traditional locations such as Western Europe or the United States. Canadians could enroll in programs in leading postsecondary institutions in places like East Asia, Eastern Europe, India, Australia or Latin America, secure in the knowledge that the full value of their education will be recognized by Canadian employers.

7 Facilitate and encourage bilingualism among all Canadian high school graduates—in the languages of their choosing. Traditional French/English bilingualism lies at the heart of Canadian federalism and the Canadian spirit. And yet, instead of celebrating this distinct and dynamic aspect of our heritage, instead of recognising the tremendous advantage it brings to global engagement, too many Canadians consider the issue of bilingualism irrelevant and outdated. Canada25 urges all levels of government to commit to a more active promotion of bilingualism, creating, supporting, and expanding regional language-instruction programs. As Canadians work to distinguish themselves in the midst of a high-tech, fast-paced, interconnected global economy, fluency in multiple languages has never played a more critical role.

Engage in “brain circulation” – policies that attract young talent

CREATIVE MINDS ARE the engines of the 21st century economy. If Canadian institutions, companies, NGOs, and government agencies wish to remain relevant in the 21st century, they will need to become organizations that both attract and develop creative experimenters, innovators, and risk-takers.

In 2001, Canada25 published A New Magnetic North, which aspires to chart a course towards a culture of innovation by: (1) provoking national dialogue about the key values and trade-offs that need to be addressed, (2) outlining directions that social sectors can take to begin building this culture, and (3) identifying contributions that young people themselves can make to become part of the solution.

As a starting point for a constructive dialogue, A New Magnetic North lays out actions that Canada25 believes particular actors can take as positive first steps toward creating a culture of innovation. These include:

1 Governments should involve young people in public life to build an innovative policy environment.

2 Businesses need to create the companies where our young people want to work, by:

- formalising a recruiting presence at top international schools and consulates; and
- creating uniquely challenging career trajectories for young recruits.

3 Research communities should continue to be a prolific source of new ideas. In addition they must work to attract the talent necessary to generate these ideas by:

- setting the bold goal of producing one Nobel Prize-winner per year, and dedicating the necessary resources towards achieving this; and
- restructuring the Canadian Research Chair program to create the high value awards necessary to attract top talent.

4 Health Authorities can maintain a distinct advantage that will attract talent from abroad as well as from within Canada by ensuring that clear and open lines of communication exist between practitioners and researchers.

5 The Arts and Culture Community can help build a self-confident attitude that will attract talent from abroad by:

- developing public arts spaces; and
- visibly celebrating Canadian artistic successes

A copy of the full report can be downloaded from www.canada25.com

Support the geographic nexus of the global network – the international city

GREAT CITIES ARE a microcosm of the world – geographically-bound places where the world's cultures, peoples, and ideas interact to serve as fuel for the engines of economic, cultural, and social development.

Because Canada's ability to recharge its role in the world is directly linked to our citizens' ability to innovate and exchange ideas, we need to create and nurture the physical places where this occurs – our cities.

Canada25's 2002 report, *Building Up*, outlined several priorities for action that can help enable Canadian cities to become magnets for talent and engines of development. These priorities included:

- 1 Building great city universities.** Universities bring diversity and vibrancy to city streets and are an essential piston in the innovation engine. These institutions must take an active role in economic development and must work to strengthen their relationship with local and global communities. For this to happen, however, governments must end systemic under-funding.
- 2 Maximising the benefits of immigration.** Immigration is unambiguously good for our cities. We must find ways to better spread the benefits of immigration across the country, while helping immigrants to reach their potential quickly.
- 3 Tuning up the city's economic development engine.** Cities are where innovation happens; we must work hard to establish an environment and an infrastructure that will encourage powerful economic clusters to grow.
- 4 Fostering creativity and supporting the arts.** The availability of culture – both high and popular – profoundly impacts where people choose to live. We must help our cities to become centres of creativity, through innovative funding and support for the arts.
- 5 Creating a new national transportation strategy.** It is time for a massive investment in public transit in our major centres and a thoughtful examination of inter-city transport.
- 6 Fighting urban sprawl.** Cities should use financial and regulatory tools to increase density. The result will be shorter commute times, more vibrant neighbourhoods, and a higher quality of life.
- 7 Fighting the effects of urban poverty.** While cities will have inequalities in wealth, we must work together to help those less fortunate. At a minimum, this means a renewed focus on affordable housing and the maintenance of an excellent public education system.

8 Marketing what we have. Cities need to get their message out to the best young talent globally. We recommend establishing a national Quality of Life Index to help communities measure what is and is not working for their citizens.

A copy of the full report can be downloaded from www.canada25.com

Chapter End Notes

- 1 The true number of expatriate Canadians is unknown - underscoring how overlooked this group remains. 2 million, the number used in this report, is based on an estimation provided by members of Foreign Affairs Canada to Alison Loat on p. 16 of her study 'Canada Is Where Canadians Are: The Canadian Expatriate as an Element of International Policy.'
- 2 For a survey of media access and its impact consult Mark Frohardt and Jonathan Temin's piece 'Use and Abuse of Media in Vulnerable Societies' published by the United States Institute of Peace in October, 2003 and available at www.usip.org/pubs/specialreports/sr110.html.
- 3 To find out more about Witness and their work go to www.witness.org.
- 4 For a comprehensive list of journalists killed in the line of duty please go to the Committee to Protect Journalists' webpage at www.cpj.org.
- 5 Some of the ideas in this section first appeared in a report written by Canada25 for the Privy Council Office.

2

TRANSFORM OUR GOVERNMENT AGENCIES

COMMENTATORS AND PRACTITIONERS often lament the passing of Canada's "Golden Era of Foreign Policy," a time when Canada had "the best little army in the world" and our foreign service "punched above its weight."¹ While it is important that we celebrate this era, it is equally critical we recognize that the circumstances that led to its creation – both international and domestic – no longer exist.

To begin creating a new golden era we should acknowledge, but not be trapped by, our past successes.

We must be prepared to let go of previous assumptions and frameworks in order to free ourselves to explore new paths.

Because our government agencies are essential to our international success, it is vital that these institutions embrace the new principles outlined in the introduction of this report. Our government agencies need to attract, develop, and support human capital in order to enhance their capacity to innovate, experiment, and collaborate.

In addition, Canadians need these agencies to become network savvy: physically restructured and embedded with a new culture that enables them to leverage the expertise and capabilities of diverse actors by creating, plugging-into, and working with networks.

In the 21st century, our collective success will depend on the ability of these agencies to coordinate, facilitate, and organize foreign and domestic governments, citizens, NGOs, businesses, and other actors.

There is no doubt that our government agencies possess the raw capabilities to effectively operate in the 21st century. The 1997 signing of the Convention on the Prohibition of the Use, Stockpiling, Production and Transfer of Anti-personnel Mines and on their Destruction, popularly known as the 'Mine Ban Treaty,' serves as an excellent example. In this process Canada acted as an innovator, facilitator, and manager of a network of diverse actors that achieved substantial results in a relatively short period.²

In pursuit of renewing our government agencies, Canada25 proposes the following priorities for action:

Recast Foreign Affairs Canada as a coordinator, rather than implementer of foreign policy. While Canadians, and the world around us, have changed dramatically over the past 50 years, our government remains largely locked in a 19th

century approach to foreign policy. The Federal Government should reconceptualize how Foreign Affairs Canada conducts foreign relations by re-establishing it as a central agency with three principle functions: coordinator, consultant, and educator.

Enable innovators, experimenters, and collaborators by attracting and supporting talent.

Regardless of what form Foreign Affairs Canada ultimately takes the individual policy-maker will remain its most basic, and important, building block. To ensure our country's international success it is essential that our government cultivate a culture that supports, develops, and attracts individuals who can act as innovators, experimenters, and collaborators.

Transform our military into an interoperable and focused tool of diplomacy.

While the Canadian Forces may not aspire to be among the world's largest or most heavily armed, they ought to be among the most professional, effective, and interoperable. The federal government must invest in the appropriate physical and human capital, as well as lay the necessary policy infrastructure, to make this possible.

Recast Foreign Affairs Canada as a Coordinator, rather than Implementer of Foreign Policy

IN THEORY, FOREIGN Affairs Canada (FAC) formulates and carries out the country's policies relating to other countries and international organizations. This is the traditional management model for foreign affairs, and nearly every state follows some version of it. It is, however, outdated and must be rethought.

In practice, it is increasingly accepted that FAC cannot single-handedly manage every aspect of Canada's ties to the rest of the world. Nearly every federal ministry engages international actors as part of its mandate, whether it be Agriculture Canada for BSE, the Department of Finance for money laundering, or Environment Canada for the Kyoto Protocol. As a consequence, FAC faces something of an identity crisis. No longer can it play its traditional role as the arbiter and manager of all foreign policy in Canada. Canada's diplomats have had their historic turf progressively eroded by colleagues in other departments, who have both the expertise and responsibility to ensure that the cross-border cattle trade runs smoothly, international financial criminals are caught, and progress is made in dealing with global warming. With in-depth, department-specific expertise becoming increasingly important in the conduct of our foreign relations, what role can FAC's highly skilled generalists and specialists play? Indeed, what role should FAC itself play?

We propose a radical reconceptualization and reconfiguration in the way the Canadian government deals with foreign relations. Establish Foreign Affairs Canada as a central agency or secretariat with three principle functions:

1 Coordinator. Rather than trying to formulate and conduct foreign policy by itself, FAC should recognize the fact that these functions already exist in most existing line departments such as Agriculture Canada, Health Canada, and Environment Canada. Rather than duplicate these efforts, FAC should embrace the role of coordinator for matters that involve international affairs. At the centre of a renewed FAC would sit a small, resourceful and nimble group whose task would be to:

- think strategically about the general direction of Canadian foreign policy, leaving the specifics to the line departments
- coordinate the work of the line departments in international affairs;
- provide a challenge function on international policy and advice generated by the line departments, in much the same way that the Privy Council Office does for Cabinet on domestic issues
- create teams to deal with critical new foreign policy issues until a home in an appropriate line department can be found
- manage Canada's network of embassies

2 Consultant. FAC should recognize and make more effective use of its most valuable resource – its staff. FAC staffers have expertise and experience in specific countries and regions, dip-

lomatic protocol, international negotiation processes, and numerous other subjects. FAC should create teams of experts – such as an Asia team, a treaty negotiation team, and a protocol team – that could be seconded to a line department working on a project with particularly difficult foreign policy issues. This system would allow the government’s foreign policy experts to move throughout the bureaucracy rather than isolating them in the Pearson Building. Foreign policy is central to the business of the Canadian government — and to Canada — and FAC needs to adopt creative and innovative ways to be wherever the policy development is.

3 Educator. Transform the Lester B. Pearson building into the government’s internationally focused university. As discussed earlier, our foreign policy depends on specialists from virtually every Canadian ministry, as well as countless people outside government. Entities such as NGOs, research centres, think tanks, universities, police forces, and municipal and provincial governments all possess a wealth of information in areas as diverse as climatology, epidemiology, economics, culture, and aid work. Canada needs a physical place where this knowledge and expertise can be shared, explained, debated, and integrated into government policy. A government university would accomplish this in two ways. First, it would serve to educate both FAC and non-FAC staff about various international issues by holding regular seminars, lectures, and courses on a variety of topics. Second, it would provide a forum where government and non-government actors could meet on a regular basis to debate ideas and generate solutions to current, looming, and potential issues.

In addition:

4 Rename Foreign Affairs Canada to International Affairs Canada. It is critical that FAC’s title reflect the purpose, nature, and spirit of its work. The term “foreign” implies the opposite of domestic – implicitly suggesting that issues can be neatly divided between the two. Furthermore, given how engaged many Canadians are in the world, it is difficult to easily classify issues as foreign. The title “Department of International Affairs” would more aptly describe the ministry’s role as the coordinator of relations between Canada and other states.

Enable innovators, experimenters, and collaborators by attracting and supporting talent

FOREIGN AFFAIRS CANADA has historically been a destination of choice for many bright young Canadians. However, recent reports, along with interviews conducted by delegates, suggest that FAC both struggles to retain talent and remains closed to mid-career applicants.³ Canada25 members spoke to individuals within and outside of FAC about this issue.

Our assessment is that the FAC's siloed and hierarchical structure limits the exchange of ideas and stifles creativity, while its insular culture downplays outside experience and knowledge.

In addition, it is further compromised by an emphasis on seniority over creativity and performance. This makes talented employees easy recruitment targets for the private companies and NGOs, organizations where they can directly influence decision-makers and where their ideas could have a more immediate and recognizable impact. To be effective our government agencies need to transform themselves in order to attract, retain, and develop talent. While this represents a significant task, we believe the following recommendations would constitute an effective start:

1 Encourage brain circulation. In the past, diplomats joined the Foreign Service in their 20's and stayed with the Department until retirement. This model of lifelong commitment to one organization is no longer the norm for today's young people. Few expect to stay in the same job — or even in the same field — for more than a few years. The Foreign Service should exploit opportunities for recruiting mid-level and senior personnel from elsewhere in government and the private sector, and make the best use possible of their skills and experience. Similarly, it should create opportunities for Foreign Service officers to take leaves of absence from the Department for a few years at a time, so that they may develop new skills and keep morale high.

2 Implement family-friendly policies. The model of the diplomat-plus-spouse, which served the FAC for much of its history is no longer feasible, particularly for young, two-income families. Spouses of Foreign Service officers often have difficulty finding meaningful work when they move abroad with their partners - a fact that keeps many qualified young people from applying to the Foreign Service. Furthermore, the reality of the Foreign Service pay scale requires that service men and women must be part of dual income families if they are to support a family. To alleviate this problem, FAC should hire job-hunters whose mis-

sion it is to help spouses search for work. Also, to increase the stability of spouses' professional lives, FAC should also consider extending postings abroad for officers who request it.

3 Focus on performance. Offer more varied work, more rapid promotion, and greater horizontal mobility. Currently, there is a glut of top-level diplomats waiting to retire, and thus slowing down the promotion chances of those directly below them. Rates of promotion in the Department are already slow, leaving many Foreign Service officers at the same rank and pay level for far too long, thereby lowering morale and retention rates. As in the private sector, promotions and pay raises should be more regular and based on performance, rather than seniority.

4 Introduce a new recruiting strategy. The Foreign Service must attract Canada's best and brightest in order to meet the demands placed upon it. Currently, applicants are put through a rigorous selection process to ensure that only top candidates are offered positions. This is as it should be. Yet Foreign Affairs is not doing everything within its power to attract the country's top talent in the first place. The Department must recognize that it is competing with top private-sector firms for bright young Canadians and must make a concerted effort to attract them to the application process. The Foreign Service Exam should be offered more than once a year, and the recruiting process, which can currently take more than a year, should be streamlined. FAC recruitment typically happens at only one level – the bottom of the career ladder. While promoting from within remains important to maintain institutional memory and morale, the Department should also hire candidates at higher levels of responsibility and commensurate salaries when their skills and experience make it appropriate. The more flexible FAC can be with its recruitment, the more likely it will be able to hire and retain the best candidates.

5 Change the salary structure. The public sector will never be able to offer salaries as high as those in the private sector, but current starting salaries in Foreign Affairs are so low (roughly \$44K) that they are not even in the same league as those in the private sector (commonly \$50-60K for top recruits).⁴ Moreover, since the starting salary for all new diplomats is the same, Foreign Affairs fails to reward superior experience and educational qualifications. The Department should pay premiums for recruits with advanced degrees and prior work experience.

6 Offer more opportunities for education. Many companies have flexible programs that support employees who pursue MBAs or other graduate degrees. Organizations offer these opportunities because they understand how it improves recruitment, moral, retention, skills, and productivity. In order to keep morale high and to keep the Foreign Service at the cutting edge, the Department should increase opportunities for mid-career education. Specifically, FAC might consider offering scholarships or tuition repayment programs for employees who pursue relevant graduate work and return to the department.

Transform our military into an interoperable, effective, and focused tool of diplomacy

THE CANADIAN FORCES are bilingual, multi-ethnic, highly educated, and experienced in post-conflict peace enforcement – perfectly suited for many of today’s low-level conflicts that demand thinking soldiers capable of building local support, engaging in multiple roles, and providing protection.

While the Canadian Forces may not aspire to be among the world’s largest or most heavily armed, they ought to be among the most professional, effective, and interoperable - capable of working seamlessly as part of any multilateral coalition.

To make this a reality we must:

1 Make our deployment strategy transparent and predictable. Canada needs to be prepared to act with its allies in two types of missions: multilateral peace operations, such as those covered by Article 6 of the United Nations Charter; and responses to unforeseen threats to our interests, values, and security. For each mission, our allies, the public, and our troops need to know – as far ahead as possible – what we are getting into, what we will do, and when we will get out. The Federal Government should immediately articulate clear intervention criteria for both multilateral peace operations and for deployments to defend against unforeseen threats.

In addition, Canada should identify, focus and cultivate the strengths of its armed forces. If our unique strengths are known – domestically and internationally – our allies will know how we can most effectively contribute to routine and unforeseeable security missions. This would make our decision-making process more predictable to our allies as well as provide Canadian policy-makers and the public with a tool to assess requests for deployment.

2 Work within networks and develop niches. Because Canada’s military will not operate in isolation, it is vital that their training and equipment be world-class, and that they be fully interoperable with allied forces. They must also be able to add value to allied operations by developing niche capabilities and specializations. Canada and its allies need to know what Canada is good at so they can build effective strategic and operational networks. A good example of this principle is the Multinational Project Groups of NATO, aimed to provide pooled capabilities to the smaller allies in areas, such as ground surveillance or strategic sealift, where it would be impossible for each individual country to maintain them. A focus on small, elite units is compatible with the agenda of Transformation adopted by the United States and NATO. In particular, we recommend that Canada specialize in Post-Conflict Reconstruction. Not only is Post-Conflict Reconstruction a critical aspect of military interventions, Canada is already recognized as a world leader in

this field. The expertise Canadian soldiers have in peacekeeping and post-conflict security must become an operational focus of the Canadian Forces.

3 Don't neglect combat capacity. Though we should focus on Post-Conflict Reconstruction, we must not give up our significant combat capabilities that also contribute to creating effective fighting networks with our allies. In 2002, Canadian snipers and Special Forces operating in Afghanistan proved they were among the best in the world. They played an important role in defeating the Taliban and earned the respect of our allies. The Canadian Forces must develop and maintain its world-class capabilities in these focused areas.

In addition:

4 Create an international police force. The Royal Canadian Mounted Police are respected for their integrity and wealth of multi-cultural experience. FAC should leverage this capability on the world stage by working with like-minded allies to create an international police force that is better adapted than peacekeepers to intervene in specific types of post-conflict nation building.

Not every peacekeeping mission requires traditional military peacekeepers. An international police force that is credible, honest, and culturally sensitive to the local population may sometimes be more appropriate than a military force. Not only might such a force be cheaper to deploy, it might also free up traditional peacekeeping forces resources, enabling them to be deployed where they are most needed.

Chapter End Notes

- 1 While several scholars have argued this point, Andrew Cohen is among the most recent and most vocal his excellent book 'While Canada Slept: How We Lost Our Place in the World.' p. 21, 43.
- 2 For an excellent account of the origin of the Land Mines Treaty and Canada's role in it, consult both 'Uncharted Ground: Canada, Middle Power Leadership, and Public diplomacy' by Laurence Baxter and Jo-Ann Bishop (available at www.swil.ocdsb.edu.on.ca/Landmines/unchartGrndart.htm) and Maxwell Cameron's 1997 book 'To Walk Without Fear: The Global Movement to Ban Landmines.'
- 3 In addition to Canada25's own interviews and consultations Andrew Cohen arrives at a similar conclusion in chapter 6 of his book 'While Canada Slept: How We Lost Our Place in the World.'
- 4 In determining the starting salary of FAC recruits Canada25 consulted the agreement between the Treasury Board and The Professional Association of Foreign Service Officers, Appendix A. This document is available at www.tbs-sct.gc.ca/pubs_pol/hrpubs/coll_agre/fs2_e.asp#_Toc18893917.

To ascertain private sector salaries for top graduates in professional fields Canada25 looked at salaries offered to candidates with similar credentials on www.monster.ca in August, 2004.

A NEW WAY TO THINK

THE CASE FOR THE MODEL POWER

A NEW WAY TO ACT

BECOMING A MODEL POWER

A NEW FOCUS

CANADIAN PRIORITIES FOR A 21ST CENTURY WORLD

CONCLUSION

RETHINKING OUR ROLE

APPENDICES

35

- 1 CULTIVATE A MODEL RELATIONSHIP WITH THE UNITED STATES**
- 2 ENHANCE GLOBAL MARKETS**
- 3 FOSTER A STRATEGY FOR INCREASED ENVIRONMENTAL SUSTAINABILITY**
- 4 INTERNATIONALIZE CANADA'S HEALTH POLICY**

1

CULTIVATE A 'MODEL RELATIONSHIP' WITH THE UNITED STATES

In the networked world, Canada's success depends on our ability to engage and collaborate – at the individual, local, regional, and national levels – with other stakeholders. While Canada should continue to support multilateral efforts that address the structural obstacles to economic, environmental, and political challenges, bilateral relationships present an important vehicle to quickly capitalize on opportunities and solve pressing problems.

Nowhere are the opportunities and challenges greater than in our relationship with the United States.

For the foreseeable future, many of Canada's economic, environmental, and security interests will remain closely linked to our southern neighbour. This simple fact makes a powerful case for why enhancing our ability to engage the United States is a key priority.

At the same time, members of Canada25 perceive two additional reasons why, as a Model Power, this issue is of critical importance. First, Canada's relationship with the United States can serve as a powerful example for other countries.

The world community could greatly benefit from the existence of a successful model partnership – grounded in mutual respect and fair outcomes – between countries of asymmetric economic and political power.

In this regard, we have the means, the opportunity, and the responsibility to act.

Second, while this relationship will continue to be Canada's most comprehensive and complex in relative terms, our bilateral relationships with other countries will also likely become increasingly complex in absolute terms.

Consequently, the technical and political opportunities and challenges that confront the Canada-U.S. relationship may foreshadow those we will face with our other allies and trading partners. For example, we are developing a "smart border" with the United States today, but if we are ambitious, we will seek to implement its relevant elements with Europe, Japan, and India tomorrow.

It is essential we manage our American relationship correctly because it is the testing ground and precedent setter for how we will one day deepen and broaden our dealings with other countries.

In addition to the principles laid out in the introduction, two assumptions guided our suggestions for how to enhance Canada's relationship with the United States.

First, we believe our vision of a fair, mutually respectful, and effective bilateral partnership with the United States is attainable. Second, we believe that when working with the United States, Canada has been most effective when we think big and when we take the initiative – leading the idea development, dialogue, and action.

Canada25 suggests four priorities for action:

Nurture and tap into a wider network of actors. Canada's "influence strategy" with respect to the United States often focuses on the Executive. As a result, we ignore key branches and members of the United States government and expose ourselves to the risks and uncertainties that accompany political changes. We must adopt a more holistic approach to influencing our neighbour.

Develop a communications and knowledge development strategy. Canadians may not be satisfied with how much Americans know about Canada but we do little to educate them. Conversely, many Canadians are overly confident regarding their knowledge of the United States, often using stereotypes rather than sound information as the basis for their opinions. Canada must act to develop and improve communication methods as well as cultivate greater mutual understanding.

Focus on policy outcomes, not processes. Controversies in Canada-U.S. relations often arise because of the different perspectives and values with which we approach policy issues, even when we reach the same conclusions. We should therefore make harmonisation, not convergence, our goal in formulating joint policy.

Address American security concerns collaboratively. Since the end of the Second World War, Canada has refused to harbour would-be enemies of the United States, and, in exchange, the United States has guaranteed Canadian sovereignty and security. Canada must retain the capacity to advocate alternative approaches to international security without raising doubts about its commitment to North American security.

Nurture and tap into a wider network of actors

CANADA'S "INFLUENCE STRATEGY" with respect to the American policy development often focuses on the Executive branch.

By ignoring other key components of the American government we have left ourselves open to the risks and uncertainties that accompany political change.

In addition to cultivating broader ties between Ottawa and Washington, Canada must explore new creative ways to harness this complex, multifaceted relationship. Specifically, Canadians need to create, nurture, and tap into a broader network of actors across the United States.

Recognising the value of lower-level links is a key first step in taking advantage of the myriad of bonds that characterize this continental relationship.

Today's students, mayors, activists, governors, and entrepreneurs are tomorrow's senators, cabinet members, presidents, and CEOs.

Activist coalitions, universities, local governments, and business groups are just some examples of institutions with networks that span our border and could be further developed to more broadly engage our neighbours. These cross-national ties will almost certainly help when lobbying governments and the public in the United States and Canada. Moreover, these ties will hopefully promote a deeper mutual understanding of one another, essential to fostering a more collaborative and effective working relationship.

The following recommendations seek to expand and deepen our relationship with the United States across all levels, from the President through to the individual American:

1 Initiate joint Cabinet meetings. There currently exists a Canada-U.S. Interparliamentary Group that meets on an annual basis to discuss issues of bilateral importance. This group should meet more frequently and establish an agenda for an annual joint Canada-U.S. Cabinet meeting. This meeting should take place annually, regardless of which party is in power in either country. It would be an opportunity for senior decision-makers from both countries to discuss interests, concerns, and policies with each other from a holistic, rather than piecemeal, perspective. It would also create an annual timetable against which the health of the relationship and the progress of any initiatives could be measured and assessed.

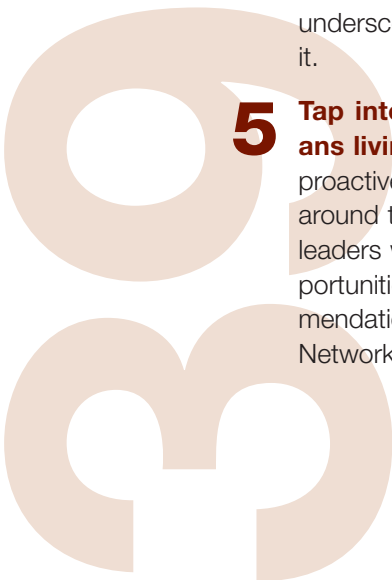
2 Formalize and regularize meetings between provincial and territorial leaders and northern governors. An excellent model of state-province relations is the Conference of Atlantic Premiers and New England Governors, which meets regularly to discuss issues of common concern.¹ Canadian

provincial and territorial leaders should initiate regular meetings with their American counterparts, perhaps based upon the Atlantic-New England model. Such links would help ensure that cross-border issues other than trade and security (e.g., the environment and natural resource management) are effectively dealt with.

3 Engage a broader network of actors. Canada is not only the United States' largest trading partner; it is also the largest foreign trade partner of 38 U.S. states.² This means there are many Americans, such as Congressional representatives, governors, activist coalitions, and lobby groups, invested in the Canada-US relationship. When attempting to influence policy development in the United States, the Canadian government should look for ways to engage these stakeholders. For instance, several Washington based organizations like the National Association of Home Builders have lobbied against softwood lumber tariffs – even conducting their own studies that suggest these tariffs raise the cost of building a house in the United States by \$3200, negatively affecting realtors, construction unions, developers, and consumers.³ Developing coalitions that bring together these various stakeholders could help Canadian governments and other actors more effectively understand, and influence, American decision-makers.

4 Translating research into policy: partnering policy makers with academics. Explore and establish formal partnerships between Foreign Affairs Canada and International Trade Canada, and key American academics and think tanks to build up a network of influential intellectuals and enhance creative thinking around the Canada-U.S. relationship. Variations on this recommendation appear throughout the report, a fact that underscores the importance Canada25 members ascribe to it.

5 Tap into one of Canada's greatest resources: Canadians living in the United States. Canada needs to be more proactive in engaging its expatriates in the United States (and around the world). Many Canadians are business and opinion leaders who could open important doors and create new opportunities – if they are mobilized. For more on this recommendation please refer to the section entitled "Make Canada a Network Node".



Develop a communications and knowledge development strategy

CANADIANS OFTEN COMPLAIN that Americans know little about their northern neighbour. However, Canada does little to create or shape what Americans know and think about our country.

Conversely, Canadians often have an over-developed sense of confidence when speaking of Americans. In most cases, we know less about the United States than we think.

As in any partnership, the better each side understands the other, the more likely it will be able to predict and prevent conflicts as well as resolve problems. While cultivating and broadening the networks between the two countries will help, Canada needs a communication and education strategy. In the near-term, the federal government needs to adopt a more proactive role in shaping Canada's image in the United States. Over the long-term, local, provincial, and national governments, along with think tanks, companies, and universities, need to implement an education strategy to influence and inform future American leaders and opinion-makers about Canada. In pursuit of these objectives, we suggest the following actions:

1 Establish a one-stop shop for American political reporters. American networks and cable news companies will track down news where it is cheapest and most readily accessible. This gives Canada an enormous opportunity to shape American perceptions about Canada, as well as manage negative news stories. Although a more comprehensive approach may be required, a simple first step would be to create a public relations bureau dedicated to informing and responding to American news agencies – a one-stop shop for the American reporter.

2 Support efforts to educate future American leaders about Canada. Every year thousands of young Canadians go to the United States for university training – where they simultaneously gain key insights into the perspectives, concerns, and machinations of American politics, society, and culture. By contrast, Canada does little, if anything, to encourage prospective American students to consider Canadian universities for their education, or even for a year abroad. Canadian universities, communities, business groups, all three levels of government, and individual citizens should:

- Establish or provide further financial support to exchanges, chairs, and speaker funds for major Canadian and American universities and think tanks
- Create Canadian academic programs that are topical and relevant to Americans. We cannot increase interest in Canada simply by increasing the supply of programs offered. Consider funding programs that engage in comparative politics or that target specific, shared problems like healthcare, urban development, or aboriginal issues
- Offer scholarships to top U.S. students to come to Canada.

Focus on policy outcomes, not processes

IN CONSTRUCTING POLICIES with the United States, Canada²⁵ proposes the use of harmonisation as a guiding principle. As Canada's closest ally, largest trading partner, and geographical neighbour, it is critical that Canada have a clear and persuasive framework to guide our relationship with the United States.

Our government can neither blindly follow the American lead, nor can it oppose the United States merely to prove our independence.

Canada should strive for effective collaboration with the United States where it is possible and in our interests, while maintaining Canada's policy freedom when it is not.

According to the principle of convergence, one country adopts the policies of another or both adopt an identical third standard. By contrast, following the principle of harmonisation, two or more countries agree on the goals and outcomes of a policy but develop independent processes to achieve them.⁴ Canadian policies need not be identical to American policies in order to achieve effective co-operation. The end goals and outcomes are what matter above all else, and harmonisation is the best way to set joint ends without compromising our choice of means. The following are the guiding principles of harmonisation for our relationship with the United States:

1 Focus on the technical, not necessarily the political.

The most passionate disagreements in Canada-U.S. relations happen for political reasons. As a result, Canada can gain a great deal of leverage by focusing on non-political issues. Harmonising standards, regulations, and approval processes can reduce friction in the relationship without treading into politically contentious territory. For instance, Canada and the United States have common clearance programs for low risk travellers (NEXUS) and goods (FAST). Canada has also implemented the Advance Commercial Information (ACI) initiative, which, in tandem with the American-initiated Container Security Initiative (CSI), provides customs officials with advance notice of commercial shipments. Most notably, marine cargo shipments now require 24 hours notice before coming to port in Canada – the same as in the United States.⁵ These types of initiatives help increase our understanding and awareness of one another and improve relations without engaging in unnecessary and potentially messy political negotiations.

2 Institutionalize mechanisms that build mutual confidence.

On most issues, Canadians and Americans share common interests. Our governments should spend more time focusing on these shared interests and use these as a means to build confidence. For example, while Canada and the United States may have different values regarding how to treat and process asylum seekers, we have a common interest in ensuring that they are both legitimate and not security threats. In these cases, the emphasis should be on developing confi-

dence in the outcomes of our respective processes even if the processes themselves differ. Canada should consider new and original ways to build American confidence in our policies. This may include more exchanges of personnel (such as the case of American inspectors working at the Port of Halifax), or even joint inspections of relevant facilities. If we are confident in our policies and processes we should be unafraid to make them transparent to our key partners.

Address American security concerns collaboratively

CANADA'S SECURITY IS derived not only from protecting our physical safety but also by preserving our way of life. Our excellent and unique relationship with the United States is key to these goals. Central to the bilateral relationship is a reciprocal confidence between the two nations: Canada will deny Canadian territory to would-be enemies of the United States, and the United States will guarantee Canadian sovereignty and security.

Canada must retain a capacity to advocate alternative approaches to international security without raising doubts about its commitment to the security of its neighbour and ally.

Canada25 recommends that Canada and the United States sign a comprehensive Treaty on Continental Security (to eventually include Mexico) that harmonises practices in areas of mutual concern, and recognises and respects differences where policies vary. The Continental Security Treaty should be seen not as a project of continental integration, but rather as an attempt to unite piecemeal policies and capitalize on the benefits of greater political attention. The Federal Government should:

1 Harmonise refugee and immigration policy. Canada does not currently implement much of its legislation on the deportation of individuals who violate our refugee policies. Harmonising immigration and refugee practices would oblige the Canadian government to enforce the Immigration and Refugee Protection Act and deport or punish those who come to, or remain in, the country illegally. While certain differences in the values of the two countries would persist, the Security Treaty would, for example, establish guidelines for processing refugees and immigrants, with clear stipulations for the action in the case of rejected applications. These actions would reduce the vulnerability of Canada's immigration system and would help debunk the widely held American myth that Canada is a "haven for terrorists."

2 Build a continental system to monitor visa overstays. With the goal of reducing violations of existing policy, this system would relax pressure on the 49th parallel and enhance Canada's access to the American market. It would also be the best way to ensure that Canadians continue to be exempt from the United States' VISIT regulations.

3 Expand NORAD's role to include land and sea. Based on the steps taken by the Bi-National Planning Group, NORAD should expand the cooperation underway between the two countries in air defence to also include land and sea. Given that securing the North American coast is a common goal, the best approach would entail joint surveillance of the seas, in much the same way that NORAD monitors North American aerospace.

Chapter End Notes

- 1 To find out more about the Conference of Atlantic Premiers and New England Governors please visit www.negc.org/premiers.html and www.cap-cpma.ca/default.asp?mn=1.62.4.28.
- 2 'Facts on the Secure Flow of Goods' available at www.dfait-maeci.gc.ca/can-am/menu-en.asp?act=v&mid=1&cat=10&did=1680.
- 3 The National Association of Home Builders (NAHB), a Washington based lobby group, noted that "Under the proposed accord, Canadian shipments above 31.5 percent would be subject to a punitive tariff of \$200 per 1,000 board feet (or about 65 percent of the average value), effectively imposing an inflexible ceiling on imports. A typical new home requires about 16,000 board feet of framing lumber." For the full posting please go to www.nahb.org/news_details.aspx?sectionID=211&newsID=659.

The Consuming Industries Trade Action Coalition (CITAC) estimates homebuyers will pay \$1,000 more per house. However, they claim that if "the combined 32 percent countervailing duty and antidumping duties are not dismissed, nearly 500,000 American families might not qualify for mortgages to buy a new home. Most impacted would be first-time homebuyers and seniors moving to more affordable retirement housing." Full posting available at www.citac.info/events/lamber_trade.htm.
- 4 Many of the ideas in this section are influenced by David Schwanen's article 'After Sept. 11: Interoperability with the US, not Convergence' published in the November, 2001 edition of Policy Options/Options Politiques.
- 5 For more information on the Advance Commercial Information program please go to www.cbsa-asfc.gc.ca/import/advance/menu-e.html.

2

ENHANCE GLOBAL MARKETS

CANADA HAS BENEFITED enormously from the development of an inter-linked global society. Our citizens travel the world as business people, tourists, students, and volunteers; our companies and organizations are in dozens of countries extracting resources, conducting research and development, manufacturing products, and providing goods and services. Even those of us who never leave Canada are embedded in economic networks that span the globe, connecting people, societies, and landscapes through the products we purchase.

Along with the benefits of this global economic network come concerns that the very activities that improve our quality of life are causing harm to other peoples and places. Fuelling this concern is a growing public awareness of the harmful activities engaged in by some Canadian corporations overseas as well as by some corporations that produce goods for the Canadian market. This is the darker side of global economy – market failures caused by a lack of transparency and accountability.

Evidence of this dark side is often used to make the case that globalization cannot work. This is not necessarily true.

Market forces, managed appropriately, remain humanity's best hope for raising billions out of poverty and improving their quality of life.

Instead, this evidence only highlights how important it is to ensure that the expansion of Canadian commercial activity (whether overseas or at home) builds economic opportunities, enhances peoples' rights, and balances prosperity with sustainability.

Creating greater transparency and accountability will require participation of all Canadians and leadership from our government agencies and the business community.

Outlined below are three priorities for action that seek to make Canadian business practices a model for the world:

Lead by example. Everyone has a role to play in ensuring that increases to our standard of living do not come at the expense of other people and places around the globe. These recommendations focus on how Canadians can foster business practices that are a powerful force for global sustainability.

Support international efforts to enhance corporate accountability. Leading by example and initiating change at home is an important, but insufficient, first step. These recommendations outline how Canada can work with other international partners to create the framework within which ethical commercial activity can flourish.

Improve transparency and access to information. Market forces unfold according to the ability of core actors – governments, firms, and consumers – to make rational economic decisions. A fundamental assumption is that these actors have sufficient information regarding the consequences and costs of these decisions. These recommendations outline how we can enhance markets by expanding the information available to governments, firms, and consumers as they make economic decisions.

Lead by example

AS THE FLOW of information across the global marketplace improves, polling data suggests that consumers and communities will increasingly favour businesses that practice ethical commerce.¹

Canadian businesses can recognize the practice of ethical commerce as a competitive advantage and ride the wave, or they can fall behind and scramble to catch up.

ESTABLISHING AN EFFECTIVE and ethical “Canadian way” of conducting business could create a powerful brand that spurs communities around the world to seek out foreign direct investment from Canadian companies and inspire international consumers to select goods and services from Canadian firms. Capitalizing on this opportunity will require leadership and integrity from Canadian citizens, businesses, and governments in a number of areas:

Canadian citizens should:

- 1 Support fairly traded products by purchasing them and asking about their availability** at local coffee shops, grocery stores, and clothing stores. Citizens can demand labelling and verification programs that provide information on product content, place of manufacture, and supply chain details. When staff do not have satisfactory answers, Canadians should write letters to the management stating their interest in supporting ethical commercial activity and request the company’s corporate social responsibility action plan. Citizens should ask questions and make it clear that, as consumers, they value responsible commerce as much as affordable products.
- 2 Ask financial advisors and pension fund representatives about socially responsible investing.** Large, established, and profitable funds that are premised on socially responsible investing already exist. We encourage consumers to seek out these funds so that they do not have to worry that their money is connected to companies with human rights abuses.²

Canadian businesses should:

- 3 Sign onto the United Nations Global Compact** and pledge to implement at least one of the Global Compact principles within one year of signing.³
- 4 Invest in independently verifiable, third party social, and environmental auditing.** With third party verification and public disclosure, Canadian businesses that are investing in socially responsible activity can avoid the “free-rider” problem – competitors claiming to act responsibly but in fact making no efforts to abide by international labour or environmental standards. An example of cost-effective third party monitoring can be found in the garment/apparel industry, where suppliers that are members of the Fair Labour Association (FLA) work in partnership with the non-profit sector and academics to ensure

decent working conditions. The FLA contracts independent third party organizations to monitor whether factories around the world are complying with internationally agreed upon labour standards and works with factories to improve their conditions when they are not.⁴

5 Provide education for staff and partners on the Global Compact, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, and the International Labour Organization's Declaration of fundamental principles and rights at work.⁵

Governments and public institutions should:

6 Establish a national working group on corporate accountability chaired by a newly created Minister of State for Corporate Accountability. This working group would bring together elected officials, civil servants, academics as well as members of the business and non-profit communities to develop and implement "systems of accountability" for Canadian corporations. The United Kingdom already has one such working group, the Ethical Trading Initiative, championed by a Minister for Corporate Social Responsibility.⁶

7 Adopt ethical procurement policies to ensure that tax dollars support ethical commercial activity. Some universities, colleges, and municipalities around Canada are already leading the way through the No Sweat Campaign.⁷

8 Enhance the Special Economic Measures Act so that it can be invoked when a corporation, whose charter is issued by a Canadian government, is complicit in gross human rights abuses.

9 Enforce section 52 of the Competition Act, which can be invoked to punish Canadian companies for "misrepresentation" if they have publicly promoted a voluntary Code of Conduct that they can be proven to have disregarded.

10 Tie business services and supports to corporate track records. The federal government currently provides a range of valued and valuable services to businesses operating overseas. These benefits include export credits, tax rebates on taxes paid to foreign countries, participation in Team Canada missions, political risk insurance, etc. Making those benefits contingent upon a proven overseas track record of ethical commerce (namely, adherence to a code of conduct based on Global Compact principles and standards articulated by the International Labour Organization and the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD), as verified through independent third party audits) would be a powerful way to encourage ethical commerce.

Support international efforts to enhance corporate accountability

CANADIANS ARE FORTUNATE to have had strong local, provincial, and federal governments that can enact and manage regulatory frameworks that protect our environment, our food quality, and our labour standards. Within these regulatory frameworks, the pursuit of prosperity takes place in a way that, for the most part, enhances rather than detracts from the quality of life of Canadian citizens.

At the global level, there is no such regulatory framework. Ethical commercial activity remains dependent on widely varying factors like: the willingness and ability of host governments to set and enforce their own labour and environmental standards; the good will of individual business people or public pressure catalyzed by watch-dog groups.

The variability of these factors means that while some firms commit gross abuses of human rights and environmental standards with relative impunity, others invest heavily in socially responsible activities that promote human dignity and minimize negative ecological impacts.

To harmonize commercial activity across the global marketplace and reward those companies that do invest in socially responsible behaviour, Canada25 makes the following recommendations:

1 Coordinate with international partners to develop and fund corporate accountability centres of excellence.

For many businesses, the challenge around ethical commerce is not whether or not to do it but how to do it effectively. These centres, which would bring together non-profits, businesses, governments, and academics, would help business engage in ethical commerce in three ways. First, by funding research, sharing best practices, and pioneering new ways of supporting corporate social responsibility. Second, by developing mechanisms that will enable businesses, governments and community groups to enforce standards. Third, by helping MBA and commerce programs more fully integrate ethics into their curricula.⁸

2 Establish a common OECD regulatory regime that upholds a global 'floor' of basic labour and environmental standards.

These standards should be based on existing international agreements like the as yet un-adopted 2003 Norms on the Responsibilities of Transnational Corporations and Other Business Enterprises with Regard to Human Rights, the 1974 UN Charter on the Economic Rights and Duties of State, the 1977 International Labour Organization's Tripartite Declaration of Principles concerning Multinational Enterprises and Social Policy, and the 1998 Declaration of Principles and Rights at Work.

Such a regulatory regime would need to find a way to ensure corporations uphold these standards in their commercial activity outside of their country of incorporation. One possible solution is for the common regulatory regime to include country-by-country legislation mandating all OECD corporations operating overseas to adopt independent third party monitoring and verification of their adherence to the standards identified above. This puts the onus of responsibility onto the shoulders of corporations from the most industrialized countries to act ethically in their commercial operations overseas instead of on the shoulders of less industrialized nations who do not always possess the funding, experience or capability to enforce such standards. This common regulatory regime would also ensure that Canadian companies are not at a disadvantage when investing in the infrastructure that enables them to adhere to basic labour and environmental standards.

3 Target more financial support to local and international watchdog groups. In countries where Canadian corporations are active, use foreign aid mechanisms to improve local capacity to monitor Canadian corporate compliance with existing international labour and environmental standards.

4 Work to restore the original responsibilities of the United Nations Centre for Transnational Corporations. Harnessing market forces for social and environmental well-being depends upon having strong national governments. The Canadian government should work with allies in the United Nation to enable the Centre for Transnational Corporations to resume providing technical assistance. The Centre for Transnational Corporations worked with governments and civil society groups in developing countries to ensure that economic activity by transnational corporations aligned with national development goals.

Improve transparency and access to information

IN MANY CASES, human rights abuses and environmental degradation resulting from commercial activity overseas are facilitated by the lack of transparency in the global marketplace. Much commercial activity takes place out of sight of international media, in countries most Canadian citizens never hear of.

Making the supply chain as transparent as possible is a critical component of ensuring ethical commercial activity.

We recommend that:

1 Businesses promote accountability by including representatives from a broader range of stakeholder groups on corporate boards.

2 The federal government create legislation for broader environmental and labour reporting requirements by publicly traded corporations. Currently, corporations are expected to report on any information that has a “material” impact on earnings. Shareholders increasingly believe that a company’s adherence to social and environmental standards also constitute a “material” impact on earnings.⁹ They would like to know that the companies they invest in are, in their areas of operation, maximizing social benefits and minimizing environmental impacts. Publicly traded corporations should be required to report on the social and environmental impacts of their activities, and to have those reports verified through independent third party audits.¹⁰ Even without the prompting of legislation, corporations might want to build on the example of Canadian corporate leaders like Mountain Equipment Co-operative, which already contracts a third party organization (Veritas) to monitor and publicly report on labour conditions in MEC’s Chinese factories.

3 The federal government make changes to legislation related to product labelling to ensure Canadians have access to the information they need to make responsible consumption decisions. Legislation should cover products that claim to be (or not to be) genetically modified, fair trade, certified organic, union-made, and sweatshop-free. For example, expanding the federal Textile Labelling Act to mandate the disclosure of names and locations of factories in which clothing sold in Canada was produced would support the external verification of factory conditions and promote corporate transparency in the global marketplace.¹¹

Chapter End Notes

- 1 A 2001 poll conducted by Vector Research found that 72% of Canadians say business should pursue social responsibilities, not just profits. In addition, Canada25 members believe businesses need to take the initiative in adopting progressive policies to eliminate the negative impact their operations may have on communities and the environment. For more information on the Vector Research poll please go to www.corporate-accountability.ca/pdfs/PollReport.pdf.
- 2 For more information on socially responsible investing, visit www.socialinvest.org or www.socialfunds.com.
- 3 For more on the Global Compact please visit www.globalcompact.org/portal.
- 4 To learn more about social auditing, visit www.accountability.org.uk.
- 5 For more information on how businesses can promote human rights, visit <http://www.amnesty.ca/business>.
- 6 For more information on the Ethical Trading Initiative please go to www.ethicaltrade.org.
- 7 For more information on the No Sweat Campaign please go to www.maquilasolidarity.org/nosweat/index.htm.
- 8 For more information on how MBA programs are addressing corporate social responsibility, visit <http://www.beyondgreypinstripes.org/results/index.cfm>
- 9 For more information on the Vector Research poll please go to www.corporate-accountability.ca/pdfs/PollReport.pdf.
- 10 For more information on third party auditors please visit www.citizenworks.org, www.share.ca, and www.globalreporting.org.
- 11 Recommendation #7 of the Canadian Democracy and Corporate Accountability Commission's report 'The New Balance Sheet: Corporate Profits and Responsibility in the 21st Century.'

3

FOSTER ENVIRONMENTAL SUSTAINABILITY

TO ACHIEVE RESULTS on the international stage Canada needs to be a model of environmental stewardship – leveraging its ability to generate results domestically to mobilize efforts internationally.

Unfortunately, a recent study of environmental performance among OECD countries provides a disturbing picture of Canada’s environmental record.

Based on the 25 environmental indicators examined in the report, Canada’s overall ranking among OECD countries is 28th out of 29 countries.¹

Not only does Canada not rank as a top three performer in any indicator it is among the bottom three in nine categories, including per capita emissions of sulphur dioxide, carbon monoxide, and greenhouse gases. Canada’s economy uses 33 percent more energy per unit of GDP than the United States, increasing our contribution of greenhouse gases emission by almost 20 percent in the 1990s.²

Canadians must prove ourselves capable of addressing our domestic environmental challenges. If not, Canadian governments, companies, NGOs, and citizens will lack the knowledge and credibility required to forge, or participate in, the coalitions that could address international environmental challenges – such as climate change – that threaten our economy, health, security, and quality of life.

Unfortunately, the diffuse and “boundaryless” nature of many environmental problems, such as acid rain or marine life management, requires leadership that can coordinate action at the local, national, and international level. For this reason, the members of Canada25 felt it necessary to stress that Canada’s must move quickly and forcefully to improve our domestic environmental record.

In short, we must get our own “house in order” before voicing opinions on environmental issues of global concern.

In this spirit, Canada25 has identified two priorities for action:

Adopt genuine progress indicators. To improve the quality and transparency of information available to Canadian citizens and decision-makers so that we are better equipped to make choices necessary for a more sustainable future

Establish an E-8. To provide Canada with a forum where it can engage other nations in pursuit of improving ecological performance and jointly develop new solutions to global environmental challenges.

Rethink how we measure success – adopt genuine progress indicators

ESSENTIAL TO THE process of how any society makes investment decisions are the metrics by which it measures progress. Tools that enable us to measure our progress more precisely lay a foundation for more effective policy.

For decades, Gross Domestic Product (GDP) has been the dominant national measure of progress. GDP is a rough account of all money spent by individuals and households, government and businesses. GDP measures income, savings, credit purchases, commodity production, and accumulation of capital. Rather than stated as a single aggregate number it is usually presented in terms of growth – a percentage increase over the last year or quarter. Ironically, GDP was never designed as a statistic to inform public policy. Most economists admit that it is a crude tool unable to distinguish between activities that harm or improve our quality of life.

Increases in pollution, crime, and greenhouse gases add to GDP, while increases in volunteer and community work and the preservation of critical natural habitats contribute little or nothing.³

More importantly, by using GDP to measure our progress we implicitly send the message that in Canada, “progress” is solely equated with economic growth, regardless of environmental or social consequences.

For Canada25 members, progress has a broader definition, and Canada needs metrics that reflect this fact.

Genuine progress indicators (GPI) are an effort to improve, refine, and develop more nuanced methods by which progress is measured.

Genuine progress indicators measure our ability to live off the income, or services, produced by our resources without depleting the foundation of wealth for both current and future generations, the capital stock. This is the inherent meaning of sustainable development.⁴ Members of Canada25, and we believe the public-at-large, are more likely to accept attempts to alter environmentally damaging behaviour if the scale, magnitude, and potential costs are explained and transmitted through government, media, and education channels.

Consequently Canada25 calls upon industry, the financial sector, academics, and government agencies to:

1 Adopt National Genuine Progress Indicators by 2010.

Canada25 calls on the Federal Government to make a formal, sustained funding commitment to Statistics Canada and the Canadian Information System for the Environment (CISE) to enable the creation of an expanded national accounts that track our natural, social, and human capital. This new, national progress indicator should be both accurate and accessible so that it can be used by economists, investors, policy makers, and the general public to measure the progress of our country – as defined by the values of economic growth, environmental sustainability, and human development. This effort will require the cooperation and leadership of several federal ministries including the Department of Finance, Statistics Canada, Environment Canada, and Natural Resources Canada. It is essential that the Federal Government provide decision-makers with the critical information needed to ensure the viability and quality of life of future generations of Canadians.

2 Fully incorporate measures of natural, social, and human capital stocks into our System of National Accounts (SNA).

While the above indicators will supplement GDP to create a more holistic picture of sustainable development, Canada25 further supports the National Roundtable on Environment and Economy recommendation to expand our system of national accounts. Building measures of natural, social, and human capital stocks is the only way to represent the “endowment” our present society receives from past generations, how the effect of our current activities and behaviours influence the “endowment” size, and the resultant size of the “legacy” left for future generations. This data would complement the SNA and could form the basis for the use of genuine progress indicators as a central component of large-scale and long-term media and educational campaigns necessary to increase the sustainability of Canada’s development.

Establish an E-8: a forum for creating policy and technological solutions to environmental challenges

BUILDING INTERNATIONAL CONSENSUS around environmental issues, while necessary, usually means that progress is painfully slow. Furthermore, debates are often reduced to a process of horse-trading between developed and developing countries. As a result, not only can environmental unsustainable behaviours persist for decades after their effects become known, the process for resolving them usually highlight and exacerbate differences – reducing the likelihood of optimal outcomes and making future cooperation more difficult. Rather than rely exclusively on traditional, consensus driven institutions that result in largely watered down agreements, Canada25 calls upon Canadian government, industry, and NGOs to support the creation of a parallel, collaborative mechanism – one focused on creating, improving, and sharing environmental solutions that bridge the north-south divide.

The federal government, led by the Ministry of Industry, and working in collaboration with other relevant government agencies, should co-found an E-8.

This organization would provide a venue where environmentally progressive countries such as Sweden and Germany could work with important emerging partners, such as India, Brazil, and China.

It's purpose would be to provide a forum to share, debate, and jointly develop policy and technological solutions to our world's environmental challenges.

Some of the significant issues the E-8 might engage include:

- Developing and disseminating best practice techniques for ecological fiscal reform policies (such as the new emissions / congestion charges implemented in London, UK)
- Sharing lessons regarding emissions trading systems to reduce harmful pollutants and greenhouse gases
- Joint research and implementation projects to increase the use of renewable energy technologies
- Development of common standards for eco-labelling and extended producer responsibility programs for the electronic and automotive industries
- Promotion and support for the development of Genuine Progress Indicators to inform the choices of citizens, governments, and business leaders

Attended by industry, finance, and environment ministers from participating countries, the E-8 would not only elevate the importance of the environment on the world stage, it would also allow for an exchange of ideas, promotion of higher environmental standards and practices, and a pooling of financial and technological expertise and knowledge. This organization could also coordinate the various strengths of member countries to create new technologies as well as enable developing countries to quickly add to their knowledge base and capacity.

By coming clean about our poor domestic environmental record – and using it as a pretext for establishing the E-8 – Canada could make it easier for others, particularly developing countries, to join.

In doing so, Canada would demonstrate a rare and important form of Model Power leadership: a willingness to learn from others.

Chapter End Notes

- 1 For the complete report comparing Canada's environmental performance to its OECD partners please visit www.environmentalindicators.com.
- 2 Ibid. and www.ec.gc.ca/pdb/ghg/documents/Gasinventory2000.pdf.
- 3 For more information about GDP and GPI consider reading "If the GDP is up, why is America down?" by Clifford Cobb, Ted Halstead, and Jonathan Rowe. *Atlantic Monthly*, October 1995, pp. 59-78.
- 4 For an example of GPI being applied to measure an economy look at "WHY BIGGER ISN'T BETTER: The Genuine Progress Indicator --1999 Update" by Clifford Cobb, Gary Sue Goodman, Mathis Wackernagel, available at www.redefiningprogress.org/projects/gpi/updates/gpi1999.html.

4

INTERNATIONALIZE HEALTH POLICY THINKING

CANADIANS OFTEN THINK of public health as a national issue. It is time to broaden our view and engage the international community in health policy to better mitigate threats—and find solutions—that lie beyond our own borders.

A national health policy is critical to the success of a modern state. This notion is easily understood in a domestic context, where workers need to be healthy enough to contribute a productive workweek and children must be able to grow and develop. National vaccination programs help prevent the emergence of illnesses that might make many sick and potentially cripple a country's economy. The availability of affordable medical testing and treatment means citizens are enabled and motivated to seek help rather than stay ill and infect others. Canadians support a national health policy because it provides security, improves productivity and leads to a higher quality of life.

Recent events however, have shown that threats and solutions to our health are not confined to our borders. Illnesses born in far away places—SARS, BSE (Mad Cow), HIV/AIDS, West Nile Virus and others—arrive at our door without invitation or knowledge. They threaten our domestic health and can have disastrous human and economic consequences.

Canada's experience with SARS exemplifies the international dimension of health policy.

SARS, a disease that is known to have originated in South East Asia, killed dozens of Canadians and reduced our country GDP by billions of dollars. At the same time, however, it was Canadian scientists at the Genome Sciences Centre in Vancouver, working in collaboration with colleagues around the world, who decoded the virus' genetic sequence—an important step in preventing further outbreaks at home and abroad.

With this in mind Canada25 advocates that Canadian institutions engaged in health policy be imbued with a new international orientation and collaborative culture. As a model power, Canada's government must foster and join networks that include non-profit and private sector organizations both at home and abroad. By uniting these perspectives and tapping into the creativity and innovative spirit of multiple stakeholders, we can identify—and then unleash—latent potential that exists between the conventional silos of healthcare thinking.

Canada25 recommends that Canadian stakeholders focus on three fronts:

Develop international response strategies to prevent the spread of infectious diseases. Many health threats now originate beyond our borders. Reflecting this new reality, Canada's response strategies must be developed in coordination with international partners.

Establish a World Health Forum to begin a dialogue on healthcare rationing. Healthcare resources have always been finite, and there have always been ethical dilemmas about how to share and distribute them. Rather than avoid talking about these difficult issues Canada must work with international partners to spearhead an open and honest dialogue at the global level.

Foster regular collaboration across health sectors and international borders. Healthcare policy often lives in a world of false dichotomies: 'domestic vs. international' and 'government vs. private sector vs. civil society.' Canada25 challenges Canadian healthcare stakeholders to overcome the poor communication and coordination between these 'silos' and work to create collaborative networks capable of developing comprehensive short and long-term solutions to global health challenges.



Develop international response strategies to prevent the spread of infectious diseases

CANADA25 APPLAUDS THE 2004 budget announcement of \$165M in new money to create the Canada Public Health Agency along with the investment of \$100M into the Canada Health Infoway. This demonstrates a commitment to developing a stronger response to disease outbreaks in Canada and is a positive first step.

However, because most health threats will originate beyond our borders, Canada's capacity to respond and prevent the rapid spread of communicable and infectious diseases must be developed in coordination with the international community.

In pursuit of this goal Canada25 recommends:

- 1 Create a global health response network:** Health Canada should use its current expertise in global health intelligence via the Global Public Health Intelligence Network (GPHIN), along with lessons learned from SARS, West Nile, and BSE, and its relationships with other disease response & control agencies, to create an effective global response and containment system. This will require research in response systems and methodologies, and the development of more effective and reliable communication networks throughout the world.
- 2 Foster innovation in identification technology:** Health Canada should push the international health community to develop robust international standards for reporting and response scenarios. Once created, Health Canada should create a fund for companies that develop low-cost, flexible, and durable systems enabling locally based authorities to report on and share information regarding possible outbreaks. Canada is an ideal testing ground for such technology given our country's enormous size, diverse climates, and isolated communities.

Establish a world health forum to begin a dialogue on healthcare rationing

IN MARCH OF 2004, newspapers around the world heralded an unprecedented eight-organ transplant surgery that saved the life of a seven month-old Italian baby. The remarkable procedure, performed in Miami by one of the world's top organ transplant specialists, saved the life of a child who would have otherwise died from a fatal "smooth muscle" condition.

What most newspapers didn't comment on was the ethical conundrum this remarkable surgery introduced: if one baby with the fatal "smooth muscle" condition can be flown across the Atlantic for expensive, life-saving surgery, what about others?

The troublesome notion of rationing healthcare is as old as healthcare itself. Healthcare resources have always been finite, and there have always been ethical dilemmas about how to share them. Today, as health technologies rapidly advance to achieve previously unthinkable successes, the dilemma becomes even more acute. Though we broadly accept the notion that every person has a right to healthcare treatment, the cost of available treatments increasingly exceeds what we can collectively afford.

There are many situations where an improved understanding of rationing would benefit global health. Take, for instance, a hypothetical dilemma for AIDS treatment. One antiretroviral therapy is very expensive (costing about \$1000 per person per year) but provides dramatic health improvements to 95% of people who receive it. Another drug is far less expensive (\$500) but only provides the same results to 75% of patients. Since there is not nearly enough international funding to provide the first therapy to all of the 40 million infected people around the world, which of the two is the preferred choice? The first, that will help most anyone who takes it, or the second, that while available to twice as many people, will not benefit a quarter of the recipients?

There are no easy answers to ethical conundrums like this, but difficult decisions such as these will be made unnecessarily more difficult if the global health community ignores the tough issue of rationing altogether. Recognizing the need to address these issues, Canada should serve as host to global stakeholders willing to discuss difficult medical ethical questions.

Our proposed action step:

- 1 Found a World Health Forum:** Canadian NGOs focused on health issues, along with Health Canada, CIDA and leading companies in the health sector, should champion a World Health Forum (WHF) designed to engage global health leaders in open discourse on how to bring efficient and effective healthcare to all of the world's citizens. The forum should gather leading medical stakeholders, including health professionals, medical ethics academics, pharmaceutical executives, and health ministers from around the globe in a forum similar to the World Economic Forum. As with the World Economic Forum, those who attend the WHF should not be accompanied by their entourages so that more honest, face-to-face conversation can take place.

Foster regular collaboration across health sectors and international borders

CANADA25 CHALLENGES STAKEHOLDERS to overcome the traditionally poor communication and coordination between conventional ‘silos’ of healthcare, such as ‘domestic vs. international’ and ‘government vs. private sector vs. civil society.’ One example of this creative thinking was the coordination undertaken to develop Bill C-9, which allows for low-cost, generic production of AIDS and malarial treatments while protecting against adverse financial impact on the pharmaceutical industry. This process underscores the need, and benefits, for health policy stakeholders to establish mechanisms that encourage the regular creation of collaboratively developed policies.

The Government has put forward a promising solution with the creation of the “National Collaborating Centres for Public Health” under the new Public Health Agency, which are designed to foster collaboration across sectors within Canada.

However, only one of these 6 centres mentions international collaboration in its mandate, and fleetingly.

Canada should mandate these centres to look for international collaboration partners as well as domestic ones, in order to both learn and share knowledge with stakeholders in other countries.

To secure Canada and the world against future health threats, Canadian companies, NGOs, health practitioners and government agencies need to become model partners, assisting in the coordination of networks capable of developing comprehensive short and long-term solutions to global health challenges.

Canada25 proposes that the Federal Government:

- 1 Internationalize the National Collaborating Centres:** Provide the newly formed “National Collaborating Centres for Public Health” with the mandate and resources to interact with international partners as well as domestic ones, with the goal of learning from best practices abroad as well as sharing our model policies to assist others.

A NEW WAY TO THINK

THE CASE FOR THE MODEL POWER

A NEW WAY TO ACT

BECOMING A MODEL POWER

A NEW FOCUS

CANADIAN PRIORITIES FOR A 21ST CENTURY WORLD

CONCLUSION

APPENDICES

65

RETHINKING OUR ROLE

RETHINKING OUR ROLE

CANADA25 THUS CALLS on Canadians to make the transition from Middle Power to Model Power — from a country whose influence is premised on its position within an outmoded global hierarchy, to one that bases its influence on the capacity of its citizens to provide fresh perspectives, innovative ideas, and sustainable solutions. As a Model Power, Canada will create influence by tapping into and establishing networks that enable it, as a leader, a partner, and a supporter, to focus on and solve pressing challenges. Above all, as a Model Power, Canada will reflect its citizens' confidence by inviting the world to assess, challenge, borrow from, and contribute to, its efforts.

Today all Canadians play a role in how Canada engages the world. We do this not only through the governments we elect, but by everyday acts such as choosing the charities we donate to, the products we buy, the way we conduct our business at home and abroad, and the input we provide to our elected representatives. More than ever it is not the federal government, but the collective decisions of all Canadians, that determines how Canada engages the world.

As employees, consumers, business owners, investors, aid workers, vacationers and, above all, citizens, the decisions we make increasingly shape Canada's reputation and influence.

The modern world is one in which the capacity to affect international affairs is highly diffuse and shared amongst thousands of organizations and, indeed, each individual citizen. It is a confusing, complicated world where nobody is in charge because everybody is in charge.

In advocating for the Model Power framework, Canada25 invites Canadians to embrace the complexity of this new reality – to accept the new and important role individual Canadians, non-profits, businesses, educational institutions and other organizations play in how Canada engages the world.

Because these new roles come with greater responsibility, this report shares recommendations on how these actors can positively shape Canada's role in the world by partnering with one another and tapping into the skills, ingenuity, and knowledge of Canadians across Canada and around the world.

While the changed international context presents challenges for all players, this is particularly true for those groups in the federal government involved in traditional "foreign policy". Paralyzed by their past

successes and trapped by a hierarchical structure, Canada's international agencies risk being left behind by an emerging generation of Canadians who will create a new international role for Canada with or without their government's participation.

It is the hope of Canada25 members that the Model Power framework can serve as a vehicle through which the federal government can reinvent itself as “the great partner” – a government capable of engaging and partnering with all sectors of Canadian society as it works to advance Canada's interests and improve the world.

What is obvious is that we cannot go back. The Middle Power framework is neither an effective model nor can it sufficiently meet the demands and ambitions of Canadians. This report presents one possible vision for what we can become. Our hope is that it serves both as an interesting starting point for discussion and an open invitation for all Canadians to join us in our effort to recharge Canada's role in the world.



A NEW WAY TO THINK

THE CASE FOR THE MODEL POWER

A NEW WAY TO ACT

BECOMING A MODEL POWER

A NEW FOCUS

CANADIAN PRIORITIES FOR A 21ST CENTURY WORLD

CONCLUSION

RETHINKING OUR ROLE

APPENDICES

69

- I THE PROCESS**
- II REGIONAL ROUNDTABLE SUMMARIES**
- III PARTICIPANT BIOS**
- IV REFERENCE MATERIALS**
- V CANADA25 THANKS**
- VI MADE POSSIBLE BY**



THE PROCESS

“Up to now, the debate on Canada’s place in the world has been generated by ad hoc groups or government watchdogs or parliamentary committees, usually confined to one area, such as aid or trade. What remains missing is an assessment of all the elements of our internationalism, together rather than separately, and how they affect each other.”

Andrew Cohen, 2003

The Canada25 *From Middle to Model Power* project evolved out of an interest among our membership to contribute to the type of assessment that Andrew Cohen suggests has been lacking in Canada.

As an organizer of international consultations on several pressing policy topics, Canada25 has come to realize that understanding the dreams of young Canadians is key to developing good policy. Canada25’s early consultations on foreign policy—which officially began in the fall of 2002—proved that young people, just like the Canadians that Andrew Cohen describes, are susceptible to getting bogged down within particular foreign policy “instruments” and their limitations. We now appreciate that although understanding Canada’s ability to influence foreign affairs through aid, trade, military and diplomacy is essential, it is not the place where one should begin. It is far more productive to start with visions for the future and work backwards, asking ourselves “Where do we want this country to be, and how do we get there?”

In January 2003, Canada25 sent out a “call to action” to young Canadians living all over the world to get their input on how to recharge Canada’s role in the World. Nearly 400 people responded to a web survey, and more than 300 attended one of 11 Regional Roundtables held across the country and around the world. Roundtables were held in:

Calgary	Montreal	Ottawa
Toronto	Saint John	Vancouver
Boston	London, England	New York City
San Francisco	Washington, D.C.	

A summary of each Regional Roundtable discussion can be found in Appendix II.

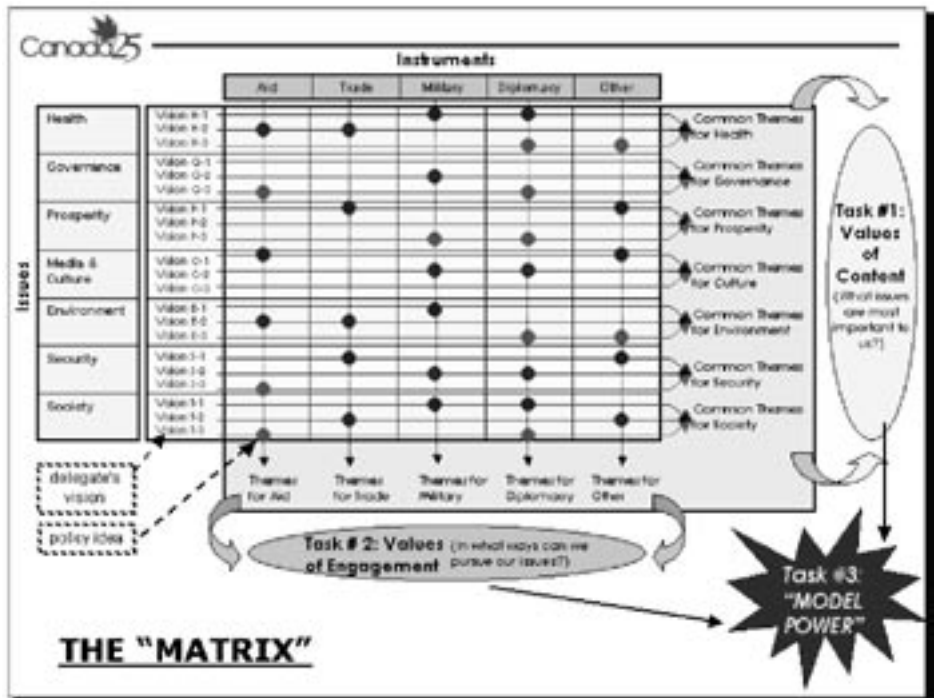
Each of the delegates who attended Regional Roundtables during the fall of 2003 submitted a vision for Canada’s role in the world in 2025. They were instructed to provide: (1) a summary; (2) a paragraph describing their vision and the rationale behind it; and (3) policy ideas that would help to transform the vision into reality. From these applications, 22 outstanding individuals attended our 2004 National Forum, held in Gatineau, Québec.

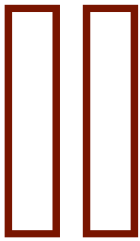
In order to come to agreement on a comprehensive vision for Canada’s role in world the National Forum delegates were teamed into seven “issue groups” (Health, Prosperity, Security, Governance, Environment, Media & Culture, and Society). Prior to the Forum itself, these groups were asked to mesh together visions put forth by delegates at Regional Roundtables into a national vision for their particular issue. This work was achieved through hundreds of conference calls and intense research in the months leading up to the forum. As part of this research, each delegate also interviewed several experts (see Appendix IV). Each “issue group” brought a wealth of ideas to the Forum and presented to their peers.

Once delegates developed a general understanding about where they wanted Canada to be, they turned to figuring out how to get there. They shifted from the issues of Canada's role in the world to thinking about how various "instruments" such as aid, trade, military and diplomacy could be used to reach our goals. They also looked at our relationship to the actors Canada must influence to become a global Model Power—actors like the states, multinational corporations, international NGOs, foreign governments and multilateral institutions.

This report reflects the process described above, and goes one dimension further, reflecting an interest on the part of delegates to convey why they are so dedicated to the issue of "Canada and the World."

Finally, one of the key tools developed to help delegates think about such complex global issues was the implementation of what we have lovingly called "the Matrix." This diagram represents, at least partially, a visual description of the process:





REGIONAL ROUNDTABLE SUMMARIES

Our series of Regional Roundtables was essential to our project. We brought together more than 350 young Canadians in 11 cities across Canada and around the world. The participants were passionate about recharging Canada's role in the World, and laid the foundation for the many innovative ideas presented in this report. This chapter includes summaries of the ideas discussed at some of these events as written by the participants and organizers of the roundtables.

Regional Roundtables were held in the following cities:

London, UK	May 29-30, 2003	Canadian High Commission
	Oct 16, 2003	Institute for Commonwealth Studies
	Dec 2, 2003	
Vancouver, BC	Oct 17-19, 2003	University of British Columbia
Calgary, AB	Nov 7-8, 2003	Southern Alberta Institute of Technology
Toronto, ON	Nov 14-16, 2003	McKinsey & Company
Montreal, QC	Nov 14-15, 2003	Hautes Etudes Commerciales, Universite de Montreal
Ottawa, ON	Nov 15, 2003	Privy Council Office
Saint John, NB	Nov 21-22, 2003	Aliant Inc.
San Francisco	Nov 22, 2003	Stanford University
Washington, DC	Dec 9, 2003	Woodrow Wilson International Centre for Scholars
Boston, MA	Jan 18, 2004	Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University
New York, NY	Jan 26, 2004	Goldman Sachs

LONDON, ENGLAND

DATE May 29-30, 2003; October 16, 2003; December 2, 2003

LOCATION Canada House, Canadian High Commission; MacDonald House, Canadian High Commission; Institute for Commonwealth Studies, University College London

SUMMARY OF DISCUSSION

This summary highlights the general themes raised through a series of roundtables on Canadian foreign policy. These events were conducted in cooperation with Canadians in Europe and with support from the Canadian High Commission and the Institute for Commonwealth Studies. We would like to acknowledge their support and the contributions made by the Canadian delegates from across the United Kingdom and Europe.

Discussion

There was a healthy debate on the specific mechanisms and policy choices in driving Canadian foreign policy and it is worth mentioning that there is much passion and interest in Canada's future. As a nation we would do well if our public institutions and business community worked to maximize the opportunities for and leveraged the creativity of young Canadians.

The first London roundtable focused on defining Canadian values and developing a set of policy priorities for the core pillars of Canadian foreign policy – international trade, global security and development assistance. The following roundtables explored the mechanisms and engagement channels for delivering our foreign policy and worked towards the development of a coherent engagement strategy. During the course of these roundtables we explored our relationship with international organizations including the WTO, UN, and NATO, our relationship with the United States, NAFTA and continental security, and the international role of Canadian businesses and institutions including CIDA.

There was a general consensus that Canada should maintain and expand its international role economically, socially, environmental and militarily. However, the key message for Canadian policy makers is that we must be innovative in our thinking and approach – leverage resources, develop efficient knowledge infrastructures and be responsible leaders. Canadian foreign policy faces many challenges and requires fundamental changes in how we mobilize our resources. To be a credible international player the following principles can be regarded as the “first base” or building blocks for foreign policy:

Leadership and responsibility. We need strong leaders in the public and private sector that work to reinforce accountability, transparency and integrity in domestic and international governance.

Effective knowledge systems. Our public institutions and decision makers must be armed with the best information. This requires cooperative relationships across the public sector but also linkages to various networks: domestic and international businesses, the Canadian expatriate community, and the many research institutes, think tanks and non-governmental organizations.

Unified strategic framework. We need a common framework that ‘joins up’ policy horizontally across domestic and foreign policy domains and vertically along local, regional, national and international lines. This distributed approach would act to minimize institutional clutter, support knowledge flows and develop a shared vision and goal for our policy makers.

Smart policy. We need innovative policy levers and flexible institutions for the 21st century. This requires a regulatory system that enables the creation of organizations that can leverage the resources and capabilities of domestic and interna-

tional partners – mimicking the flexible supply chains of multinational corporations. This includes the interoperability of our ‘soft’ and ‘hard’ resources with the private sector, non-governmental agencies and our allies’.

PARTICIPANTS

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Mark Sorbara	Mathew Bailey	Matt Saunders
Michael Lisowski	Michael Wiseman	Miles Hunter
Parul Shah	Patrick Quealey	Paul Sturgess
Peter Pottier	Rajesh Joshi	Ran Goel
Robert Allen	Robert Bradley MacKay	Robert Gill
Rutha Astravas	Sasha Zikic	Sean Burges
Sean Cashin	Simon Nicoloff-Robillard	Stephen Jull
Tabatha Soltay	Vanessa Mitchell	Veau Trotter
Vishva Ramlall		

VANCOUVER

DATE October 17–19, 2003

LOCATION University of British Columbia, Robson Square

SUMMARY OF DISCUSSION

The Vancouver Roundtable delegates focused on four main aspects of Canada and the World: security, health, the environment and media/culture. The overriding theme that emerged from each of these discussion groups was that Canada must strive to lead the world in creating integrated, sustainable solutions to the challenges we face now and in the coming years. Essentially, what this means is that we must recognize that nothing exists in isolation from the outside world – all aspects of our foreign policy are necessarily interrelated, as all countries and peoples are also increasingly interrelated.

We prioritized four key areas that will lay the foundation for recharging Canada's role abroad.

Create partnerships with like-minded states. While a commitment to Canada's long-standing tradition of multilateralism should be maintained, we cannot address international issues through global institutions alone. Instead, Canada must acknowledge the limitations of those institutions and build partnerships with like-minded nations that seek to make a difference.

Implement full cost accounting both nationally and internationally. Tackling the world's problems requires an integrated, holistic approach – one that acknowledges that the health, security, cultural, and environmental dimensions of global crises are all intrinsically linked. Canada must become a leader in quantifying the economic, social and environmental costs of both its domestic practices and of its foreign engagements and policies.

Focus on capacity building as a tool for international development and aid. Capacity building is a proactive tool that empowers foreign communities to develop more tolerant, equitable and healthy societies. It is much more effective than tied aid or reactive solutions to global crises. Canada must focus on helping other countries create, among other things, regional resource management structures, health clinics and responsible local media.

Develop national centres of excellence in areas of Canadian expertise. Canada can contribute to the creation of a just and secure global community by sharing its unique capabilities and expertise with other nations. Whether by training foreign media, new NATO member state officers or environmental experts, such centres would greatly enhance capacity building in foreign communities.

PARTICIPANTS

Amy Fournier	Andrew Green	Curtis Andrews
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CALGARY

DATE November 7-8, 2003

LOCATION Southern Alberta Institute of Technology (SAIT)

SUMMARY OF DISCUSSION

The Calgary Roundtable delegates discussed wide range of issues, including: Media and Culture, Society, Security, Prosperity, Population Movement and Governance. Developing a definition of a “Model Power” was a significant focus of the roundtable as was the development of ideas Canada should implement if it is to transform itself into a “Model Power.”

What is a “Model Power”?

The delegates provided a broad level of feedback on their definition of a “Model Power”, which was a key part of the discussion surrounding the vision for Canada’s role in the world. The following is a summary of the ideas and key themes from the discussion:

The word “model” implies leadership by example. A Model Power clearly articulates its interests and positions on global issues with the integrity and commitment to support its foreign policy. However, it is guided by a democratic policy-making process that engages citizens which gives the Model Power legitimacy to act on their behalf and involves them in foreign policy implementation. Rather than impose its values on other nations, it shares its success and makes its example known through the exchange of ideas, people, and products with the rest of the world. To become a Model Power requires commitment to action. We must provide aid that builds capacity. We must help to make peace and keep it. We must work towards fair trade that does not protect industry in wealthy nations and thereby prevent the development of the industry in a poorer nation. A Model Power uses diplomacy to help all nations to co-operate for the prosperity of all.

Recommendations for policies

The delegates presented a variety of ideas and attempted to challenge certain norms. The following is a series of recommendations generated by the Roundtable delegates:

Canada should increase funding for international assistance in general, and specifically in the areas of promoting human rights, democratization, and good governance. This would increase the effectiveness of Canada’s aid programs and communicate our sincerity in making the world a freer, safer, and fairer place to live for all humanity.

Canada should have more targeted and strategic deployment of foreign aid to maximize contribution of Canadian aid to a select number of developing countries. Going deeper, rather than broader, is much more likely to produce better results and foster strong, longer term, and mutually beneficial ties between Canada and the countries it provides aid too.

Continue to involve Canadian citizens, especially young Canadian, NGOs, and businesses in the delivery of foreign aid. There should be an emphasis projects that encourage the exchange of technology, practices, and ideas in both directions.

Canada should use the negotiation of freer trade as an incentive for the adoption of stronger practise of good governance among Canada’s trade partners. This should be done in both bilateral trade negotiations and, in support of ongoing and future multilateral trade negotiations, such as the WTO Rounds and the Free Trade Agreement of the Americas (FTAA).

The federal government needs clear policies on rewarding Canadian companies and foreign businesses operating in Canada who integrate principles of good corporate citizenship into their domestic & international business activities.

Export Development Canada (EDC), already reports on its corporate social responsibility (CSR) practices and considers to a certain degree the CSR performance of the clients it serves. This practice needs to be expanded to all government departments and agencies active in promoting trade and investment.

Canada should have a continued and increased commitment to international governance institutions such as the United Nations the international Criminal Court, including promoting these institutions among our allies.

At the same time, Canada should advocate measure that keeps these institutions open, transparent and accountable for their activities to maintain their legitimacy in front of the peoples of the world.

Clearly articulated, transparent criteria for identifying and engaging threats to global collective security are essential for the legitimate use of force.

While the United Nations Security Council is the recognized international authority on the use of military intervention, recent interventions in Kosovo and Iraq demonstrate that this is not always going to be the case. Canada must go as far as it can to work with its allies and the international community to support and reform institutions such as the Security Council so that the world retains a legitimate authority on authorising collective security. This will also need to involve building mechanisms that deal with situations that threaten individual security, such as the protection of human rights.

The Canadian military also has a contribution to make in the development of effective, professional, and accountable armed forces in other countries.

As more and more developing countries participate in global collective security and peacekeeping operations, Canada's armed forces can share their experiences through joint training exercises, consulting services, and soldier exchanges.

Canada must redefine the metrics of prosperity and align the values of corporations and governments with the values of individual citizens.

Prosperity is more than economic wealth. Canada needs to create policy that will broaden our definition of prosperity to include social and environmental elements that contribute to our well being as a nation. As we do that we also need to recognize that Canadian prosperity is linked to world prosperity.

More detailed reporting of the impact Canadian companies have in other countries is required.

Our corporations can demonstrate model global citizenship by showing the world that prosperity is about more than just money. The United Nations Environment Programme (UNEP) supports a system called the Global Reporting Initiative (GRI). The GRI developed indicators for organizations to use for reporting on the economic, environmental, and social dimensions of their activities, products, and services. GRI recognises the limits of a blanket approach and is developing sector supplements that will add to the guidelines to capture the unique set of sustainability issues faced by different industry sectors.

In order to help struggling nations return to self-sufficiency Canada should provide debt forgiveness and capacity building aid.

Aid should not be endless. Aid should be the first step in a plan to help people regain the capacity to support them. For example, changing patent laws to provide low cost AIDS drugs to Africa may prevent total social and economic collapse. Helping adults in Africa to survive allows them to continue contributing to the economy and to teach their children the necessary life skills to be self-sufficient.

Canada should work to reduce protectionism, tariffs, and subsidies and promote comparative advantage.

As the international community works to achieve common environmental and social standards of performance, developed countries

have to move away from protectionist policies in industries such as agriculture and textile. Currently these subsidies further create unfair advantages for developing nations and their ability to achieve their economic and export potential as their “cash crops” are those of primary industry. Instead of subsidising industry that is no longer competitive with other nations adhering to similar social and environmental standards the government should invest in building capacity.

Canada should work towards diversifying trade. The United States is currently our largest trading partner and this is giving them significant influence on our nation. To the extent that we can we should increase trade with other nations. Given that we are limited by geography we must also work towards policy changes in the WTO to ensure fair treatment in trade disputes.

Canada must increase its military capabilities for primarily peacekeeping and rehabilitation engagements. Increased military capability does not necessarily mean increasing our ability to engage in combat. Our military should be trained and equipped for capable peacekeeping, disaster relief, and reconstruction assistance. We should look to increase our capabilities specifically in the areas of international peacekeeping and surveillance of the bordering oceans and Arctic region.

Canada should work towards the enrichment of women in the developing world. This includes educating them in general, but also specifically in birth control, nutrition, and health. Educating women is considered more productive as they are typically aligned with activities related to nutrition, health, and raising children.

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TORONTO

DATE November 14-16, 2003

LOCATION McKinsey & Company

SUMMARY OF DISCUSSION

For three days in November 2003, delegates at the Toronto Regional Roundtable took on the challenging task of defining how Canada can move from a middle power to a Model Power.

Despite the breadth of the subject, common themes and questions emerged, themes that had delegates looking both outward and inward. We asked if our foreign policy was to make the world more Canadian. Should our relations with other countries be conducted with the ultimate goal of serving our national interests, or based in altruistic objectives? Can national interests ever be aligned with the interests of others? Is foreign policy ever really foreign?

There are of course no easy answers to these questions. There was general agreement that Canadians must reach out to others as fellow global citizens, especially people in the developing world. We agreed that Canada has the potential to be an incubator and to promote the exchange of best practices for sustainable social, economic, cultural, and political development. We could take the role of a facilitator and a catalyst on the world stage.

Canadian identity was a very important issue for delegates. As a relatively young country with a tradition of offering assistance to our allies to attain mutual goals, Canada needs to define its values and objectives, both at home and abroad. Although everyone agreed that our traditional role as peacekeeper and “helpful fixer” was a vital one that we should continue to fill, our international reputation in these areas has clearly suffered over the years, evidenced by our failure to facilitate consensus on important contemporary global issues. Perhaps it is a question of confidence and boldness where Canada has been weak in the past, but what underlies these qualities must be real. Are we hoping to restore the reputation of the Pearson/Trudeau years or create a completely new one...or is the answer somewhere in between? How important is our international reputation – is it really soft power? Is it enough that other nations “like us”?

When we discussed our reputation abroad, delegates wondered if we really practicing what we preach, especially in terms of the inclusiveness of our democracy, the state of our healthcare and environment. There was a strong feeling that we cannot go out into the world and tell others to do as we say, not as we do, but questions were raised about the utility of self-inspection and improvement when so many nations need help.

In our domestic and foreign policy, delegates called for more clarity, coordination, responsiveness, and accountability in government, among non-governmental organizations (NGOs), and business. This would require a planning, implementation, and evaluation horizon that stretches beyond mandates of individual governments, and a commitment to a set of common objectives. Delegates seemed to agree that focusing our military, peacekeeping, aid, and diplomatic efforts would enable Canada to make a bigger impact on the international stage, rather than trying to be all things to all people all the time.

The delegates at the Toronto Regional Roundtable identified a list of questions they felt needed to be answered before Canada could become a Model Power:

How can we provide opportunities for all Canadians to have the opportunity to become directly involved in overseas health and development projects?

Are Canada’s armed forces relevant to our policy objectives? How can they be reinvented to make them more relevant to our citizens today?

How do we best engage multilateral institutions that are important to supporting sustainable development and a clean environment on a global level?

How can we separate process from values in our foreign policy development frameworks?

How can Canadians reinvent our institutions to make an international impact?

How should prosperity, aid, and development be defined for the 21st century?

How can Canada use its human, financial, and military resources to become a world leader?

Should Canada rely on multilateral institutions to make itself heard?

How can ordinary Canadians become engaged in foreign policy discussions?

What steps can be taken to make our foreign policy more consistent, coherent, and effective?

There was little discussion about Canada’s relationship with the United States in any of the sessions – many wondered what the significance of this omission could be. Perhaps the time has come to shift our collective focus from our powerful neighbour to the south and re-examine the “third option”. Perhaps the time has come to completely redefine our place in the world by building foreign and domestic policy that is focused, institutions that are accountable, and citizens who are involved in building our national reputation with an international audience.

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MONTREAL

DATE November 7-8, 2003

LOCATION École des hautes études commerciales, Montréal

DISCUSSION

Background

The Montreal chapter of Canada25 expressed a great deal of interest in this year's roundtable subject of Canada's place in the world. Montréal is home to the largest number of international organizations in Canada and a diverse population with ties around the globe. Successive Québec governments have sought to enhance the international profile of Québec, and in so doing, have cultivated a high degree of interest in foreign affairs among the population. All of these factors contributed to a dynamic and thought-provoking discussion among delegates.

Introduction

A thematic approach was used to structure the topic, of which four were similar to those discussed at the eventual National Forum: peace and security, environment, human rights and international development assistance. A fifth topic was also part of the agenda to encourage debate on an ever-growing issue in Canada: the provincial role in international affairs. While Québec has been the most active on this front, all Canadian provinces now have some presence abroad and are demanding a larger voice in the way that the federal government conducts its foreign affairs.

Two preparatory sessions were held in advance of the roundtable, each designed to familiarize delegates with the subject and allow them to focus their research. The opening session of the roundtable featured a keynote address by Mr. Michael Wodzicki, a senior policy advisor to Canada's Secretary of State (Asia-Pacific) who discussed how the public participates in the formulation and conduct of Canadian foreign policy.

Provincial Role in Foreign Affairs

While there is no desire to expand the scope of potential federal-provincial friction to yet another area of jurisdiction, it is important to acknowledge the substantial presence and activity of provinces in the international arena. Regarding matters of culture, education and trade specifically, Canadian provinces have developed sophisticated relationships promoting exchange and increased economic activity. All Canadian provinces have various linkages with neighbouring state governments in the United States, and Québec and New Brunswick have separate standing from Canada within La Francophonie.

The main focus of discussion was on the desirability of coordinating Canada's multifaceted international presence to ensure that different actors do not work at cross-purposes, as well as emphasizing consultation between the federal and provincial governments on foreign matters that affect provincial areas of jurisdiction such as education or the environment. The "Team Canada" trade missions that began in the 1990s offer concrete evidence of how the federal and provincial governments can work together on the world stage, while Canada's accession to the Kyoto Protocol and the ensuing disagreement by some provincial governments over its implementation was an example of how they can work against each other.

The other point of discussion focused on how provincial and regional diversity could be better taken into account in the formulation of foreign policy. Whereas Canada's territories may be most concerned about environmental issues and sovereignty in the Arctic region, British Columbia is oriented towards the Pacific Rim and thus has different priorities to reflect this difference. Québec places special emphasis on its

role within La Francophonie and its relations with France, while Atlantic provinces want to ensure Canada's sovereignty in its offshore territory, preserving natural resource management rights.

Peace and Security

First and foremost, governments are responsible for ensuring the security of their citizens. It makes sense, then, to have the federal government develop a national security policy. The post-September 11 era demands more rigorous emergency and crisis management protocols, and the SARS incident in Toronto was evidence of the kind of unconventional security and emergency issues portended by the future.

Developing the necessary tools for promoting peace and maintaining national and international security is an area where Canada must reinvest. Both the military and the diplomatic corps deserve greater support, but more importantly, the government must make explicitly clear what their roles are and what is expected of each of them. The military has played roles in areas as diverse as disaster relief, peace-keeping and combat operations, but such multitasking is unsustainable without adequate funding.

Delegates believed that the combined resources offered by the military, the diplomatic corps, and international aid assistance programs would be most effective in the promoting conflict resolution and post-conflict reconstruction. The nature of security threats in the 21st century will depend on the stability of nations and their capacity to meet the needs of their citizens. Canada has an interest in assisting countries on these fronts.

Environment

On the subject of the environment, three major topics were discussed. Firstly, the dual benefits of developing environmentally-friendly technology in Canada. In addition to the positive effects on the environment, the government can encourage innovation and economic growth by offering research and development incentives to manufacturers. Existing programs should be reviewed and expanded where necessary, while coordination with similar provincial programs can provide potential multiplier effects.

With the Kyoto Protocol as a backdrop, delegates agreed that the government needed to come up with a firm plan for reducing atmospheric pollutants and carbon dioxide and well as promoting the use of renewable energy, and that this would be assisted by establishing firm targets and a firm deadline.

Finally, since the environment knows no borders, it was the conclusion of the Montreal delegates that the federal government should coordinate the development of its national environmental policy with the provinces and territories.

Human Rights

On the topic of human rights, delegates expressed a view that if Canada is to be a model power, its commitment to human rights at home must serve as an example to others abroad. Whether it is making Canadian companies and individuals accountable for their international behaviour or fulfilling our commitment to preserve and defend the rights of Canadians in Canada, the delegates agreed that our actions must match our rhetoric.

At the same time, Canada should not shy away from its achievements in the area of human rights, most notably the establishment of the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms. Insofar as it can, Canada should share its governance expertise with other countries who wish to benefit from our experience. Domestic initiatives can also have tremendous impact internationally, as the example of the federal government's intention to permit generic drug production to treat significant diseases in developing countries demonstrates.

International Development Assistance

Overseas development assistance is a key tool of Canadian foreign policy, but it is one which delegates agreed was in need of re-examination. The major point of discussion here was the fact that the Canadian agency responsible for overseas aid, the Canadian International Development Agency, has developed a multitude of programs around the world with varying effectiveness. One of the difficulties is the lack of transparency or accountability among recipient organizations and governments. This might be remedied by demanding greater amounts of both accountability and transparency from those organizations, as well as rewarding developing countries that have implemented or are moving towards improved measures fostering democracy.

At the same time, in many cases aid distributed by CIDA comes with conditions attached, so-called "tied aid," including preference for Canadian companies to bid on assistance contracts. A rethinking of priorities may help focus resources and better serve the objectives of Canadian foreign policy.

PARTICIPANTS AND ORGANIZERS

Alexandria Sjoman	Amitabh Saxena	Andrea Fox
Brent Carson	Carlos M. de Vera	Greer Nicholson
Jean-François Lisi	Joelle Schmitz	John Burnett
Mary Albino	Max Reed	Michelle Toering
Peter Loewen	Reynolds Mastin	Shahzad Sabet
Simon Blais	Stavros Rougas	Thomas Park
Verki Tunteng	Will Patterson	

OTTAWA

DATE November 15th, 2003

LOCATION Privy Council Office

SUMMARY OF DISCUSSION

The Ottawa Chapter of Canada25 hosted a number of esteemed guests, including:

Alexa McDonough, NDP Foreign Affairs Critic, Parliament Hill

Drew Fagan, Ottawa Bureau Chief, Globe and Mail, Industry Canada

Major General Clive Addy at Roundtable Session, Privy Council Office

United States Ambassador Paul Cellucci, Privy Council Office

These discussions provided participants with diverse perspectives and opportunities for dialogue, providing context and challenge to our roundtable discussion about Canada and its role in the world.

Fostering New Ties & Strengthening Old Ones

Canada is spread too thin and is losing influence in the world. In order to better serve our interests, we need to strengthen our multilateral ability and streamline our diplomatic efforts. Rather than concentrate on its old ties, Canada should look to the future, and strategically focus its ties with emerging world powers like China, India and Brazil. Strategic trade relations, preferred status and development partnerships will enable us to broaden and deepen our diplomatic and economic relations with these countries. Our large communities of Chinese-Canadians, Indian-Canadians and Brazilian-Canadians and other immigrant communities are a precious resource and competitive advantage in developing these ties, and should be given the tools needed to further build social capital between their new home and their old.

Additionally, Canada's main source of influence, where we sit with the most powerful nations in the world is the G7+. It is crucial that we maintain and enhance our place among this collection of allies.

New Perspectives on Trade

International trade is an inherently short-sighted activity. By focusing only on short-term gains and not recognising that through globalizations the problems of other countries will soon be our own, we are causing many problems for the future. It is the role of government, through treaties, tariffs and politically targeted trade, both punitive and positive, to channel trade so it benefits all parties in a fair, equitable and sustainable way.

There is a concept of 'Canadian Space', the core cultural, social and political ideals which extend past our borders which are not for sale. This Canadian Space extends not only to our obvious trading partner, the United States, but also back to the countries where our newly immigrated Canadian citizens came from, through their families, friends, language and culture. Our government should look beyond the United States expand its attention to the emerging powers in the world.

Focusing Development Aid

Our government developmental aid policies are contradictory, claiming to help the poorest on the earth, but our contribution is insignificant. We preach free trade and open markets to help the poorest countries on earth, yet we subsidize agriculture, and give non-trade barriers to the least developed countries. We must untie Canada's overseas development assistance (ODA) program from the procurement of Canadian goods and services, and engage in a public debate on the issues related to the effectiveness of aid and how aid is delivered in developing nations. We also call upon the Canadian ODA program to focus in fewer countries in order to ensure

that our aid is not diffuse, providing some minor, stop-gap relief, and instead really enabling a country to become self-sustaining. The criteria for selecting countries must be transparent. Canada could tie its “aid” to its “trade” and transform its development cooperation programs with China and India – not only is this where most of the world’s poor live, but also the origin of large portions of our population.

Becoming a Leader in Post-Conflict Development

Canada should develop a more coherent framework for engaging pre- and post-conflict developing countries. This would include using peace-making military force that has the capacity to work cooperatively with other countries and with the United Nations. It also would draw on our strengths of federalism, a comprehensive health-care system and our multiculturalism. This framework would be used as a basis to start negotiations with the G7 and make Canada a leader on pre-post conflict development cooperation.

In order to bolster this effort and enhance military and peace making operations, Canada must re-organize our Canadian Forces into the roles that they play such as Domestic Operations, Perimeter Protection, Expedition, and Peace Making rather than their traditional roles of Army, Air Force and Navy. Any future plans for our military will need to include provisions for unknown threats that might arise in the future.

Informing and Mobilising Youth

There should be forums, programs and curriculum for educating young people about foreign policy. A champion in the public or private sector is needed to mobilize resources to educate and inspire interest beyond our borders. Options include giving young people accessibility to leaders from around Canada, access to Question Period, co-ops within the Canadian Forces, and supporting volunteer services abroad.

The Way Forward

While Canada enjoys credibility in the world stage as a fair player, this credibility is based on our actions of the past, not our present. We must ensure our actions in the future serve as models that inspire others nations to do the same.

PARTICIPANTS

Aaron Coe	Adnan Qaiser	Alexandra Tcheremenska
Andrew Kovacs	Anoma Patriana	Araz Najarian
Chantz Strong	Charles Collins	Chiara Barazzuol
Danijel Bunjevac	David Gourlay	Erin Tolley
Hugh Henry	Jesse Wood	Mark Rus
Matt Paradis	Milica Uzelac	Nadia Gilbert
Nick Cheeseman	Peter Iburg	Phillippe Hall
Samir Chhabra	Scott Morrison	Tenille Hoogland
Trevor Fleck	Xavier Furtado	Yohanna Loucheur

SAN FRANCISCO

DATE November 22nd, 2003

LOCATION Stanford University

SUMMARY OF DISCUSSION

The roundtable in San Francisco, concentrated on two issues that it thought were most critical rather than try to deal with the full range of foreign policy topics.

While there was not consensus on all issues, a key theme seemed to emerge from our discussions. Mainly that it was not clear what the current aims of Canadian foreign policy were. Participants wanted a large vision for Canada's role in the world and felt that it was currently lacking.

Canada and the United States

As all the participants were living in the United States, it is not surprising that the topic that the group focused on was Canada-U.S. relations. Some key points here:

Canada should cultivate closer economic ties with the United States. The consensus was that economic integration with the United States and a free flow goods and people across the border was in Canada's best interests.

Canada should bridge the gap for the United States. Delegates felt Canada could better leverage its position as a country with a deep understanding of the United States and become a bridge between the it and the rest of the world.

Canada should raise the awareness level of Americans. Canadians make significant contributions to the security, economic prosperity and social and cultural fabric of North America and the world. Many Americans, including policy makers are unaware of our contribution. We must do more to educate them.

Canada should continue to lead in social policy. Canada has recently received a lot of attention (both negative and positive) around the issues of same-sex marriage and the legalization of marijuana. In California we are perceived to be a leader in these areas because of our progressive stances.

Global Security

San Francisco roundtable delegates felt Canada needed to take a stand in the fight for freedom and equality. Our strong history of peacekeeping gives us a healthy foundation but we need take a more active role. Many conflicts, like Rwanda, require a contribution of military troops. We cannot sit on the sidelines and take only a moral stance; a military presence is often necessary. A heavy investment in our military capability, including increasing our number of combat-ready troops is needed.

WASHINGTON, DC

DATE December 9th, 2003

LOCATION Woodrow Wilson Institute for International Scholars

SUMMARY OF DISCUSSION

Canada and the United States are stewards of the world's largest trading relationship, partners in North American defence, and share one of the world's longest borders. A discussion of Canada's foreign policy would not be complete without a focussed look at policies pertaining to our southern neighbour. The Washington Roundtable developed a vision for the Canada-U.S. relationship as formulated by the four major foreign policy instruments of aid, trade, diplomacy and military policy. Our vision is that by the year 2025, Canada will have mastered direct and broad communications in diplomacy, committed 0.7% GDP to aid initiatives focussed in human security, developed an integrated trade negotiation strategy across industry sectors and have a military focussed on post-conflict stabilization.

Aid

Foreign policy has traditionally focussed on the protection of the nation's citizens from external military threats and sending direct aid for less-advantaged countries. In the past, security has meant maintaining peace and peace-brokering between nations. However, the majority of world conflicts and violence occurs within nations, not between them. The proliferation of terrorism, human rights abuses, gender divisions and scarcity of resources in many regions of the world leads to pervasive individual insecurity on a global scale. The United States is focussed on terrorism and Canada has a responsibility to assist for the betterment of global security. Security now includes the concept of human security – a human-centred approach to recognize safety is a basic physical need of all people. Human security includes social justice, democratization, education, human rights, and economic development. To set this nation apart as a Model Power with a global focus, Canada needs to be a leader in conflict prevention, protection of civilians, peacekeeping, public safety and democratic governance. The government should stick to its commitment to spend the OECD recommended amount of 0.7% GDP on aid, focussed on human security. In addition, Canada should capitalize on the tools of economic aid and trade such as debt forgiveness. Communication initiatives should be taken to ensure Canadians understand the value of the aid given and to ensure American counterparts understand their northern neighbour's contributions to global security.

Trade

In the current post 9/11 reality, security is at the top of the agenda from the United States' perspective, while economic issues are paramount to Canadian priorities. Furthermore, despite the massive dollar value increase in bilateral trade between the two nations since NAFTA (1994) and FTA (1988), it is only the American share of Canadian exports that has increased significantly in percentage terms. Even though Canada has maintained its position as the largest purchaser of American exports since 1990, Canada has become far more dependent on the United States as an export destination than the reverse. Broadly, Canada must seek to maintain a trade policy that strikes a balance between Canadian commitment to social welfare and the fundamental importance of trade to a small, open economy such as Canada. As such, Canadian trade policy with the United States should reflect both Canadian social values, while increasing GDP on a sustainable and fair level. Canada needs to adopt a more proactive & consolidated trade approach when dealing with the United States, rather than approaching the relationship on an "issue by issue" basis. Although the opportunity for "issue linkage" is limited by the sheer scale of bilateral trade, "issue linkage" is increasingly arising as economic integration deepens. For

example, highlighting the importance of the Canadian role in energy supply issues could have strengthened Canadian negotiating positions on softwood lumber. However, Canada must recognize that while the European Union's effective strategy of initiating countervailing duties to combat American steel tariffs displayed the advantages of this consolidated approach, the Canadian negotiating position remains beholden to our overarching dependence on access to the American market.

Diplomacy

The art of diplomacy has changed dramatically with today's fast-paced world of instant information, 24-hour news cycles, and international media convergence. Speeches delivered abroad will be broadcast in Canada and vice versa. Canada and the United States have a very integrated media market where news created in Washington is broadcast and made public in Ottawa at the same time. Diplomacy is "what we say and how we say it." Canada can no longer operate in the traditional world of soft diplomacy where one thing is said to domestic constituents and another is said to American leaders and media. Canada needs to engage counterparts with direct and hard messages, otherwise Canada's views will get lost in a sea of information. Funding needs to be allocated for more public diplomacy as part of an integrated domestic and international communications strategy. Special attention must be paid to getting Canada's message to key stakeholders in the United States.

Military

Following the "niche approach" historically characterized by the Canadian military, Canada should now build on its expertise in post-conflict stabilization, further its commitment to human security, and protect commercial interests in the increasingly hyper-globalized economy. Considering real fiscal constraints, Canada should achieve this goal by reducing its forward, expeditionary forces and divorce the military's professional obligations domestically from those more civilian in nature (e.g. avalanche rescue operations). The NORAD role is one that should be expanded to be part of the United States' Northern Command initiative, perhaps to cover land and sea-based defence, and bring Canada on the inside of the North American security perimeter. This perimeter would allow for the free flow of goods and trade without the currently necessary security steps at the Canada-U.S. border to ensure national safety. This model would make for an integrated continental defence while ensuring Canada's independent foreign policy.

PARTICIPANTS

Adam Sharon	Alex Slater	Andre Belelieu
Ben Rowswell	Chris Frankel	David Coulson
David Quayat	Denisse Rudich	Edgard S. Navarrete
Eica Fensom	Jason Taylor	Jennifer Worrod
Jeremy Adler	Jonathan Ho	Lana Gudmundson
Latif Jina	Lindsay Brumwell	Michael Hughes
Micheline Mendelsohn	Natalie Safertal	Nicholas Galletti
Paul Yeung	Peter Holland	Reginald Johnson
Tarek Hamam		

BOSTON

DATE January, 18th, 2004

LOCATION Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University

SUMMARY OF DISCUSSION

One of the most significant challenges facing Canada's position, status and role in the world is our country's relationship with the United States. The strength of that bond, post 9/11, depends upon a few key factors. One, what are the traditional areas of strength in the relationship and how healthy are they? Two; what other factors are currently affecting the quality of the relationship? Finally, what does the future hold and what is Canada's vision for the relationship going forward?

The relationship relies, always, upon the safe and secure traffic of people, goods and services across the border. In order for this to continue, Canada must focus more attention on its own security, both for its benefit and for the benefit of the relationship at large. It must also look to protect and, where necessary, build upon its own financial, physical and political resources. Doing so enables Canada to maintain an independent and effective foreign policy and engage the United States as a true and committed partner.

The over-riding truth, post Sept. 11th is that security issues now control the agenda. The burden of protection in North America has always been a decidedly American responsibility, but the threats to that security have changed. Securing ports, borders and airports against attack is just as high a priority as preparing for large-scale warfare. In an age where securing itself and the continent against further attack will be a major focus of the any American administration, is Canada prepared to contribute? What will the contribution have to look like in order for the United States and Canada to feel secure?

Further, the tone of the conversation between our two countries is changing. Talks between Canada and the United States have never been under such a powerful microscope. Domestic policies in Canada garner more media attention and subsequent reaction than ever before. What will Canada do with the attention (both good and bad)? Is the Canadian government engaging constituents at home and in America effectively? Is Canada presenting, through its actions and pronouncements, presenting the image it wishes to present? Is it doing so in a way that is palatable to Canadians and in line with their values of tolerance, egalitarianism and consensus-based approach to issues?

Our vision for the future of the relationship focuses on the three recommendations;

Canada must acknowledge the complexity and depth of its relationship with the United States and use it more effectively. Our group agreed that treating the America as a single, monolithic entity ignores the numerous non-administration actors that are at Canada's disposal. Canada must engage American state and local representatives, lobby groups and business interests that can assist in advancing our agenda.

What of Canada's one million plus expatriates living in the United States? They provide the Canada with a ready-made resource that is truly familiar with the relationship on a day-to-day level. We are the benefactors of the traditionally strong ties between Canada and the United States. Perhaps it's time for those Canadians living in the United States, with their unique perspectives and familiarity with life on this side of the border, to be invited into the discussion.

There needs to be a renewed commitment, by Canada, to continental security.

Canada should continue to reaffirm its position that an attack on the United States is tantamount to an attack on Canada. The disruptions to trade and security post-9/11 illustrated just how direct the effects can be. Canada needs a strategy that ensures it maintains sovereignty while still effectively addressing the very real American concerns regarding continental security. The two countries should negotiate security, immigration, health and other standards (the ‘what’) but allow each to execute their plans independently (the ‘how’).

Finally, because there are so many complex, multi-faceted issues confronting the two nations, we believe that an annual joint cabinet-level meeting should be introduced. Doing so would allow both parties to air their collective grievances, review the events of the year gone past, and discuss new ideas with their high-level counterparts.

Canadians need to sharpen our short and long-term communications strategy vis-à-vis the United States.

We have done very little, throughout the years, to shape American public opinion as it pertains to Canada. As one delegate put it “Politicians and policy makers need to realize that American citizens, while not [Canadian] voters, are a constituency that we need to worry about.”

Our proposal includes a centrally managed communications and response centre to respond to and generate media for American consumption. American networks will track down news where it is cheapest and most readily available. This provides us with an enormous opportunity to shape American public opinion. This type of initiative, in the face of growing American anxiety over SARS, Mad-cow disease and other issues, could allow the media to make Canada’s case for it.

Further, the establishing of an academic exchange program, speaker funds and scholarship program to encourage students and academics to come to Canada would be of tremendous use. The cadre of American students who come to Canada could have many long-term benefits. At minimum it would create the conditions for increased goodwill and an improved understanding.

We know that the depth and scope of this relationship will grow, shift and change many times in the years to come. The challenges rest with both countries, for sure, but for Canada they grow more profound and pressing as the years pass. How do we do our part? By beginning with a solid appraisal of those things that we deem to be our strengths and ending with an effective strategy for implementing our plan in partnership with our Southern neighbour.

PARTICIPANTS

- | | | |
|---------------------|-------------|---------------------|
| Alana Wiens | Alison Loat | Aly Kassam-Remtulla |
| Carl Shulman | David Eaves | Debbie Chachra |
| Lindsay Kirkpatrick | Mary Wojtyk | Patrick Charbonneau |
| Patrick McWhinney | Sam Millar | Samuel Sia |
| Veronica Kitchen | | |

SAINT JOHN

DATE November 21-22, 2003

LOCATION Aliant Inc.

PARTICIPANTS

Amanda Hachey

Heather Ternoway

Jacob Bleakley

Loren McGinnis

Mark Leger

Nick McLean

Robyn Tingley

Ross Jefferson

Vincent Chew

NEW YORK

DATE January 26th, 2004

LOCATION Goldman Sachs

PARTICIPANTS

Adrienne Goldthorpe

Christine Cheng

David Belford

Kim McEwen

Monica Holec

Nancy Bong

Omar Abdel-Hafez

Orrin Wolpert

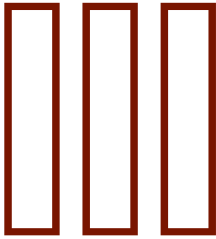
Steven Goldbach

Ted Goldthorpe

Troy Little

Wendy Gold

Yuri Mytko



PARTICIPANT BIOS

This year's national delegates were selected in a highly competitive process, and represent some of Canada's brightest young minds.


AMANDA AFFONSO is actively involved in Calgary's volunteer sector, as a member of Alberta's Student Finance Board, The Calgary Foundation Grants Committee, Women In Need Society and the Canadian Unity Council. She is a graduate of the University of Calgary, where she received a Bachelor of Arts in Sociology and held the position of VP Operations and Finance with the Students' Union. She presently works for Inter Pipeline Fund as a Financial Business Analyst in Business Development, and has previously worked as a Regulatory Analyst with TransAlta.

AMITABH SAXENA is a Product Manager at Capital One and holds a degree in Mechanical Engineering from McGill University. Highly involved in the student engineering community, he has given presentations at conferences in Canada, the United States, Sweden, and Hong Kong, most as VP Communications of the Canadian Federation of Engineering Students. He has worked in Norway and Mexico and recently completed an internship in Kenya for a local micro-finance organization. He was selected as a finalist in Magna's "As Prime Minister" Awards competition in 2003 and counts climbing to the summit of Mt. Kilimanjaro as one of his most euphoric experiences. He speaks English, French and Spanish and is gradually becoming proficient in Swahili and Hindi.

BRAM LEBO is founder and Director of Strategy and Development at Expatica Communications, Europe's leading expatriate media company. After completing a law degree in his hometown of Toronto, Canada, he moved to the Netherlands in 1994 to pursue an MBA and MBI at the Rotterdam School of Management. Bram enjoys travel, sailing, politics, food, reading and media. He has worked all over Europe and North America and lived in London, New York and Amsterdam. Two of his proudest achievements are having had his company survive the Internet meltdown, and writing a full-length screenplay which will almost certainly never be produced.

CHRIS FRANKEL has recently completed a Masters of Sciences in Environmental Policy, Planning, and Regulation at the London School of Economics and Political Science in London. Since completing the International Institute for Sustainable Development internship programme, Chris has accepted a consulting position with the International Finance Corporation's environment and social development department within the World Bank Group. Chris has previously worked with Outland Reforestation as a project foreman, as well as in community development with the Human Development Foundation in Bangkok and the Australian-Cambodian Foundation in Cambodia. Chris enjoys travelling and has spent significant time in Asia over the last several years. He is also an avid long distance runner and recently completed his first marathon in London, England.

ERICA FENSOM is a media relations officer at the Canadian Embassy in Washington D.C., responsible for media events, providing background on policy issues, and strategic communications support. Erica is a business graduate from McGill University and also worked in media and communications for the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation. Having lived for at least one year in four different provinces and four different countries, she has developed a deep understanding of what it means to be a Canadian at home and abroad. Her interests also include travel, triathlons, and her volunteer work as a ski patroller. Erica joins Canada25 with a keen interest in international affairs and Canada-U.S. relations.



HILARY DOYLE is an actor, writer and freelance journalist based in Toronto. She is an actor and improviser with the Second City National Touring Company and is an associate producer with MacIDeas, a Toronto-based theatre and media production company. She worked as the associate editor for The Panel on the Role of Government Draft Report, commissioned by Mike Harris' Progressive Conservatives and chaired by Ron Daniels, Dean of Law at University of Toronto. Her writing has appeared most recently in the Toronto Star and she is currently finishing a novel based on her experience as an aspiring actress and non-immigrant alien in Manhattan. She holds a BSc in Speech from Northwestern University.

JACOB YOUNG is a Masters Candidate of International Economics at Johns Hopkins School of Advanced International Studies and is employed at AT Kearney's Global Business Policy Council. Before graduate school he worked as a Program Manager with the Canada-China Business Council's Beijing office, and as a Summit Analyst with the University of Toronto's G8 Research Group (Genoa and Kananaskis Summits). Jacob holds a BA from the University of Toronto's Trinity College, and an IB Diploma from the United World College in Singapore. Jacob loves running in both inclement and balmy weather.

JEFF COLGAN is presently employed by McKinsey and Company as a management consultant. He was a Canada-U.S. Fulbright Scholar and Master's student at UC Berkeley's Goldman School of Public Policy. Previously, he graduated from McMaster University in Philosophy and Engineering Physics. Jeff was a policy intern at the World Bank within the Energy Sector in Washington, and a Licensing Advisor, at the Atomic Energy of Canada. He is author of the book, "The Promise and Peril of International Trade," forthcoming from Broadview Press.

JOHN BURNETT is currently in McGill's combined Civil and Common law programme. He holds a M.A. degree in Sociology (McGill), and an Honours B.A. (University of Toronto). He has an interest in politics, and has been employed with Allan Rock, Elinor Caplan, and Dalton McGuinty. His policy interests are focused on migration, particularly immigrant integration and national identity. John also volunteers with the Canadian Council for Refugees. He enjoys curling, Canada's "other" ice sport.

JORDAN GOLD, a Queen's University Politics/International Development grad, is about to begin his MSc of Environmental Management and Policy at Lund University, Sweden. For the past year and a half Jordan has acted as the Director for Business Development for "Corporate Knights Magazine," Canada's only mainstream corporate responsibility publication. In 2002 he interned with the International Institute for Sustainable in Geneva, Switzerland. Previously, Jordan has worked with Wildlife Fund Thailand throughout the south of Thailand and subsequently produced two thesis-equivalent climate change papers.

LOREN MCGINNIS currently the Planning and Development Coordinator for a literacy organization in Saint John, NB. Loren is also a staff writer for 'here' magazine. He graduated with a BA in Philosophy last spring, and spent two terms as president of the Mount Allison Students' Union and one term as the Chairperson of the New Brunswick Students' Alliance. Some of his interests rest in Canadian cities, education and now a heightened love for governance. He also volunteer at a federal prison facility. Loren is into fly-fishing, kayaking, and hacking away on his mandolin.

MARK MALLET is a freelance writer and editor living in Vancouver. His articles regularly appear in publications such as Vancouver Magazine, British Columbia Magazine, the Vancouver Sun, Ski Canada, and Explore Magazine, and he has won

awards for both his fiction and creative non-fiction. He has an MFA in Creative Writing from the University of British Columbia, and he is the past Executive Editor of the Vancouver-based literary magazine, PRISM international. His undergraduate degree was in Outdoor Pursuits at the University of Calgary, and, as a member of the Association of Canadian Mountain Guides, he still does occasional work as a backcountry ski guide and as an instructor for Outward Bound.

MICHELLE TOERING is currently completing a combined BCL/LLB at McGill University and holds a BA in Political Science from Princeton University. Her concentration in law is on international sustainable development law. Prior to law school she worked as an Environmental Advocate for the Massachusetts Public Interest Research Group working primarily on energy policy and air pollution. She has also worked as a legal intern at the Trade Law Bureau at DFAIT and with the Environmental Law and Policy Centre in Chicago.

NADIM KARA is currently a Child and Youth Social Planner with the City of Vancouver's Social Planning Department. As a graduate of both the Human Geography and International Relations programs at the University of British Columbia, Nadim has an interest in social change at the local, national and international level. At the City, he works to strengthen the social infrastructure supporting youth in Vancouver and to facilitate meaningful youth involvement in municipal decision-making. Nadim has been involved with a range of non-profit and governmental actors at the local level working on building healthy communities, and was the 2002 recipient of the Power of Humanity award from the Canadian Red Cross. He has also worked on issues of international political economy with Oxfam Canada, the Sustainable Development Research Institute and the Institute of Asian Research. His areas of interest for the National Forum are related to international trade policy reform as well as corporate accountability.

PETER HOLLAND is presently a Masters student at the Johns Hopkins School of Advanced International Studies in Washington, DC. He was formerly the director of Oxfam Quebec's Middle East office, managing development projects and responding to humanitarian crises in Lebanon, Jordan, and the Palestinian Territories. Peter graduated from Carleton University's International Business program in 1998 and is interested in issues pertaining to conflict resolution, international trade and Canadian foreign policy within the changing global context.

PHILLIP LEE is currently serving as a policy analyst for the Department of Western Economic Diversification Canada and recently graduated with a MPhil degree from Cambridge University, as well as a MSc from the London School of Economics. He is presently working on two initiatives, the Urban Aboriginal Strategy (a nation wide policy that seeks to reduce the socio-economic gap between Aboriginals and non Aboriginals in urban centres) and the Vancouver Agreement (a tri-partite policy that seeks to rebuild the Downtown Eastside of Vancouver). Prior to Cambridge, he had a brief stint as an intern for Professor Michael E. Porter's the Initiative for a Competitive Inner City in Boston, and has worked as a knowledge intern for the World Bank.

SIMON ROBILLARD-NICOLOFF is presently completing a Masters in Comparative Politics at the London School of Economics. He has worked as a policy analyst with the Privy Council in Ottawa (Foreign & Defence Secretariat), and before that as a protocol officer for Foreign Affairs Canada. In Montréal, Simon was involved with Action Réfugié Montréal, a NGO which provide moral support and advice to refugees held in detention centre. While studying there, he wrote a weekly

column on political affairs in *Le Délit Français*. He is a graduate from McGill University. Simon is a devoted snowboarder despite having spent most his youth in Sub-Saharan Africa.

SUZANNE BOSS is the co-founder, President, and Managing Producer of GroundWorks Integrated Arts Collective (Association) and a partner in Boss Consulting Inc., both based in Calgary. Prior to holding these positions, Suzanne worked with Gibson Petroleum Limited, Canadian Pacific Limited, and the Walt Disney Company (Canada) Ltd. Her work has included marketing, corporate-community relations, project management, leadership development, and operations management. Suzanne is a former senior dancer with The Young Canadians of the Calgary Stampede, and has a Bachelor of Commerce (Marketing) from the University of Calgary.

TREVOR FLECK is an International Economist with Finance Canada, where he advises on institutional and strategic issues for international bodies and international financial institutions. Trevor is involved with Oxfam Canada's policy working group on food and trade, working to involve members and partners more deeply in Oxfam's policy development. He holds an M.Sc. in Economics for Development from the University of Oxford and an LL.B from Osgoode Hall Law School.

VERONICA KITCHEN is a PhD candidate in Political Science at Brown University, where she researches North Atlantic security. She holds a BA (Hons) in International Relations from Trinity College, University of Toronto, and an MA in Political Science from Brown. She has been the winner of numerous academic awards, including the Fulbright scholarship. Veronica's research on Canadian foreign policy has been published in the *International Journal*, and her article "From Rhetoric to Reality: Canada, the United States and the Ottawa Process to Ban Landmines" won the CIA's Marvin Gelber Essay Prize. Veronica has also worked as a teaching assistant, social policy researcher and as an intern with the Ministère des Relations Internationales du Québec. She enjoys cycling and triathlon and currently lives the nomadic life of a PhD field researcher.

WILL PATERSON holds an MSc in Government from London School of Economics, as well as a BA in International Studies and Economics from Glendon College of York University in Toronto. He is presently pursuing a combined LLB/BCL degree from McGill University, in Montreal. This past summer he clerked for Judge Sir Dennis Byron at the United Nations International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda. He has worked as a parliamentary intern in the House of Lords, and in public relations with Procter & Gamble Canada. Will is a Federal Millennium Scholarship Winner, and co-founder of "Never Again," an organization devoted to educating and connecting young people around the world with an aim to preventing genocide.

Regional Roundtable Leaders

CHRISTIAN IDICULA (Calgary) is an Account Manager with Critical Mass, an interactive marketing agency based in Calgary, whose work focuses on client services, competitive & strategic insight, and promoting best practices for clients. He graduated from the University of Alberta in 2001 with a Bachelor of Science degree in Psychology and a minor in Business. While there he was involved in several student & university boards and committees, and was a member of the Senate. Christian was actively involved in the Edmonton Chapter of Canada25 prior to moving to Calgary, and since moving to Calgary, he has continued his involvement with Canada25 and has been a member of the steering committee for the Canadian Cancer Society's Relay for Life in Calgary since 2002.

LEE PICKAVANCE (London, England) is Programme Director at the Local Futures Group a leading economic consultancy and think tank based in London, England. He is responsible for Local Futures' research and advisory services for the European Commission and regional and national governments on issues related to economic competitiveness in the global economy. Lee holds a Master's degree specializing in Economic Planning and Policy from the University of Toronto. He also sits on the Advisory Board for Canadians in Europe, the European division of the Canadian Unity Council.

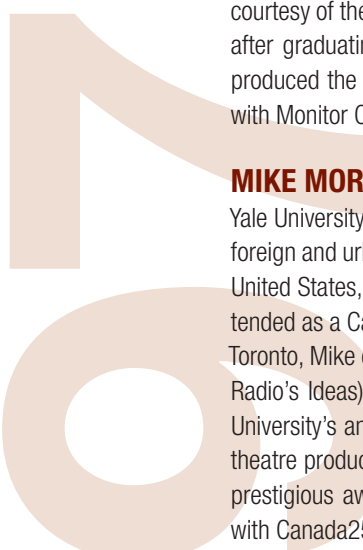
Organizers of Canada25's "Canada and the World" effort and this year's National Forum

ADRIAN MUCALOV (Co-Policy Stream Leader) currently works as a management consultant with Monitor Group in Toronto. During his three years with the firm (including 5 months in Seoul, Korea), he has worked on growth strategies for Fortune 500 companies in numerous industries, and managed undergraduate recruiting for the Canadian practice for one year. He previously completed an investment banking internship with Goldman Sachs in New York. He holds a B.Com. (First Class Honours) from Queen's University, where he was actively involved in student government. He has served volunteer stints in such places as Iqaluit, Nunavut and is excited to begin six months with CARE Zambia in January, 2005. His passions are music (A.R.C.T. Piano), exotic food, NFL football and travelling.

LUCAS ROBINSON (Co-Policy Stream Leader) currently lives in Norway. He joins Canada25 with an interest in international connectivity, and Canada's role in the global community. Lucas is a graduate and full scholarship recipient at the George Washington University's School of Media and Public Affairs. His research interests include communication patterns among displaced populations, political and media agenda setting, technology and the media, and conflict mediation. Lucas is currently working as a consultant with Internews to build a radio station in the Dadaab refugee camps of Eastern Kenya. He received his undergraduate degree in Peace and Conflict Studies from the University of Toronto in the spring of 2001.

ALEXANDRA TCHEREMENSKA (Delegate Coordinator) is an emergency physician and Faculty Lecturer in Family Medicine at McGill University. During her studies and at present, she has received numerous recognitions for her contribution to key committees in provincial and national medical associations focusing on issues in education, professionalism, strategy and organization of healthcare delivery. She also consults outside the sphere of medicine, including this year's project done for the City of Montreal on how to integrate Montreal into the Knowledge Society and Economy. Alex has a keen interest in policy development and multicultural issues enriched by her experiences treating multi-cultural populations and travelling across Europe, Africa and North America.

DUYEN NGUYEN (Chapter Liaison) works for Critical Mass - an Interactive marketing and consulting firm - in Calgary. As Director of Research and Analytics she is responsible for helping Fortune 500 firms understand the customer and business impacts of their online investments. Prior to this role, she held positions with Canadian Airlines, Asia Pacific Foundation of Canada and Nova Corporation. Duyen holds a B.Com from the University of Calgary and is currently completing her B.A. She has participated in many pioneering initiatives, including Canada25, Attack Voter Apathy, Vietnam Youth and Leadership Calgary. Duyen is passionate about community building, international development and social entrepreneurship.



JESSE MOORE (Content/Research) works for CARE Canada – the international development charity - in Toronto. In his role as Director of Development, Jesse forges partnerships with both the private sector and the media. Originally from Toronto, he studied communications at the University of North Carolina-Chapel Hill courtesy of the Morehead Scholarship. He became involved with Canada25 directly after graduating as a delegate to the inaugural forum on talent retention, which produced the report “A New Magnetic North.” Jesse also worked as a consultant with Monitor Company.

MIKE MORGAN (Content/Research) is a PhD student in international history at Yale University and an SSHRC Doctoral Fellow. He recently served as an analyst in foreign and urban policy at the Privy Council Office in Ottawa. Prior to moving to the United States, Mike obtained an MPhil at the University of Cambridge, which he attended as a Canadian Cambridge Scholar. As an undergraduate at the University of Toronto, Mike co-founded the Hart House Lectures (broadcast every spring on CBC Radio’s Ideas), tutored children in Toronto’s Regent Park neighbourhood, ran the University’s annual model United Nations conference, and worked on a number of theatre productions. Upon graduation, he received the University of Toronto’s most prestigious award, the Moss Scholarship. This is his second year of involvement with Canada25, having been a delegate to the second National Forum in 2002.

ROB KENEDI (Pre-Forum Group Facilitator, Toronto Roundtable Leader) graduated from the University of Toronto with an Honours Bachelor of Science in Human-Computer Interaction (Computer Science) and Psychology. While there, he was President of the Phi Delta Theta fraternity, Chairperson of Victoria College’s Orientation program, and a recipient of the Silver V and Gordon Cressy awards for student leadership. Rob currently lives in Toronto and works as a Senior Software Consultant at Telepresence Systems, Inc., a software consulting firm for clients in multiple industries. He has been involved with Canada25 since 2002, participating in and coordinating the Regional Roundtable process, and is currently serving as Canada25’s Technology Director.

Facilitators for the Forum

CYNTHIA MACKENZIE is involved in the organization and management of local social justice and human rights campaigns, including specific work on corporate social responsibility and on codes of conduct within business. She is currently working on her PhD in Australia focused on the role of human rights protection, international business, and the United Nations. She has been recognized by Volunteer Calgary’s Leaders of Tomorrow and by Macleans magazine as one of Canada’s 100 Faces of the Future. She has a background in international community development, leadership training, and international education. Cynthia has been involved with Canada25 since its inception - initially as a delegate, and currently as a Board Member. Cynthia also holds a policy fellowship with Action Canada.

ROSS WALLACE is a second-year MBA student at the University of Toronto’s Rotman School of Management, Ross served on Canada25’s National Organizing Committee in 2002, and co-authored Canada25’s recent submission to the Privy Council Office, entitled “Charting a New Path: A Vision for Canada’s Future.” Ross spent the summer working at the Institute for Competitiveness and Prosperity, a think-tank whose research focuses on boosting Ontario’s productivity. Before coming home to Canada, he lived in Washington, DC for almost five years, working both at the Canadian Embassy and at a small political and economic consulting company. He has undergraduate and graduate degrees from Queen’s.

This year's Lead Author

DAVID EAVES: David is a full time volunteer with Canada25. In 2001, David founded Canada25's Boston Chapter, which he managed until January 2004. In August of 2003 David served as the lead author and coordinator of a Canada25's report entitled "Charting a New Path: A Vision for Canada's Future" written at the request of the Privy Council Office. David recently worked as an associate with Vantage Partners, a consulting firm spun out of the Harvard Negotiation Project that helps fortune 500 and global 1000 firms negotiate more effectively. Originally from Vancouver, BC, David completed a Bachelor of Arts in history at Queen's University in 1998 and a Master's of International Relations at Oxford in 2000. David can be reached at david_a_eaves@yahoo.com

Canada25's National Committee

ANDREW MEDD (Executive Director) has served as Executive Director for Canada25 since 2002. Before holding the Executive Director position, Andrew led Canada25's Toronto Chapter and Cities Roundtable, as well as the development of the organizational design and strategy. Prior to joining Canada25 on a full-time basis, Andrew was a Senior Consultant in the Toronto office of Deloitte & Touche. As part of the Infrastructure, Development and Integration team, Andrew focused on helping clients understand, implement and manage their technology infrastructure in a variety of industries including insurance, travel, consumer products, fitness and finance. His engagement experience has allowed him to work in Canada, the United States and Great Britain. Andrew has an Honours degree in Commerce from Queen's University in Kingston, Ontario, where he was the Chairperson for the Queen's Forum on Information Technology. Andrew can be reached at amedd@canada25.com

DANISTAN SAVERIMUTHU (Director of Membership) holds a Bachelor of Laws and a Bachelor of Civil Law from McGill University, and currently practices in the areas of corporate and tax litigation with the firm Barsalou Lawson in Montréal, while combining an academic interest in intellectual property and international law. During his law school days, he served on the editorial board of the McGill Law Journal and acted as a Researcher for the Canadian Human Rights Foreign Policy Project on the subject of peacekeeping and international intervention. In his spare time he also edits Ehgloo Magazine, an online Canadian political publication. Danistan can be reached at members@canada25.com

JANET BUTLER (Director of Communications) is currently working as the Communications Advisor for Environment Canada, and is responsible for internal and external communications related to environmental emergencies, climate change, air quality, and international environmental issues. She also works as a freelance journalist with Realm Magazine, and has volunteer experience with the Coalition for Music Education and Jamaica Self-Help. Janet has a B.A. in English and a diploma in Communications from St. Francis Xavier University. Janet can be reached at janet_lee_butler@hotmail.com.

JEFF COLLINS (Director of Finance) currently works for a large assurance firm in Toronto, ON where he is responsible for environmental liability identification and reporting as well as various risk management, internal audit and climate change engagements. He has tremendous interest in corporate governance issues and provides accounting, auditing, and governance assistance to non-profit and charitable organizations through his accounting firm Jeffery Collins, CA. Jeff is a Chartered Accountant with the Institute of Chartered Accountants of Ontario and teaches intermediate accounting at Ryerson University.



REFERENCE MATERIALS

Throughout this report, our members made reference to hundreds of reports, books, articles, speeches, and web sites. Included below is a small list designed to serve as a resource guide to Canadians interested learning more about Canada's role in the world.

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www.miningwatch.ca

www.workersrights.org

Personal Interviews

In preparation for this forum, delegates and organizers interviewed a number of experts and scholars. We wish to thank these individuals for their time and insight.

- Barg, Stephan.** International Institute for Sustainable Development, Senior Corporate Advisor and Project Manager
- Barnes, Trevor.** Professor of Economic Geography, University of British Columbia, Vancouver, BC
- Bilefsky, Dan.** Staff Reporter, The Wall Street Journal, Brussels
- Blattberg, Dr. Charles.** Professeur adjoint en philosophie politique, Département de Science Politique, Université de Montréal, Montreal, QC
- Brunnen, Ben.** Policy Analyst, Canada West Foundation
- Cameron, Hugo.** Programme Director, International Centre for Trade and Sustainable Development, The International Environmental House, Geneva, Switzerland
- Cappe, Mel.** High Commissioner for Canada. High Commission of Canada, London.
- Colman, Ron. PhD.,** GPIAtlantic, Executive Director
- Court, Charles.** Deputy Permanent Representative, Canadian Joint Delegation to NATO, Belgium.
- Crombie, David.** President and CEO of the Canadian Urban Institute, Toronto, ON
- DePlaa, Angelique.** Policy Advisor, World Bank, Washington, DC, www.worldbank.org
- Detomasi, Dr. David.** Queen's School of Business, Queen's University, Kingston, ON
- Doyle, Kevin.** Editor, C.D. Howe Institute
- Duff, David.** University of Toronto
- Dyer, Gwynne.** Independent journalist, London, UK
- Fennell, Shaila.** Director of the Development Studies Program, University of Cambridge, Cambridge, UK
- Flack, Graham.** Privy Council Office, Borders Task Force, Ottawa, ON
- Free, Stephen.** Senior Advisor, Office of the Executive Director for Canada, Ireland and the Caribbean, World Bank Group, Washington, DC
- Glasius, Dr. Marlies.** Expert in NGO Management, London School of Economics.
- Godfrey, The Honourable John.** MP Don Valley West
- Greenhill, Robert.** Senior Visiting Executive - International Development Research Center, Former President Bombardier International, Montreal, QC
- Griffiths, Dr. Ann.** Centre for Foreign Policy Studies, Halifax, NS
- Harcourt, Michael.** Former Premier of BC, Harcourt Enterprises Inc. Sustainability Solutions, Vancouver, B.C.
- Hardi, Peter.** International Institute for Sustainable Development, Senior Fellow, Measurement and Indicators
- Irvine-Halliday, Dr. David.** President, Light Up The World Foundation, Calgary, Alberta
- Johnson, Alison.** Acting Programme Manager, Debt Relief International, London, UK
- Labonte, Dr. Ronald.** Professor, Universities of Saskatchewan and Regina and Director, Saskatchewan Population Health and Evaluation Research Unit

Larose-Edwards, Paul. Executive Director, CANADEM, Ottawa, ON

Malone, David. International Peace Academy (President), New York, NY

McDonald, Dr. David. Director of Development Studies, Queen's University, Kingston, ON

Mead, Dr. Harvey. Chair - National Roundtable on the Environment and the Economy, Ottawa, ON

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Savoie, Donald J. Executive Director, Canadian Institute for Research on Regional Development (CIRRD), Riesman Fellow, Treasury Board of Canada

Shuttleworth, Jaye. Director, Foreign Affairs and International Trade

Environmental Policies and Sustainable Development Strategies Division. Ottawa, ON

Stanners, Michele. Director Western and Northern Regional Office, Canadian Unity Council, Calgary, Alberta

Taylor, Amy. Director of Ecological Fiscal Reform Programme, Pembina Institute

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From the Executive Summary:

Canada25 asserts that Canada's identity as a Middle Power is outdated and uninspiring to a growing number of Canadians. The concept fails to reflect how Canadians have evolved, while the global hierarchy upon which it is premised has eroded. To be effective on the international stage Canada needs an identity that speaks to these important changes.

We submit that Canada should cease assessing its influence on the basis of its size or position within an obsolete global hierarchy. Instead, Canada25 calls on Canadians to look at the world as a network, where influence is based on the capacity of an individual, company, non-governmental organisation or country to innovate and collaborate. Building on this perspective, we propose that Canada become a Model Power—a country whose influence is linked to its ability to innovate, experiment, and partner; a country that, by presenting itself as a model, invites the world to assess, challenge, borrow from, and contribute to, its efforts.

Advance Praise for *From Middle to Model Power: Recharging Canada's Role in the World*

"Canada25 jumps into the current debate about Canada's decline on the world stage with a refreshing and innovative plan of action to transform our country from a Middle Power to a Model Power. Its critique of the philosophy that has driven our foreign policy is persuasive: the identity of a Middle Power offers both a 'false safety net' and an 'unnecessary ceiling', and prevents Canadians from thinking more ambitiously about their country. This is a must-read for all those concerned about Canada's global role in this new century."

Jennifer Welsh

Department of Politics and International Relations University of Oxford
Author of "At Home in the World: Canada's Global Vision for the 21st Century"
(HarperCollins Canada, 2004)

"It is wonderful to see young Canadians bursting into the foreign policy debate with a fresh policy approach. Canada 25 really is thinking new thoughts and I recommend their ideas to ministers, bureaucrats, columnists and policy specialists across the political spectrum."

Michael Ignatieff

Carr Professor of Human Rights Policy, Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University

"The Canada25 Report hits the right notes. Articulating the interdependent realities between the public, private, and non-profit or advocacy sectors, the report identifies specific strategies for resurrecting Canada's diminishing role in foreign affairs."

Ken Alexander

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