



FOREIGN POLICY NOTES
FROM THE GORDON GLOBAL FELLOWS

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FIELD DIPLOMATS



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INTRODUCTION

Historically, Canada has played a pivotal role on the world stage promoting peace, development, and human rights, gaining a reputation as a compassionate member of the international community. Canada and Canadians have led a number of critical international policy initiatives in the recent past resulting in concrete measures, such as the Ottawa Treaty to Ban Landmines, the “Responsibility to Protect” doctrine, the establishment of the International

their first taste of working, living, and learning in international contexts.

But after these opportunities, what supports do young Canadians intent on building international careers have? Few initiatives exist to transform the passion and on-the-ground knowledge earned while living and working internationally into policy development. How is Canada paving the way for the next generation of leaders like Louise

those accepted received financial support to pursue their project and were paired with an experienced mentor; the fellows gathered three times a year to develop their policy skills and partake in networking opportunities. Almost 300 applications were submitted for six fellowships in the inaugural year—clearly the program hit a nerve, and we continued to be impressed by the breadth and depth of the quality of applicants and their fellowship proposals over the subsequent years.

The Foundation was interested in young Canadians who had not already benefitted from other significant awards and fellowships, and who had demonstrated their willingness to get “dirt under their fingernails.” Their fellowships took them beyond libraries and into the field, beyond government buildings in capital cities and out to meet the people most affected by the policies they were investigating. They personified the ‘guerilla diplomacy’ advocated by former diplomat Daryl Copeland: Canadian representatives building vital international links outside the constraints of officialdom. As Jennifer Welsh put it in her 2004 book, *At Home in the World*, “foreign policy is not something others do ‘out there.’ It is the responsibility of all of us, as part of the global commons... In the twenty-first century, it is real intelligence... that will allow individuals, organizations, and countries to thrive. Developing *real* intelligence requires moving beyond the information collected at the government-to-government level and digging deeper to gather knowledge about

“THEY PERSONIFIED THE ‘GUERRILLA DIPLOMACY’ ADVOCATED BY FORMER DIPLOMAT DARYL COPELAND: CANADIAN REPRESENTATIVES BUILDING VITAL INTERNATIONAL LINKS OUTSIDE THE CONSTRAINTS OF OFFICIALDOM.”

Criminal Court and the Kimberley process, and the formation of the G20. From drafting the UN’s Universal Declaration of Human Rights to signing free trade agreements to welcoming immigrants from every continent, this country has a strong record of internationalism.

A 2008 poll conducted on behalf of Canada’s World found that a whopping 85% of young Canadians, aged 15-24, were interested in living in a foreign country for at least three months to learn about its culture, language and people. This is a significant finding: the question did not ask about taking a trip to the beach in the Caribbean or to see the Egyptian pyramids; it did not ask about working in a foreign country for monetary gain. This question was rooted in the precursors to effective diplomacy and a citizenry with a cosmopolitan outlook and ethic: the desire to understand different peoples and parts of the world for their own sake.

Whether through high school or faith-based youth groups, internships funded by the Canadian International Development Agency or Foreign Affairs, volunteer placements organized by Canadian non-governmental organizations, or visiting countries and regions their parents or grandparents were born in, many Canadians gained their first taste of the world outside Canada’s borders at a young age. For many, that taste has led to a lifelong commitment to work on global issues. From organizations like Canada World Youth, which has been providing opportunities for young Canadians to live overseas and in another part of Canada since the 1970s, to newer organizations like Engineers Without Borders, which provides long-term volunteer placements in rural Africa for young engineers, there are a number of high quality opportunities for young Canadians to have

Arbour, Roméo Dallaire, Stephen Lewis, and Flora Macdonald?

ABOUT THE GORDON GORDON GLOBAL FELLOWSHIPS

The Foundation’s Gordon Gordon Global Fellowship program was created in 2006 to help address this gap. Aimed at early-career professionals, aged 24-35, the fellowships provided an opportunity for a small group of Canadians to deepen their understanding of a specific global policy issue and develop creative solutions to help address it. Our long-term goal was to develop a cadre of Canadians with a deep understanding of global policy issues

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who will exercise leadership roles whether in non-governmental organizations or the private or public sectors. Applicants were asked to propose a year-long project that would place them in the heart of their chosen policy arena;

how other societies actually work.”

For example, 2007 fellow Surendrini Wijeyaratne conducted interviews in Afghanistan, the Democratic Republic of Congo, Northern Uganda and South Sudan to better

understand how the rights of women and girls are advanced through Canada's support to peacebuilding efforts in those countries. Jessie Thomson, a 2008 fellow, found that creating *Home Free*, a 20-minute documentary film on protracted refugee situations following three Burundian families, gained more traction with policymakers than any policy briefs she had previously prepared while working for the Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade and Citizenship and Immigration Canada. Gavin Gardiner, who worked with the Carcross/Tagish First Nation (CTFN) in

closure brought about by the economic downturn and subsequent refocusing of the Foundation's priorities into two long-standing program areas: water and the Arctic. Many of the values and goals of the Gordon Global Fellowship program live on in the Foundation's Jane Glassco Arctic Fellowships, which support Canada's northerners.

Field Diplomats builds on a series of roundtable discussions held in the fall of 2010, when fellows from all four years of the program came together in Ottawa for a final gathering. These discussions were organized based on both thematic and regional lenses that reflected

Pakistan, sub-Saharan Africa, Latin America and the Caribbean, the emerging powers, and the Arctic. These chapters, drafted in the winter of 2010-2011, take a broad view of the foreign policy challenges and opportunities Canada faces. While every effort has been made to ensure their accuracy at the time of publication, we believe the long-term views and perspectives in these pages will remain relevant beyond the immediacy of day-to-day policymaking. We have also included a series of short postcards from the field, which give the flavour of some of the fellows' work. In their final gathering, the fellows were asked to think broadly about three questions: foreign policy successes and failures, foreign policy issues that have slipped under the radar, and future foreign policy priorities. That discussion is presented in the conclusion.

Biographical information for all the fellows can be found at the end of this, and the outputs from their fellowship work, including executive summaries, policy research papers, and more can be found on our website at www.gordonfoundation.org.

To be sure, there is great diversity of perspective and experience amongst the fellows, and what follows in these pages is not intended to be a definitive canon on the way forward. Rather, we hope that the ideas presented here may spark discussion and debate on Canada's foreign policy priorities, and provide some fresh perspectives on the challenges and opportunities we face as Canadians in defining our role on the world stage.

“THE FELLOWS – WHO HAIL FROM ALL PARTS OF CANADA AND WHO HAVE LIVED AND WORKED IN EVERY CONTINENT – PROVIDE CONSIDERABLE INSIGHT INTO THE GLOBAL CHALLENGES WE FACE, FROM CLIMATE CHANGE TO PEACEBUILDING, FROM RESOURCE DEVELOPMENT TO HUMAN RIGHTS, AND FROM ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT TO EFFECTIVE GOVERNANCE.”

the Yukon, investigated the ways the Buganda kingdom in Uganda, the Saami in Norway and indigenous Bolivians are interweaving western and traditional models of governance, leading to mutual exchanges between CTFN and other leading thinkers in indigenous governance.

The fellows' travels gave them on-the-ground knowledge of how local and international policies shape lives, and gave them unique insights into some of the policy changes needed, along with the challenges of implementing policies. They spoke with officials and with everyday citizens and migrants, combining the best of literature reviews with the insights that can only be gained by speaking with people most affected by global challenges and the policies in place (or lack thereof) to address them.

**ABOUT FIELD DIPLOMATS:
FOREIGN POLICY NOTES
FROM THE GORDON
GLOBAL FELLOWS**

This publication, written by the fellows and edited by 2009 fellow Arno Kopecky, marks the end of the Gordon Global Fellowship program—a reluctant

the fellows' areas of interest. It is worth noting that in designing the fellowship program, we did not pick themes, but rather invited young Canadians to submit applications to us about the pressing global issues that most interested them. Of course, with 34 fellows over the course of the program, we cannot hope to faithfully cover all of the countries around the world and all of the pressing global issues we face, but the fellows—who hail from all parts of Canada and who have lived and worked in every continent—do provide considerable insight into the global challenges we face, from climate change to peacebuilding, from resource development to human rights, and from economic and social development to effective governance. Many pressing issues—from women's rights to Canada's relationship with the United States—are woven throughout the different chapters.

Field Diplomats consists of 11 short chapters on each of the following six themes: energy and sustainable development, human rights, mining and economic development, refugees, peacebuilding, and development; and on the following five regions: Afghanistan and

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This book and the richness of the discussions that informed it would not have been possible without the experienced chairs who guided those discussions and whose comments informed the ideas and recommendations in this publication:

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President and CEO, Walter and Duncan Gordon Foundation

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Vice-President, Walter and Duncan Gordon Foundation

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Executive Director, Canadian Centre for International Justice

As the publication of *Field Diplomats* marks the close of the Gordon Global Fellowships, we would like to acknowledge and thank many of the people who took a keen interest in the development of the program. In particular, the fellowship program was launched thanks to the vision of Patrick Johnston and Betty Plewes, who first conceived of it; Marjan Montazemi, who laid the foundation of a solid program;

and the Foundation's Board, who took a risk in developing a new area of programming—one that continued with the Foundation's Jane Glasco Arctic Fellowship program launched in 2010.

We are grateful to the many volunteers who had a significant impact on shaping the program. These included those who took on the difficult but rewarding job of selecting fellowship applicants each year: Mary Coyle, Andres Dussan, Don Hubert, Doug Kerr, Desiree McGraw, Betty Plewes, Nidhi Tandon, Ginger Gosnell-Myers, and Yuen Pau Woo, along with fellows Farouk Shamas Jiwa, Michael Wodzicki and Jessie Thomson. The exceptional mentors who advised the fellows, opening doors to contacts and other opportunities, were a key component of the program: Michael Adams, Howard Adelman, Erin Baines, Nathalie Barton, Avril Benoît, Kamran Bokhari, Ratana Chuenpagdee, Catherine Coumans, Roméo Dallaire, Julia Dicum, Gabriel Eckstein, Stewart Elgie, Alan Fowler, Nora Groce, Erik Haites, Andrew Ignatieff, Stephanie Irlbacher-Fox, Yudhishthir Raj Isar, Prabhat Jha, Joanna Kerr, Comfort Lamptey, Carlos Marentes, Margaret (Peggy) Mason, Bert Metz, Alden Meyer, John Packer, Benjamin Perrin, Evon Peter, David Porteous, Marilyn Powell, Emmanuel Raufflet, Joseph Rikhoff, Ian Smillie, Jayne Stoyles, Jamie Watt, Jennifer Welsh, and Winstone Zulu.

The fellowship meetings were enriched by presentations by many of our mentors, along with other invited guests, including: David Angell, Alexandra Bugailiskis, Mel Cappe, Carlo Dade, Claire Dansereau, Pearl Eliadis, Graham Flack, Elissa Golberg, Chantal Hébert, Sheherazade Hirji, Christine Hogan, Alison Loat, Norm MacDonnell, Michael MacMillan, Elizabeth May, Rohinton Medhora, James Milner, Sean Moore, Esperanza Moreno, Alex Neve, Chi Nguyen, Ben Peterson, David Runnalls, Paul Samson, Hugh Segal, Glenda Simms, Jeffrey Simpson, Stephen Staples, Janice Gross Stein, Shauna Sylvester, Stephen Wallace, and Ingrid Walter.

Special thanks are due to Michael Small, Don Hubert, Sean Moore and Sheherazade Hirji for their ongoing commitment to the fellowship program and their imprint on the program.

Michael personally championed the program at Foreign Affairs and ensured that many fellows met with embassy officials in their research abroad; Don Hubert and Sean Moore developed public policy training modules that enriched the fellows' experiences; and Sheherazade developed the evaluation framework that informed the ongoing refinement of the program during each of the four cohorts. There were also a number of staff and volunteers who worked hard to ensure that the program ran smoothly—Kalon Abdi, Dorinne Ah-Kam, Sharon Anderson, Tom Axworthy, Wanda Goodwin, Alison Moeller, Camille Prashad, and James Stauch.

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With warmest thanks,



Natasha Sawh

Program Manager, Global Citizenship



I had gone to Ghana to see how mangrove forests could be restored as barrier ecosystems to prevent disasters due to climate change. What I learned was how important those forests are for many more reasons, emphasizing the need for their conservation and restoration.

SHELTER FROM THE STORM BY ANURADHA RAO

The channel narrowed and I felt like Alice, as if I had drunk a potion that shrank me to the size of a mouse. Soon we were among roots that kissed the sides of the canoe and rose from the water like stilts, supporting the solid trunks of a mangrove forest that towered over us. These were the trees whose wood I had previously seen stacked in heap after heap at the market, waiting to be purchased for firewood, building materials and to smoke fish. Here, the living trees held deeper secrets. A crab scurried away over the mud, and hid among the labyrinth of roots. When we emerged into the open, an elderly couple was standing waist-deep in the water, holding baskets. The old man held his hand out for me to see the shellfish they were gathering. The more I asked, the more I found out how intricately linked the mangroves are to people's lives. From fisheries to paint, these plants serve many fundamental purposes. I had gone to Ghana to see how mangrove forests could be

restored as barrier ecosystems to prevent disasters due to climate change. What I learned was how important those forests are for many more reasons, emphasizing the need for their conservation and restoration.

I also learned about the power of local efforts. The ability of local communities and community leaders to make huge differences cannot be overstated. With institutional support, a lot of dedication and a deep understanding of local community dynamics and priorities, even small villages can succeed in restoring barren areas into the lush coastal forests they once were, which provide communities with basic necessities as well as advanced goods and services. After some villages restored water flow and mangrove vegetation, they noticed that several animals that had disappeared from their area returned, replenishing the people's food sources and increasing local biodiversity.

Mangrove forests are but one type of coastal environment that provides

innumerable services for humans and the broader ecological community. In my research in Newfoundland, I learned about the ecological importance of seagrass as habitat for juvenile fish, including Atlantic cod, which was once the province's economic driver, and whose decline contributed to its economic collapse. Other examples are coral reefs, sand dunes and salt marshes. But most people, including policy makers, are not aware of their importance even as their protective role against the effects of climate change becomes apparent. Coastal communities worldwide face the impacts of an increase in the frequency of extreme weather events, yet development on coastlines and degradation of coastal and marine ecosystems continues.

Canada has the longest coastline in the world. We should be a leader in coastal and marine sustainability. We can no longer ignore our dependence on a healthy coast and ocean, both at home and abroad.

Rising sea levels, and the impact on low-lying countries, such as the Maldives, that risk being completely submerged as a result, is one of the most iconic markers of climate change. Anuradha's fellowship work, conducted in Newfoundland and Ghana, examined the potential of conserving coastal ecosystem integrity (by restoring the natural coastal barriers—coral reefs, mangrove forests and seagrass—that break waves, block wind, and absorb rising sea levels) for mitigating climate change impacts.

trawling, and it is largely thanks to us that the practice continues today. Canadian officials argued at the time that they preferred supporting regional authorities to a blanket ban. To take a more recent example, Canada was equally instrumental in preventing a 2010 attempt by the UN to impose a global ban on the export of bluefin tuna, perhaps the most emblematic of large ocean fish and one that is hurtling towards extinction.

Forest conservation is another key component of preserving biodiversity, though it could just as easily fall under the heading of climate change. Every year in Canada, 50,000 hectares of forest are logged; the environmental effects range from releasing carbon into the atmosphere that was formerly locked up in the soil and timber to ruining watersheds and to the disappearance of crucial habitat for endangered species. Nor is this a domestic issue alone. International demand drives most of our logging industry, yet provincial governments have made few moves to subsidize the kinds of value-added technology that would create jobs in the forestry sector at the same time as reducing the Annual Allowable Cut.

One promising initiative in international forestry sector is the UNFCCC proposal for Reducing Emissions from Deforestation and Degradation of forests in developing countries, known as REDD+. After several years of negotiations, REDD+ is nearing adoption as a formal UN mechanism that would raise and channel funds towards conservation and reforestation. This represents a huge international step towards encouraging biodiversity and combating climate change. Canada has thus far supported the initiative—including a commitment of \$40 million to a major REDD+ program, the World Bank's Forest Carbon Partnership Facility—and should continue to see it through.

FRESHWATER

Of all the world's environmental problems, the freshwater crisis is both the most urgent and solvable. More than one billion people lack access to clean drinking water, while 2.6 billion more have no access to proper sanitation. Water-borne diseases kill more children around the world each year than HIV/AIDS, malaria and war combined.

Yet less than 10 per cent of ODA currently goes to water and sanitation. The issue does get a nod under the new federal plan to prioritize maternal, newborn and child health, but it is seen as one among several factors rather

than the key determinant it is. Nothing in the developing world raises maternal, newborn and child mortality rates like dirty water. Turning this around is, in many cases, a relatively simple matter of digging wells, building rain-storage tanks or installing basic filtration systems.

Of course, the world's freshwater crisis is one of quantity as well as quality. Some 80 per cent of the world's river systems are imperilled, and we are draining our aquifers at a rate far higher than nature can refill them. The obvious problems presented by such a rapidly dwindling precious resource are further compounded by the fact that most of the world's water is shared: some 60 per cent of global water basins pass through two or more countries.

This means international co-operation is once again essential. Canada has a great deal of experience in this field that we could parlay into leadership on the world stage. In 1909, we signed a treaty with the United States that led to the

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creation of the International Joint Commission (IJC), a binational institution that has overseen water disputes along the 8,850-kilometre border between our two countries. The IJC was long seen as a model of international co-operation over shared waters; in recent years, however, both governments have begun to reduce financial and political support for the institution, leading to tensions over water management. Canada should do its part to ensure that the IJC has all the support it needs. Going beyond our own borders, this would put us in a better position to help other regions create similar institutions and guide their conflicts toward peaceful resolution.

Taking on water cleanliness and water-related conflict is a win-win situation for Canada. It would help us achieve our development goals at the same time as contributing to global security, to say nothing of the lives that could be saved.

CONCLUSION

It is worth noting that most western citizens and policy-makers are physically removed from the ecosystems we depend on. For most of us in the global North, water comes out of a tap, food from

the store and environmental nightmares stay on the television screen. For this reason, we ought to work harder to bring the voices of indigenous peoples into environmental policy discussions.

The traditional knowledge of many First Nations and other indigenous peoples puts into practice the accumulated learnings of physical dependence on the local environment.

Such world views operate on a profoundly empirical recognition that life on earth is interconnected with the environment and that land and water have intrinsic value and should therefore be respected and sustained.

While policy-makers may not yet be prepared to assign such values to our waters and lands, a more pragmatic approach already underway has been to assign dollar values to ecosystems based on their direct and indirect effects on human well-being. This represents a dynamic compromise between “indigenous” and “western” values. One large-scale example can

be found in Ecuador, one of the most biodiverse countries in the world and home to numerous indigenous populations whose Amazon territory happens to shelter an estimated 1 billion barrels of crude oil. Ecuador's government and the UN have set up a legally binding trust fund in order to prevent exploitation of this oil-rich rainforest. The international community is being asked to contribute \$3.6 billion in exchange for a guarantee that the land will not be exploited. Monetizing the environment for its own protection has the advantage that it requires no restructuring of mainstream economic thinking, but simply a widening of those models to include environmental variables. It also translates the complex notion of ecosystem services into a value-language that everyone understands: cash.

It would be simplistic to expect any one group or culture to have all the answers. But it is no less naive to ignore, as we have been doing, the voices of those who have been observing and adapting to the planet's ecosystems for as long as indigenous peoples have.



Carlos is one of Colombia's 5 million internally displaced peoples, 200,000 of whom live in Medellín. He's been helping to organize this beleaguered population since paramilitaries forced his family off their farm in the mid-nineties; like most of Colombia's IDPs, Carlos wound up moving to the violent slums that surround city, and it was here, in Comuna 13, that I first met him. He walked me through the hillside barrio and introduced me to family after family, coming at last to his in-laws' house. Just a week earlier, he said, his wife's grandmother had died of a heart attack when the home was engulfed in a gunfight.

TROUBLE WITH TRADE BY ARNO KOPECKY

"Around here, people are dying of fear."

The words came from Carlos Mario Muñoz, a 36-year-old community leader in Medellín, Colombia. Carlos is one of Colombia's 5 million internally displaced peoples (IDP), 200,000 of whom live in Medellín. He's been helping to organize this beleaguered population since paramilitaries forced his family off their farm in the mid-nineties; like most of Colombia's IDPs, Carlos wound up moving to the violent slums that surround city, and it was here, in Comuna 13, that I first met him. He walked me through the hillside barrio and introduced me to family after family, coming at last to his in-laws' house. Just a week earlier, he said, his wife's grandmother had died of a heart attack when the home was engulfed in a gunfight.

This was a different Medellín from the one Canadian parliamentarians visited in 2008, back when they were trying to decide whether to sign a free trade agreement with Colombia. "You can walk today in Medellín's downtown and it's full of people," Liberal MP Mario Silva reported back. "That wasn't the case ten years

ago." Indeed, Medellín has managed to push back the violence that once made it the most dangerous city on earth; in 1991 there were more than 6000 homicides, a figure that had dropped to less than a thousand in 2005. This reflects a national downturn in violence that finally convinced Canadian lawmakers to endorse the Colombian government to a free trade agreement (FTA) in June of 2010.

One troubling statistic keeps going up, however, and that's displacement. More than two million people have been forced from the countryside over the past eight years, a period that corresponds to former president Alvaro Uribe's policy of Democratic Security. This policy—which the new president, former Defense Minister Juan Manuel Santos, has promised to continue—relied on the country's paramilitary groups to pacify Colombia. Yet according to the testimony of internally displaced peoples, those same paramilitaries were responsible for more than a third of all forced displacements—far more than the guerrilla or narcotraffick-

ing groups who were once the greatest security threat in Colombia.

And if you place a map of the country's resources over a map of its displacement, a troubling relationship grows abundantly clear. An area the size of Costa Rica is now open to foreign investment—gold mines, oil deposits, African palm plantations and more. As a world leader in extractive industries, Canada is already Colombia's greatest foreign investor in the mining sector, a trend that is set to increase now that our corporations' rights have been enshrined by the new FTA.

In the meantime, people like Carlos Munos keep pushing their government to provide displaced populations with a new home and livelihood. So far, their demands have fallen on deaf ears. And as their numbers swell, Medellín's violence is once again starting to rise. Medellín's homicide rate has tripled since Mario Silva's optimistic visit. If he ever returns, perhaps Carlos will invite him to leave downtown and go for a stroll through the slums.

Colombia is one of five countries in Latin America and the Caribbean that have signed free trade agreements with Canada in the past five years. Peru, Chile, Costa Rica and Panama are the others, with negotiations recently concluded with Honduras and currently underway with the Caribbean community (CARICOM). The federal government has also begun talks and maintains its interest in pursuing agreements with the other three members of the Central America Four (El Salvador, Guatemala and Nicaragua), the Andean Community (Bolivia and Ecuador), as well as the Dominican Republic. Arno's fellowship focused on Canada's Americas Strategy, looking at indigenous rights and the free trade agreements Canada recently signed with Peru and Columbia.

HUMAN RIGHTS

A decade after the 9/11 attacks, the very notion of human rights has become one of that day's final victims. In its place, international security has arisen as the pre-eminent concern among policy-makers across much of the developed world. Both in Canada and on the world stage, security questions are increasingly likely to trump human rights considerations on a wide range of policy decisions, from border control, refugee determination and immigration policy to free trade and international development. At the same time, the definition of human rights has been whittled down to issues of life or death. Anything less pressing—illiteracy, for example, or sexual discrimination—is more likely than ever to be denied funding and political attention in favor of security.

But the fact that human rights are seen as distinct from, or even at odds with, international security is itself a grave misperception. Properly considered, human rights include economic, social and cultural rights, such as the right to own land, to have access to clean water, and to speak one's own language, all of which are essential components of peace and stability. Indeed, it is precisely when human rights are suppressed that security issues arise. To trample one in the name of the other is to create the very conditions that breed insurrection, terrorism and war.

Canada has an opportunity to demonstrate that human rights and security are anything but incompatible. Our policies should seek to expand the concept of human rights so that international alarm bells sound before life-or-death situations arise.

Unfortunately, the rhetoric of security that has gripped Canada continues to erode our involvement in the international rights system, while seemingly small changes in government language strip "human rights" to their barest elements. One telling example is the replacement in 2009 of the phrase "gender equality" with "equality between men and women" wherever it appeared in the Canadian International Development Agency's (CIDA) programs and initiatives. This may seem innocuous, but it effectively narrows the scope of CIDA's work on issues with broader sexuality implications, such as human rights abuses based on sexual orientation and gender identity. "Gender equality" is not limited to equality between men and women; it encompasses a broader range of gender identity issues and involves acknowledging the reality of gender diversity. It is with subtle word shifts like this that our

foreign policy slides toward a more socially conservative agenda—without, it is important to note, any prior public discourse or consultation.

CIDA is Canada's primary bilateral donor agency and perhaps our most explicitly human rights-oriented government agency. The 2008 federal Official Development Assistance Accountability Act brought some welcome clarity to CIDA's mandate, including a commitment that all aid be consistent with international human rights standards. This kind of approach—to respect and strengthen human rights as a means of advancing development goals—has gained currency not only in government policy, but also in the broadening mandates of long-standing non-governmental organizations (NGO), who are integrating traditionally siloed development and human rights approaches in their work. Yet, in the case of CIDA, there is little sense of what human rights mean to the organization and even less of how they fit into programmatic focus areas. This is at least partly due to the fact that CIDA is beholden to the government of the day, constantly reacting to ideological whims rather than adopting a longer-term view that could apply

“BUT THE FACT THAT HUMAN RIGHTS ARE SEEN AS DISTINCT FROM, OR EVEN AT ODDS WITH, INTERNATIONAL SECURITY IS ITSELF A GRAVE MISPERCEPTION.”

consistent pressure in the struggle for universal human rights. The Harper government's decision to make a priority of maternal, newborn and child health is but the latest example of a sudden and massive priority change, which, whatever its merits, has been thrust upon a bureaucracy that is no doubt far more fed up with such arrivals than the general public.

In diplomatic circles, the link between human rights and security hit home in October 2010 when Canada for the first time lost its bid for a seat on the UN Security Council. This came about largely because we were set to lose the vote of the African Union, a traditional ally whose support is waning as we pull development assistance out of the region. By reducing development assistance, we are taking our gaze off human rights; the fact that this has diminished rather than heightened our influence over global security vis-a-vis the Security Council seat should come as no surprise.

In the name of fiscal austerity, the federal government has closed many of its embassies, consulates and consular offices throughout Africa, while opening up new embassies in Latin America and Asia. The new embassies

are overwhelmingly placed in countries where Canada has significant economic investments. While there's nothing wrong with linking economic investments with human rights work (indeed, this can be an effective strategy), the fact that we have traded one set of embassies for another for what seem to be purely economic reasons may well have other repercussions than simply the denial of a Security Council seat.

Canada now has a diplomatic presence in a mere one-third of Africa's more than 50 countries. At the same time, we have made exorbitant expenditures on hosting the G8 and G20 summits (\$2 billion) and purchasing a new fleet of F-35 fighter jets (\$9 billion), with the Winter Olympics security budget coming in at a further \$1 billion. Of course, there will always be competing claims on a finite federal budget, but here we have \$12 billion going to security in the same year as we erase our diplomatic presence from seven countries on the most insecure continent on earth. If insecurity were understood as a symptom, and human rights abuse as one of its causes, perhaps the relative

pittance of maintaining a healthy diplomatic presence would be deemed worth spending. To fail to do so not only limits our impact on human rights, it severely damages Canada's ability to leverage its middle-power status and act as an international mediator.

Perhaps in part because of Canada's reputational crisis, the current political climate in Ottawa has grown increasingly hostile to NGOs whose advocacy on human rights comes into conflict with government policy (as witnessed by the revoking of funding to Kairos for its perceived support of the Palestinian cause, to name but one widely criticized example), or who openly critique that government policy. In light of this trend, civil society will have little choice but to seek new sources of funding and form new alliances in order to ensure that a progressive analysis of current events continues to reach the Canadian public. For better or worse, NGOs are now responsible for putting human rights on the same political footing as security and the economy. If the electorate perceived human rights abuses as a genuine threat to our safety and our wallets, the Canadian government would be more likely to balance its policies accordingly.



In the past, I have advocated for raising awareness amongst health care workers on disability rights. This was based on stories from women with disabilities mistreated by health care workers when seeking routine care.

But in Uganda the prejudicial statements and verbal abuse recounted to me by the women I spoke to was most often from other patients, rather than from health care workers. The primary barrier these women faced in trying to access health care services was not abuse from health care workers but rather impaired access to clinics.

REACHING THE DOCTOR BY MYROSLAVA TATARYN

When speaking to women with disabilities throughout Uganda about access to health care, their concerns differed from what I had expected to hear. Their concerns, though not surprising, suggest that in my policy and advocacy work to date, I may not have focused on the most pressing issues. In the past, I have advocated for raising awareness amongst health care workers on disability rights. This was based on stories from women with disabilities mistreated by health care workers when seeking routine care. I had often heard women with disabilities in various countries speaking about their experiences of being chastised by health care workers in antenatal clinics for getting pregnant in the first place, rather than receive the basic antenatal care they had come to receive.

But in Uganda the prejudicial statements and verbal abuse recounted to me by the women I spoke to was most often from other patients, rather than from health care workers. The primary barrier these women faced in trying to access health care services was not abuse from health care workers but rather impaired access to clinics. Distance, and a lack of access to viable means of transportation, discouraged most women from visiting health clinics, especially in rural areas. Poverty is also a commonly cited challenge, although as one woman in Bugiri District put it, “even if you have money you also need a guide to stop the vehicle, help you in, help you in the queue at the Health Centre...” For many women, even finding a vehicle/taxi is a challenge and in many of the communities I visited,

people are expected to walk 9 to 12 kilometers to reach a clinic. For many of the women I spoke to, finding family members or other villagers to assist them is a great challenge, especially when most hands are required for daily subsistence farming tasks.

Ultimately, it seems that once a woman sits in front of the health care workers in the clinic she is just as likely to be treated well, as not. The biggest challenge is managing to get to that seat in the first place.

This revelation highlights the need for health-policy makers to conceptualize “access to health care” in the broadest framework possible. Charting an accessible path to health care begins far beyond the front doors of the clinic.

The UN Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities, which came into force in 2008, included provisions that persons with disabilities have access to the “same range, quality and standard of free or affordable healthcare...including in the area of sexual and reproductive health”. Through her fellowship, Myroslava investigated the extent to which these provisions were implemented “on the ground” by interviewing women with disabilities in Canada and Uganda.

Another human rights related issue is climate change. Canada’s reputation in this arena has also spiralled downwards rapidly over the last decade. Meanwhile, the consequences of climate change are already beginning to be felt, particularly in the global South and in the Arctic. Natural disasters, rising sea levels and desertification are contributing to mass population movements, with major implications for human rights. Access to potable water and agriculturally viable land, adequate housing and health care will become more critical amid the rising tide of climate refugees that we can expect in the coming decades. Yet questions surrounding climate change have to date been framed in strictly environmental and economic terms—a full accounting of Alberta’s oil sands, for instance, would include the impact of their contribution to climate change and on human livelihoods around the world.

THE WAY FORWARD

One positive example of Canada-led action on human rights was the creation in 2006 of the UN’s Universal Periodic Review (UPR), a process spearheaded by Canadian and former UN High Commissioner for Human Rights, Louise Arbour. Under the UPR, each of the UN’s 192 member states must undergo a review of its human rights records every four years. This is a crucial international review mechanism and the only one of its kind. In repeating the UPR every four years, countries’ progress on human rights is revisited and documented for the entire world to see.

Out of the review’s 68 recommendations for Canada in 2009, our government rejected 14 and

“BY INTEGRATING HUMAN RIGHTS INTO OUR DEVELOPMENT, DEFENCE, AND FOREIGN POLICY GOALS, AND BY FOSTERING HUMAN RIGHTS AWARENESS IN OUR NGOS AND CORPORATIONS WORKING OVERSEAS, CANADA WOULD BE INVESTING IN A SAFER, MORE PROSPEROUS WORLD.”

only partially accepted another 15. Among the rejected recommendations was #17: Develop a national strategy to eliminate poverty, to which our government responded by insisting that poverty reduction falls under provincial jurisdiction. It is true that four provinces already



have poverty reduction strategies, but even they say they need federal support in order for those strategies to succeed. Meanwhile, despite a marginal reduction in national poverty since the mid-1990s (a period of unprecedented economic growth, the recent recession notwithstanding), we are no better off today than we were 30 years ago. Indeed, Canada’s child poverty rates are virtually unchanged from 1989, when the federal government pledged to eliminate the problem altogether.

Still, there have been successes that deserve to be mentioned and built upon. Poverty among seniors has dropped significantly over the past 20 years, suggesting that much can be accomplished when the political will exists. And, the government did accept 39 of the

UPR’s suggestions, such as ensuring the right to adequate housing for vulnerable groups and continuing “to address socio-economic disparities and inequalities that persist across the country.” We should be moving on each of these suggestions for two very good reasons: above all to get our own house in order, but in doing so we stand to win back some credibility on the world stage. The next UPR, due in 2013, will be a critical test of Canada’s human rights leadership.

On the international stage, much work remains in advancing basic human rights. Those who face significant discrimination in the developing world, such as migrants, indigenous communities, sexual minorities, women and people with disabilities, are all in need of support. By integrating human rights into our development, defence, and foreign policy goals, and by fostering human rights awareness in our NGOs and corporations working overseas, Canada would be investing in a safer, more prosperous world.

MINING & ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

Resource extraction companies have been and will continue to be at the heart of debates over our growing, global desire for energy and minerals on the one hand, and the havoc that extraction wreaks on our environment and on the communities in which these companies operate, despite the potential for development. With 60 per cent of the world's mining companies registered here, Canada has a huge opportunity to play a leadership role in regulating the impact of the industry on the (often indigenous) communities whose lands are appropriated for speculation. In 2009, the Toronto Star reported that “allegations of human rights abuses come from at least 30 of the world's poorest countries and have named [Canadian mining] companies of all sizes, from giant corporations to junior mining companies.”¹

Unfortunately, the Canadian government continues to resist international or domestic regulation and oversight of its corporations; instead, our government actively represents and defends these companies through our embassies, while many of the free trade agreements Canada is pursuing (particularly in Latin America) have as their principal purpose the protection of mining investments.

Any discussion of mining must first take into account the massive sums of money the industry generates. Together with oil and gas extraction, mining pours nearly \$60 billion into the Canadian economy each year, accounting for 3.5 per cent of our GDP and employing an estimated 350,000 Canadians. In many developing countries, mining is the single greatest source of foreign direct investment. There is a strong argument to be made for the potential of mining profits to be reinvested in social spending, infrastructure, and other routes to alleviate poverty. However, imposing strict regulations over the industry's behaviour is necessary to accrue these benefits. Yet at the same time, in the global market, domestic regulation alone runs the risk of encouraging companies to relocate their businesses elsewhere with less oversight—a bad outcome both for the communities in which these companies conduct exploration, and for the Canadian economy.

In October 2010, Canada's Parliament defeated Bill C-300, *An Act Respecting Corporate Accountability for the Activities of Mining, Oil or Gas Corporations in Developing Countries*. This private member's bill aimed to provide a complaints mechanism for communities abroad affected by Canadian mining companies and impose sanctions on those that violate certain human

rights standards. The Canadian mining industry's largest players launched a successful campaign against the proposed legislation, arguing that the Bill would reduce Canada's competitiveness. Bill C-300, a focal point in the campaign to reign in Canadian mining companies by social justice groups, was narrowly defeated by six votes in its third reading. Any hopes of our government regulating our mining companies overseas remained with Bill C-354, the *International Protection and Promotion of Human Rights Act*. This Bill would have allowed people who have been harmed by Canadian companies in other countries to seek redress in a Canadian court. Unfortunately, the May 2011 election curtailed any hopes of this Bill being debated, let alone passed.

Meanwhile, according to the World Bank Group's Extractive Industry Review, more than 10 million people are forcefully displaced each year for development projects. Yet publicly funded export credit agencies, like Export Development Canada, provide financing and insurance for similar mega-development projects operating in

“EVEN IN DEVELOPED COUNTRIES LIKE CANADA AND THE UNITED STATES, MINING RIGHTS SUPERCEDE PROPERTY RIGHTS—A PROVINCE OR STATE CAN TAKE LAND AWAY FROM AN OWNER FOR MINERAL DEVELOPMENT.”

conflict areas or risky environments. And many international financial institutions to which Canada subscribes, most importantly the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund, have pressured governments in developing nations to rewrite their mining laws to encourage more foreign investment. For example, such countries are pushed to lower royalties, to abandon public control over mineral wealth in favour of privatizing the sector, and to grant foreign companies title over untitled state lands or collectively-owned lands, in particular with regard to indigenous claims. Together, these policies have enabled private companies to gain enormous access to land and rich mineral resources with very few corresponding obligations to local populations. Even in developed countries like Canada and the United States, mining rights supercede property rights—a province or state can take land away from an owner for mineral development. And in too many countries in the global south, people are regularly incarcerated, beaten and even killed for protesting expropriations deemed by the authorities to be in the national interest.

As the resource curse theory suggests, despite—or perhaps, because of—the profits they generate, the expansion of natural resource extraction has intensified social conflicts around the world. Peru, for example, has identified over 50 ongoing conflicts linked to the mining industry alone. These are characterized by strikes and highway blockades that too often lead to violence and death. In many instances, the mines in question are Canadian-owned. This is true throughout the region, and it is thanks primarily to our mining companies that Canada is Latin America's third greatest source of foreign direct investment. But to the extent that they generate conflict, the financial boon our companies provide is constantly overshadowed by the threat of civil upheaval. Widespread civil unrest against foreign exploitation of national resources is now spreading throughout Latin America, in particular, but also in other parts of the world.

A closer look at the supposed profits flowing into public coffers as a result of mining goes a long way to explaining this unrest. Backed by a Canadian government that has aggressively acted

in their interests, Canadian mining companies operate in countries with some of the lowest royalty rates in the world. For example, Canadian companies pay one per cent in gold royalties to the Government of Guatemala. In comparison, Newfoundland and Labrador charges 53 per cent in royalties with 21 per cent for the federal government and 32 per cent for the province. If developing countries are to truly benefit from the minerals beneath their soil and the foreign investment needed to extract them, they ought to apply similar royalty regimes. Host governments could also consider state ownership over the mining sector.

Another mechanism for ensuring communities benefit from exploration on their lands are impact and benefit agreements (also called access agreements): such agreements between resource extraction firms and communities stipulate specific benefits that will flow to the community, for example in terms of employment, investments in infrastructure, education, and environmental protection. Nunavut, for example, requires such agreements before licenses are granted for exploration.

¹ Poplewell, B. (2009). Canadian mining firms face abuse allegations. *The Toronto Star*. Nov. 22, 2009.

Sadly, many developing regions of the world, having shed their colonial past, now find themselves re-colonized by mining companies. Host countries that lack the money and expertise to exploit a resource themselves hand the land over to multinationals for paltry royalties, often at the expense of the indigenous and local populations who live on the staked lands. The role of host country governments has been to encourage mining capital through mining-friendly legislation, weakening environmental, labour and health standards and privatizing natural resources in the name of foreign direct investment. Because local populations frequently protest when they are left out of the benefits, violence is all too often exercised on behalf of mining interests by state police, military and paramilitary networks, and private security guards.

As ever, it is women who are usually the most affected. Some of the documented impacts of mining on women include: restricted access to sources of livelihood; increased workload (for example as a result of men moving from sharing household tasks to faraway mining-related employment); increased dependency on men; marginalized labour; and prostitution, with its accompanying increase in sexually transmitted diseases. Sexual harassment and gender discrimination at the worksites of mining

ethics. Under CSR, mining and other resource companies commit themselves to upholding the best labour, environmental and human rights practices, in many cases building hospitals, roads, schools, along with other infrastructure and social investments in local communities for as long as the mine is in operation. But with the death of Bills C-300 and C-354, mining companies are guaranteed full discretion over how thoroughly to apply their CSR codes. In the event that profits decline, they can do away with CSR altogether with no legal repercussions. As all too many catastrophes have recently demonstrated—from the global recession to the Gulf of Mexico oil spill—voluntary measures and self-regulation are no substitutes for government oversight. No matter how much money is saved in the name of efficiency and competitiveness, in the long term the costs of deregulation outweigh the benefits.

WHAT SHOULD BE CANADA'S FOREIGN POLICY RESPONSE TO CANADIAN MINING COMPANIES OPERATING ABROAD?

The Harper government has taken two key steps that lay the groundwork for ensuring that Canada's mining companies have a more positive impact on the communities in which they operate. The first is a shift in focus towards the

“THE HARPER GOVERNMENT HAS TAKEN TWO KEY STEPS THAT LAY THE GROUNDWORK FOR ENSURING THAT CANADA’S MINING COMPANIES HAVE A MORE POSITIVE IMPACT ON THE COMMUNITIES IN WHICH THEY OPERATE: SHIFTING OUR FOCUS TO THE AMERICAS, WHERE HALF OF CANADA’S MINING INVESTMENTS RESIDE, AND SIGNING THE UN’S DECLARATION ON THE RIGHTS OF INDIGENOUS PEOPLES.”

operations is widespread, if not the norm.

The Canadian government and industry alike have responded to these criticisms by developing a Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR) code of

Americas—while this shift may well be lamentable for our impact in Africa, it represents a significant opportunity for Canada to focus on the impact of the mining sector on development (half of

Canada's international mining investments are in Latin America and the Caribbean). The second is Canada's recent signing of the UN's Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples, which (among other terms) requires free and informed consent prior to development projects affecting indigenous lands and territories.

Canada should pass legislation, whether along the lines of Bill C-354 or something like it, that will put legal teeth into voluntary CSR codes. At the same time, our government should consider working with mining companies and civil society organizations to develop a parallel strategy for the creation of international norms and regulations to standardize practices in the industry and mitigate the risk of capital flight. On this front, there are some promising initiatives that could be scaled up: Peru's *Grupo de diálogo minería y desarrollo sostenible*, for example, brings together governments, mining companies, community representatives and civil society organizations to promote dialogue and action on CSR and sustainable development. As well, our government should pressure volatile developing countries to cease the use of state security apparatus to suppress civil society groups and inflict violence on individuals critical of mining projects. Anti-terrorist laws and policies that attempt to criminalize people protesting mining should likewise be repealed. Legal and social programs, including sexual and reproductive health strategies that give women and girls greater protection from violence and sexual harassment, ought also to be implemented.

Finally and perhaps most importantly, the Canadian government needs to respect indigenous rights to free, prior and informed consent for mining projects, and the right of communities to reject exploration and mining in their community and traditional territory. In this regard, Canada should ratify International Labour Organization Convention No. 169 supporting broad rights for indigenous peoples.



Plusieurs pays dans le monde, riches en minéraux, vivent un nouveau boom minier qui coïncide avec une hausse sans précédents des besoins en métaux des économies émergentes d'Asie. Les enjeux de cette nouvelle expansion de l'industrie minière soulèvent inévitablement des questionnements concernant la répartition des richesses, le développement local durable du territoire et la relation avec les populations autochtones. Et surtout, le boom minier permet de constater que les problèmes sociaux et environnementaux qui découlent de l'industrie minière sont des problèmes globaux, subis par des populations aux quatre coins du monde.

LES DROITS AUTOCHTONES NE SONT PAS UN OBSTACLE AU DÉVELOPPEMENT ÉCONOMIQUE **PAR ÉMILIE LEMIEUX**

Plusieurs pays dans le monde, riches en minéraux, vivent un nouveau boom minier qui coïncide avec une hausse sans précédents des besoins en métaux des économies émergentes d'Asie. Les enjeux de cette nouvelle expansion de l'industrie minière soulèvent inévitablement des questionnements concernant la répartition des richesses, le développement local durable du territoire et la relation avec les populations autochtones. Et surtout, le boom minier permet de constater que les problèmes sociaux et environnementaux qui découlent de l'industrie minière sont des problèmes globaux, subis par des populations aux quatre coins du monde.

Les citoyens expriment de plus en plus leur opinion sur l'exploitation des ressources naturelles et énergétiques, et les gouvernements doivent trouver les moyens de les associer à la prise

de décision. Ainsi, la population n'a pas seulement le droit d'être informée, mais qu'elle a aussi le droit d'émettre son opinion pour permettre d'influencer la réalisation des projets miniers. De cette façon, la participation citoyenne ne peut se limiter à approuver ce qui est déjà décidé ; elle doit aussi servir à négocier les bénéfices mutuels qui seront obtenus grâce à l'activité minière. Ceci est particulièrement vrai pour les populations autochtones, trop souvent écartées quand il est question de tirer profit du potentiel économique du territoire.

Les droits autochtones ne sont pas un obstacle au développement économique, et les communautés sont souvent dépeintes à tort comme étant opposées aux projets d'exploration et d'exploitation de ressources naturelles. Au Québec, Raphaël Picard, chef du Conseil des Innus de

Pessamit sur la Côte-Nord, mentionnait récemment que « les communautés autochtones sont prêtes à contribuer au développement du territoire lorsqu'il se fait de façon respectueuse de l'environnement et des droits ancestraux des populations ».

Même son de cloche au Pérou, où les populations autochtones revendiquent leur droit à être consulté avant l'implantation de projets miniers sur leurs territoires ancestraux. En Amazonie, les populations indigènes se préoccupent du fragile équilibre des écosystèmes alors que des entreprises minières y réalisent des activités d'exploration sans leur consentement.

Que ce soit au Québec ou au Pérou, les promoteurs miniers devraient donner une importance capitale au consentement des communautés autochtones et à leur implication dans le développement de leur territoire.

L'accord de libre-échange Canada-Pérou, entré en vigueur en août 2009, s'agit d'un de cinq tels accords qui ont été signé avec des pays latino-américains et des Caraïbes dans les dernières années. On estime qu'il y a une centaine d'entreprises canadiennes dans le secteur minière qui sont actives au Pérou, tandis que la récente Projet de loi C-300, qui visait à encadrer les actions de tels entreprises minières canadiennes à l'étranger, a récemment été annulé. À travers son fellowship, Émilie a entamé les questions de l'efficacité de la responsabilité sociale des entreprises dans le contexte des accords de libre-échange bilatéraux, utilisant le Pérou comme étude de cas.

REFUGEES

The year 2011 marked the 60th anniversary of the Geneva Refugee Convention. This document continues to inform the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), non-governmental organizations and governments alike in their efforts to protect the 10 million refugees in the world today. Yet the dynamics of forced displacement have shifted dramatically in the past six decades. Implementing refugee rights today calls for a global approach in which Canada, historically an important player with regard to refugee resettlement, could once again play a significant role.

Like many institutions of global governance created after the upheaval of the Second World War, the drafters of the Refugee Convention made certain assumptions about the identity of the people it was designed to protect. In the early years of the Cold War, states in the West accepted as refugees those fleeing the communist regimes of the Eastern bloc. But as refugee flows changed direction—no longer east to west, but rather south to north—the notion of the “refugee” gradually began to change. As a result, many nations now question the legitimacy of asylum seekers, perceiving such individuals as queue jumpers or economic migrants rather than as genuine refugees.

Unfortunately, Canada is no exception. Faced with a severe backlog of refugee claims and a spike in asylum seekers from Mexico, the Czech Republic and Hungary—all deemed “safe countries” by our Immigration Ministry—the government in June 2010 passed Bill C-11. Although the Bill should provide a faster and fairer process, the government sought to limit appeals from refugees from countries deemed “safe”, relying on rhetoric of “bogus claimants” and Canada being inundated by a “flood of refugees.” The discovery of 492 Sri Lankan Tamils aboard a cargo vessel off Canada’s Pacific coast in the summer of 2010 reignited the debate. The government emphasized the human smuggling side of the story and played up possible security risks. The fact that the group represented a tiny fraction of the total number of refugee claimants Canada receives each year, and that many could be eligible for refugee status given appalling human rights violations in Sri Lanka, was largely overlooked.

Most of the world’s refugees, however, are not to be found in North America or Europe, but in the global South. This is where the Refugee Convention’s founding notion of burden-sharing remains most relevant: host states who receive

the most refugees as a result of geography ought to be assisted by wealthier states through resettlement programs and financial support. With such support lacking, however, millions of people now find themselves living in protracted refugee situations. These refugees have been displaced for over five years and have little or no prospects for integration into their host state, nor of a safe return to their home country, nor even for resettlement in a third country. It should therefore come as no surprise that

“MILLIONS OF PEOPLE NOW FIND THEMSELVES LIVING IN PROTRACTED REFUGEE SITUATIONS: DISPLACED FOR OVER FIVE YEARS, THEY HAVE LITTLE OR NO PROSPECTS FOR INTEGRATION INTO THEIR HOST STATE, NOR OF A SAFE RETURN TO THEIR HOME COUNTRY, NOR EVEN FOR RESETTLEMENT IN A THIRD COUNTRY.”

countries from the global South now dominate the UNHCR executive committee, which in December 2009 passed a “conclusion” stressing the need to address protracted refugee situations. Canada actively promoted that decision.

Meanwhile, host states increasingly perceive refugees as a security risk, in terms of the threat they pose to the native population through terrorism, disease, and illegal activities, not to mention potential damage to bilateral relations between host and sending states. While some refugee communities, such as the Palestinians, have rapidly become an organized political force, others have not. In cases where the communities are politicized and armed, refugees can quickly affect the geopolitics of a region. In one well-known example, camps set up in eastern Zaire (now Congo) after the 1994 Rwandan genocide ended up being controlled by the perpetrators of that atrocity, prompting a cycle of conflict and violence in the eastern Congo that continues to this day.

The UNHCR has limited capacity to analyze these growing complexities. From small beginnings in 1951, the agency has become an institution that provides humanitarian relief to displaced populations all across the world, with an annual budget of over US\$3 billion. But this growth has focused on providing services and support to the vulnerable, without any parallel enhancement of research capacity. A highly donor-dependent organization, the UNHCR has little time, money or staff to devote to understanding the populations it serves—who

range from “states in exile,” like Palestine, to those fleeing generalized violence in unstable countries, such as the Afghan population in Pakistan and Iran.

As well, the UNHCR faces considerable challenges in ensuring states uphold the principles of the Refugee Convention. Different regions have responded to refugee flows in different ways, and this fragmented approach has hindered efforts to implement refugee rights. Many African and Latin American

states, for instance, have adopted additional legislation on refugees that actually widened the 1951 definition to include those fleeing war or other violence. On the other hand, many countries in Asia—notably Pakistan and Thailand, each host to hundreds of thousands of refugees—refuse to sign the convention. Nor have regional institutions in Asia sought to create alternative guidelines and frameworks. In other words, there simply is no globally coherent refugee regime despite the UNHCR’s best efforts. Instead, tremendous variations in implementation and adherence to the convention across regions means that refugees continue to live in precarious situations, utterly dependent on the response of local communities and governments.

A ROLE FOR CANADA

Canadian foreign policy has often been underpinned by a notion of being an honest broker that promotes the values of a liberal, democratic and multicultural society. These values are reflected in Canada’s willingness to grant refugees a permanent home through resettlement, an option for those who are unable to return to their homes or to stay in the country to which they have fled. During the 1990s, Canada promoted the human security agenda, which sought to refocus international attention on the security of individuals and their communities rather than the state. Endorsed by the United Nations Development Programme’s (UNDP) 1994



sitting under a tree in Katumba Refugee settlement in Tanzania with Lepista, I was amazed by her determination to go home. Born outside of her homeland and hardly speaking her native language, she was clear: it was time to go home. Lepista explained simply that, "your home is your home and anywhere else you are a servant."

NO PLACE LIKE HOME BY JESSIE THOMPSON

It is hard for me to imagine what it would be like not to know the place that I come from, or to understand how it feels to be stuck waiting in exile without the same rights and freedoms as my neighbours. I was born in Kincardine, Ontario and grew up just 30 minutes from the house that my father, my grandmother and my great grandmother lived in for decades. I have since found myself in many wonderful corners of the world, but at the end of the day, there is no place like home.

Sitting under a tree in Katumba Refugee Settlement in Tanzania with Lepista, I was amazed by her determination to go home. Born outside of her homeland and hardly

speaking her native language, she was clear: it was time to go home. Lepista explained simply that, "your home is your home and anywhere else you are a servant." Days later, as I watched Lepista, her husband and their 10 children climb down from the UNHCR truck in Ramonge, Burundi, waving to family and embracing relatives that had returned home in the weeks and months before, I wondered how strange it must be for her to finally be 'home' in a place she had never seen before, in a village she never knew, and in a house that was never hers. Yet, the joy she felt was palpable. She was no longer an outsider. She was home.

This isn't to say that people cannot find and create homes in new places

and in places of refuge; however, it does emphasize for me the importance of bringing an end to protracted displacement and to the feeling of limbo that comes without a right to go home, without a legal status in your new country or without the space to restart your life.

Bearing witness to this incredible moment, I thought fondly of my own home, the stretch of sandy beach in front of the house I grew up in, the echo of bagpipes at the Saturday night parade and the smell of a roast turkey in the oven in my Mum's kitchen. Half way around the world I thought, Lepista is right—your home is indeed your home.

*An estimated 6 million of the world's 11.4 million refugees are living in a protracted refugee situation, displaced for an average of 17 years. Jessie's short documentary, **Home Free**, followed three Burundian families in Tanzania. Each family, including Lepista's, opted for one of three durable solutions to protracted refugee situations—Tanzanian citizenship, return to Burundi, and resettlement in a third country (Canada).*

Human Development report, human security has since emerged as a central component of development and security policy.

Refugees, as individuals who are unable to avail themselves of the protection of their state, are an excellent example of the relevance of the human security paradigm. If Canada wishes to promote a rights-based international system, then promoting durable and sustainable solutions for refugees should be central to our foreign policy.

There are four concrete ways in which Canada could become a leader on refugee issues. None would be expensive or difficult to implement. On the contrary, promoting refugee issues in innovative ways could be a low-cost and high-profile component of our foreign policy.

PRIORITIZING REFUGEES WITHIN GEOGRAPHIC AREAS OF FOCUS

In the countries and regions where Canada is most active, addressing refugee issues should have a high priority. Given Canada’s extensive involvement in Afghanistan since 2001, efforts to improve the situation of Afghan refugees in Iran and Pakistan would be a natural complement to our existing military engagement. The UNHCR has already recognized Afghan refugees as a population of focus for its own efforts on protracted refugee situations.

MAINSTREAMING REFUGEE ISSUES WITHIN EXISTING INSTITUTIONS

Refugees have often remained within a policy “silos,” meaning they have been dealt with in isolation from other complementary or interconnected problems. The UNHCR, for example, does not always co-ordinate as effectively as it could with its counterparts at the UNDP or the United Nations Children’s Fund (UNICEF). Canada could counter this trend by promoting refugee issues in various multilateral institutions, such as the UN Peacebuilding Commission.

ENCOURAGING EMERGING AND REGIONAL POWERS TO ENGAGE ON REFUGEE QUESTIONS

Debates around the membership of the UN Security Council and the replacement of the



G8 by the G20 underscore the flattening of the international arena. Canada should welcome this development by encouraging countries that are gaining prominence internationally—Brazil, Nigeria, South Africa, Indonesia -- to engage on refugee issues and thereby lessen the North-South divisions that currently plague exchanges among concerned states.

PROMOTING THE WORK OF CANADIAN CIVIL SOCIETY AND RESEARCHERS

Canada has researchers and practitioners with expertise on refugee issues that could be seconded from their home institutions, organizations or government departments to the UNHCR. Such placements would help the agency deepen its expertise and ensure improved analysis of the populations it serves and the

regions in which it operates.

A more progressive stance on refugees in our foreign policy should be matched with changes at the domestic level. There has been a discouraging trend in recent years for wealthy states such as Canada to attempt to contain refugees in host states, which are often impoverished and unstable themselves. This runs contrary to the spirit that underpins the Refugee Convention. It also makes it difficult for countries like Canada to criticize governments who resort to forced repatriation and other methods to try to reduce the size of the displaced population they host. Forced displacement happens all too frequently and will continue to do so. Canada should ensure that our own asylum policies and leadership on refugee issues globally set an example for others.

DÉVELOPPEMENT INTERNATIONAL

Que ce soit dans le domaine politique, économique, social ou culturel, l'aide internationale au développement est, depuis des décennies, l'un des outils fondamentaux de la politique étrangère des pays développés. Aujourd'hui pourtant, de nombreuses voix s'élèvent pour questionner les moyens mis en place par ces pays pour favoriser le développement des pays moins favorisés, les motifs réels et la gouvernance nationale et internationale de cette aide au développement. Cette discussion n'est pas nouvelle puisque plusieurs des critiques aujourd'hui formulées ont été articulées il y a de cela plusieurs années. Ce chapitre fournit une vue d'ensemble du large contexte de l'aide internationale au développement et ces défis, suivi de recommandations pour améliorer la contribution canadienne au développement des pays moins favorisés.

CONTEXTE ET PROBLÈMES RÉCURRENTS

Autrefois très présent sur la scène de l'aide au développement et profondément respecté pour son approche pragmatique, le Canada est aujourd'hui considéré comme un joueur de seconde ligue. La contribution du Canada aux efforts de développement en pourcentage de son revenu national brut, n'a eu de cesse de décroître au cours des trente dernières années, passant de 0,5 % du RNB dans les années quatre-vingt à 0,3 % du RNB dans le milieu des années quatre-vingt-dix, pour finalement être gelée en 2010.

L'inefficacité de l'aide publique canadienne au développement qui se chiffrait à environ 4,5 milliards de dollars en 2010 est d'autant plus embarrassante. Le dernier exemple en date a vu suscité quelques inquiétudes, fut la décision soudaine du gouvernement canadien de réorienter ses programmes d'aide au développement de l'Afrique subsaharienne à l'Amérique latine, mettant fin à ses programmes d'aide bilatérale avec certains des pays les plus pauvres du monde comme le Malawi et le Rwanda. Plus grave encore, c'est en lisant le *Globe and Mail* que les responsables du gouvernement rwandais ont appris le retrait des investissements canadiens. Ce manque de prévisibilité est estimé avoir déprécié de 15 à 50 % la valeur de l'aide au développement, selon une récente étude de la Brookings Institution¹. En revanche, après de nombreuses années de pression, le gouvernement Harper a annoncé

qu'il supprimerait les conditions attachées à l'aide internationale dès 2012. Cette décision est une étape primordiale pour renforcer l'efficacité de l'aide internationale canadienne.

D'autre part, il est difficile d'ignorer la fragmentation de l'instance décisionnelle canadienne. En effet, outre l'Agence canadienne de développement international (ACDI), c'est aussi le ministère des Affaires étrangères et du Commerce international (MAECI), le ministère des Finances et près d'une dizaine d'autres agences fédérales qui entrent dans la gestion de l'aide internationale canadienne. Devant une telle cacophonie, il n'est pas surprenant de constater les difficultés chroniques de nos dirigeants à définir les priorités de l'aide au développement.

Si de telles difficultés se rencontrent au plus haut niveau décisionnel, cela n'est sans doute pas étranger au fait que la question retient très peu l'attention du grand public. Si une majorité de Canadiens (56 %) se prononcent en faveur de l'engagement de leur pays dans le développement international, un pourcentage équivalent reconnaît avoir très peu de connaissances sur le sujet.

TENDANCES ACTUELLES VERS UNE AIDE AU DÉVELOPPEMENT PLUS EFFICACE

La tendance internationale vers une aide au développement plus efficace est incarnée par la Déclaration de Paris sur l'efficacité de l'aide au développement entérinée en 2005, suivie en 2008, du Programme d'action d'Accra. Les pays donateurs comme le Canada s'étaient engagés à mettre en œuvre l'ensemble des mesures de la déclaration de Paris et du plan d'action d'Accra. Pourtant, la plupart des pays donateurs sont aujourd'hui très loin d'une mise en œuvre compréhensive de ces mesures, et bien que ces accords internationaux permettent généralement de poser les bonnes questions, ils ne parviennent pas à répondre aux incitations divergentes qui empêchent les bonnes idées de se concrétiser.

Dans le cas du Canada, le morcellement de l'aide et l'architecture actuelle du développement entravent sa capacité à obtenir un impact réel. Arrêtons-nous un instant sur la Loi sur la responsabilité en matière d'aide publique au développement : alors que ce texte de loi visait à doter l'ACDI d'un mandant clair, fondé sans équivoque sur la réduction de la pauvreté, il n'a pas réussi à modifier de manière significative

la manière dont les fonds canadiens d'aide au développement sont gérés. De plus, cette loi garantit que l'aide au développement sera gérée « d'une manière conforme aux valeurs canadiennes, à la politique étrangère du Canada, aux principes de la Déclaration de Paris sur l'efficacité de l'aide au développement... », étouffant toute politique de développement qui pourrait interférer avec les stratégies commerciales ou géopolitique du pays. Il n'est donc pas surprenant que le Canada occupe la 29^e place sur les 38 pays donateurs sondés par la Banque Mondiale sur l'efficacité de l'aide².

PLUS LES ACTEURS DU DÉVELOPPEMENT SONT NOMBREUX, PLUS LA SITUATION DEVIENT COMPLEXE

Il faut premièrement relever la multiplication des acteurs étatiques ou privés sur la scène du développement international au cours des dernières années. Le groupe de pays donateurs qui se composait traditionnellement de pays industrialisés a vu son cercle s'élargir avec l'arrivée de certaines économies émergentes comme le Brésil, la Russie, l'Inde et la Chine (BRIC).

La transition rapide des économies du BRIC vers un statut de donateurs a révolutionné leur relation avec l'Afrique. À titre d'exemple, le financement de l'infrastructure par l'Inde et la Chine est désormais semblable à celui des bailleurs de fonds traditionnels. Toutefois, en se concentrant sur des secteurs d'activité différents, l'assistance du BRIC s'est révélé être assez complémentaire de l'aide traditionnelles. Bien qu'il soit impossible de mesurer précisément l'impact de cette nouvelle relation entre l'Afrique et les pays du BRIC, il ne fait aucun doute qu'elle a changé le visage des économies africaines.

Par ailleurs, le secteur du développement international peut aussi désormais compter sur l'apport de nombreux acteurs non étatiques. Notons particulièrement les contributions substantielles de certaines fondations privées comme la Fondation Bill & Melinda Gates. À elle seule, cette fondation investit plus d'argent que certains pays traditionnellement reconnus comme de généreux donateurs. Plusieurs de ces fondations ont d'ailleurs une influence considérable sur le développement des programmes d'aide au développement, puisque plusieurs États et organisations de la société

¹ Homi Kharas, "Measuring the Cost of Aid Volatility," *Wolfenson Center for Development Working Paper Series 3* (Washington: Brookings Institution, July 2008), http://www.brookings.edu/papers/2008/07_aid_volatility_kharas.aspx

² Stephen Knack, F. Halsey Rogers and Nicholas Eubank, "Aid Quality and Donor Rankings," *Policy Research Working Paper 5920* (Washington: World Bank, May 2010), http://www-wds.worldbank.org/external/default/WDSContentServer/1W3P/IB/2010/05/04/0001583349_20100504103946/Rendered/PDF/WPSS290.pdf

civile alignent désormais leurs priorités sur celles de ces fondations.

SANTÉ

L'amélioration des résultats en matière de santé est au cœur des activités de développement. Trois des huit Objectifs du Millénaire pour le Développement sont axés exclusivement sur la santé, et trois autres objectifs, à savoir la réduction de la faim, l'accès à l'eau potable et à l'assainissement, et l'accès aux médicaments essentiels à prix abordable lui sont intimement liés.

En 2009, 781 millions de personnes sont mortes du paludisme et pourtant, nous consacrons toujours 10 fois plus de ressources pour trouver un remède contre la calvitie que contre le paludisme. En Afrique, les maladies transmissibles sont les maladies les plus communes; le sida, le paludisme, la tuberculose, la pneumonie, les maladies diarrhéiques et la rougeole sont actuellement responsables de 90 pour cent des décès. La négligence chronique des « maladies des pauvres », comme le paludisme, est un excellent exemple de distorsion des mesures d'incitation qui se trouve d'autant plus renforcée par notre système international des droits à la propriété intellectuelle. Il existe cependant des programmes innovants comme le *Grand Challenges in Global Health* qui tentent de lutter contre cette distorsion des mesures d'incitation. Ce programme récompense des scientifiques, des entrepreneurs et des acteurs du changement qui s'efforcent de résoudre les « problèmes des pauvres ». En associant des subventions généreuses à des résultats précis, ces programmes ont créé un nouveau marché, favorisé l'innovation et la concurrence et ont fait entrer en scène des acteurs traditionnellement désengagés de la recherche en santé. Ce mode de financement est révolutionnaire en ce qu'il évalue et récompense un impact réel plutôt que de soutenir un processus prédéterminé capable d'engloutir des ressources faramineuses.

DÉMOCRATISATION

La capacité des citoyens à exiger à ce que leur gouvernement leur rende des comptes constitue un autre facteur déterminant pour garantir l'efficacité du développement international. Un rapport récent de *Freedom House* qui évaluait les droits politiques et les libertés civiles constatait que l'Afrique subsaharienne de 2007 présente quelques-uns des exemples les plus prometteurs de nouvelles démocraties dans le monde. Le Mali, le Bénin, le Niger et le Cap-Vert sont présentés comme d'anciens états socialistes à parti unique ayant réussi à développer un système

politique robuste. Ce rapport met également en avant des pays comme le Kenya, la Tanzanie, le Sénégal et le Ghana qui ont connu des évolutions politiques tout aussi significatives, bien que moins extrêmes.

Les printemps arabes de 2011 ont permis l'éviction de dirigeants autoritaires en Tunisie et en Égypte, et furent suivis par une guerre civile en Libye et d'importantes manifestations et des soulèvements à Bahreïn, en Syrie, au Yémen, et dans de nombreux autres pays du Moyen Orient et d'Afrique du Nord. Sans oublier les difficultés rencontrées par les pays dont les gouvernements continuent de réprimer la liberté d'expression, de refuser la transparence et l'ouverture, et d'agir de manière incompatible avec l'état de droit, il existe aujourd'hui une tendance exaltante et infectieuse en faveur de la démocratie dans le monde arabe et au-delà.

RECOMMANDATIONS

L'amélioration du secteur du développement international passe par l'habilitation des bénéficiaires à demander des comptes aux donateurs, aux gouvernements et aux fournisseurs de services. Le combat des Égyptiens pour leur liberté en est l'illustration frappante, et la Libye, le Soudan, et de nombreux autres pays du Moyen-Orient, d'Afrique et d'ailleurs sont sur la bonne voie pour amener un changement similaire dans leur propre pays. Néanmoins, il existe un certain nombre de mesures que le Canada et d'autres pays « développés » peuvent prendre pour lutter contre la pauvreté et les inégalités et contribuer à l'efficacité du développement.

ÉTABLIR DES PRIORITÉS FONDEES SUR LES FORCES DU CANADA

Avec des moyens limités, il est nécessaire d'établir des priorités. Tout comme le nombre croissant d'organisations qui se spécialisent dans un secteur donné, le Canada doit également définir ses priorités en fonction de ses expertises. Bien que les analyses sur les points forts du Canada sont rares, la question de genre et l'aide au développement à l'agriculture semblent se détacher du reste des réussites canadiennes.

METTRE À CONTRIBUTION LES COMMUNAUTÉS DIASPORIQUES

Le Canada est une terre d'immigration depuis sa création et compte donc sur son territoire de larges communautés diasporiques. L'engagement des nouveaux arrivants, mais aussi de la deuxième et troisième génération

d'immigrants, renferme un potentiel énorme dans ce pays bâti sur le multiculturalisme. Cette mesure pourrait d'une part contribuer à établir des liens avec les pays bénéficiaires de l'aide canadienne et d'autre part contribuer à l'intégration des immigrants dans la vie publique du pays.

SUSCITER UN LARGE INTERET POUR LA QUESTION DU DEVELOPPEMENT INTERNATIONAL

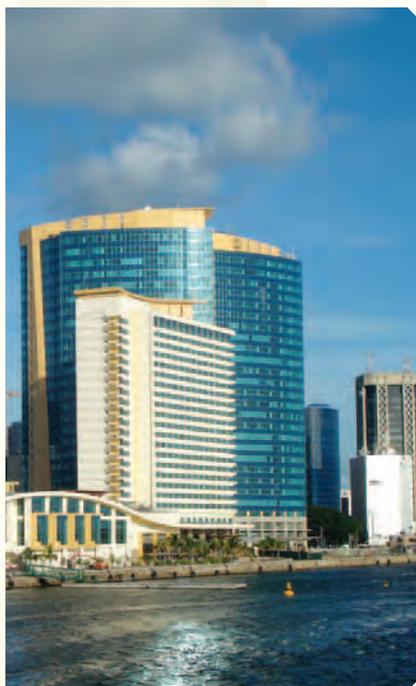
L'un des problèmes chroniques de l'aide au développement au Canada semble être le peu d'intérêt que ces questions suscitent dans la population en général et dans les médias en particulier. Il convient donc de s'employer à bâtir une large coalition d'intérêts de manière à accroître la visibilité des enjeux de l'aide au développement sur la place publique et sur la scène politique du pays, car tant que ces questions demeureront ignorées du grand public, elles resteront vulnérables.

BÂTIR UN CONSENSUS PLURALISTE AUTOUR DU DEVELOPPEMENT INTERNATIONAL

La fragmentation de la structure décisionnelle, tout comme les changements de priorités en fonction des intérêts politiques du moment ont eu des effets néfastes sur le dossier de l'aide au développement au Canada. Aussi, des efforts de représentation doivent être entrepris afin de bâtir un large consensus parmi les élus et s'assurer qu'ils aient une bonne connaissance des enjeux liés au développement afin qu'un leadership fort soit exercé par l'ensemble de la classe politique.

RÉFORMER L'AGENCE CANADIENNE DE DÉVELOPPEMENT INTERNATIONAL

La réforme structurelle de l'aide au développement canadien connaît une popularité croissante. Ce plébiscite n'est pas sans rappeler la vie politique britannique, qui, il n'y a pas si longtemps, demandait la création d'un ministère indépendant responsable du développement international. La création d'un tel ministère qui aurait pour mandat de définir les politiques de l'aide au développement tout en ayant la responsabilité d'assurer leur cohérences au sein du gouvernement signifierait tout simplement que la question du développement international ne se ferait plus dans l'ombre du MAECI et du



Les chefs d'état n'auront pas la possibilité, comme moi, de conduire jusqu'à Maracas Bay par les routes étroites et boueuses, et certainement pas non plus l'occasion de déguster les fameux rotis de la rue St James. Leur expérience ne sera pas la mienne. Ils ne sont pas venus dans l'île comme moi pour rencontrer ses artistes. Ils ne connaîtront pas l'histoire de cette jeune femme qui a lutté pendant près de dix ans pour son centre d'art contemporain.

RÊVE OU RÉALITÉ ? UN SÉJOUR À PORT OF SPAIN, TRINIDAD PAR GUILLAUME SIROIS

Port of Spain est une ville qui rêve. Qui se rêve, plus grande que nature. Qui regarde vers sa grande sœur du nord et qui se compare, et qui espère. « Miami ! Ici, maintenant ils veulent ressembler à Miami. » C'est ce que m'a dit un vieux Trini peu de temps après mon arrivée à Port of Spain. Il faut dire qu'au moment où je débarque dans l'île, il y a de quoi s'activer, de quoi se farder un peu. Dans l'année qui vient, la ville accueillera les chefs d'État des Amériques, parmi lesquels la nouvelle star de la politique américaine, le premier président noir, celui qui déclenche les plus grands enthousiasmes des Trininis, celui pour qui on a même composé une chanson, qui m'accompagne pendant tout mon séjour. Et ce n'est pas tout. Plus tard dans l'année, ce seront encore les chefs d'État du Commonwealth qui séjourneront dans l'île, le temps d'un sommet. La star de l'événement, cette fois, sera celle qui, dans l'espace de quelques jours, peut encore rêver au

temps glorieux où cette petite île faisait partie d'un empire sur lequel le soleil ne se couchait jamais. Assis sur la terrasse du tout nouvel hôtel qui était bâti pour eux, toutes ces têtes couronnées, les nouvelles tout autant que les plus anciennes, auront tout le loisir de laisser leur regard s'attarder sur la couleur turquoise de la mer des Caraïbes, en ignorant la chaleur, en ignorant les odeurs et les bruits de la ville.

Toutefois, ils n'auront pas la possibilité, comme moi, de conduire jusqu'à Maracas Bay par les routes étroites et boueuses, et certainement pas non plus l'occasion de déguster les fameux rotis de la rue St James. Leur expérience ne sera pas la mienne. Ils ne sont pas venus dans l'île comme moi pour rencontrer ses artistes. Comme moi, ils ne parcourront sans doute pas les allées du marché à l'aube pour acheter un poisson avant d'entamer une conversation avec un Trini qui s'est fait artiste contemporain à New York avant

de rentrer dans son île. Ils ne connaîtront pas l'histoire de cette jeune femme qui a lutté pendant près de dix ans pour son centre d'art contemporain. Ils ne visiteront pas la cour de cette vieille maison traditionnelle qu'un groupe de jeunes artistes transforment peu à peu en centre d'art et d'essai. Ils n'auront pas cette longue conversation avec ce vieil acteur qui se souvient du temps où Derek Walcott écrivait pour lui un rôle. Si leur regard se pose sur des œuvres à Trinidad, ce sera sans doute celles qui ornent la grande palissade autour du stade. Quelques images de palmiers et d'oiseaux exotiques, si attendues qu'elles retiendront à peine leur regard, comme celui de tant de touristes. Il faut du temps pour découvrir une culture, mais le sommet est déjà fini, les vacances sont finies. Il faut voir aux affaires... Il restera sans doute quand même une image. Celle que l'on attendait avant même le départ.

Les expressions culturelles produites dans les différentes régions du monde se retrouvent désormais en compétition sur la scène internationale, une réalité qui a entraîné la crainte d'une homogénéisation de la culture qui ne verrait survivre que les expressions culturelles issues des pays dotés des plus grands moyens de production et de distribution. Pour son fellowship, Guillaume Sirois a examiné quels sont les besoins des milieux artistiques des pays en voie de développement, pour contribuer à l'établissement d'une réelle coopération internationale dans le domaine de la culture.

MDN. La politique d'aide au développement ne serait plus limitée par les priorités opportunistes de la politique étrangère canadienne. Au contraire, la version canadienne du *Department for International Development* (DFID) du Royaume-Uni travaillerait avec le MAECI et le ministère de la Défense nationale pour trouver des solutions holistiques et développer des politiques cohérentes.

RENDRE L'AIDE ÉTRANGÈRE PLUS TRANSPARENTE

En attendant, les décisions canadiennes en matière d'aide au développement gagneraient à être plus responsables et plus transparentes. Premièrement, maintenant que le Canada a souscrit à l'Initiative pour la transparence de l'aide internationale (IITA) en Novembre 2011, il faut s'assurer que l'information au sujet des programmes, priorités et dépenses de l'ACDI sont à la fois plus transparentes et plus accessibles à la publique Canadienne, ainsi qu'aux bénéficiaires de l'aide et aux autres donateurs. Deuxièmement, le Canada doit créer un nouveau portail web d'accès libre aux données et à l'information concernant l'APD qui serait inspiré de portail du gouvernement des États-Unis www.foreignassistance.gov et de la Banque mondiale www.data.worldbank.org. Enfin, le Canada devrait établir une Commission indépendante, dirigée par des experts, pour évaluer l'impact de l'aide au développement et présenter un rapport annuel factuel devant le Parlement. Il ne fait aucun doute que le Canada serait plus à même d'apporter une réponse efficace à la pauvreté et aux inégalités s'il mettait en œuvre ses recommandations ainsi que celles entérinées par le Réseau pour la réforme de l'Aide internationale (*Foreign Assistance Reform Network*).

CRÉER DES INCITATIONS DE MARCHÉ POUR REPOUDRE AUX DEFIS MONDIAUX DE LA SANTE

S'attaquer aux problèmes de santé du Sud est

impossible sans reconnaître que de nombreux facteurs déterminants échappent totalement au contrôle du secteur de la santé. Le premier rapport de l'OMS sur les maladies tropicales négligées révélait que le principal obstacle au progrès était le manque général d'expertise. Il s'agit là d'une défaillance du marché classique pour résoudre « les problèmes des populations pauvres ». *Grand Challenges in Global Health* est un exemple d'initiative qui combat cette distorsion des mesures d'incitation en offrant des prix pour récompenser des solutions qui fonctionnent. Nous devons fournir les mêmes incitations en offrant, par exemple, des bourses de recherche pour que les étudiants ou les professeurs se spécialisent dans des domaines de recherche négligés.

FAIRE PREUVE D'INNOVATION DANS LE FINANCEMENT DES BIENS PUBLICS MONDIAUX POUR DÉPASSER LA LOGIQUE OBSOLETE D'UNE PROGRAMMATION PAR PAYS

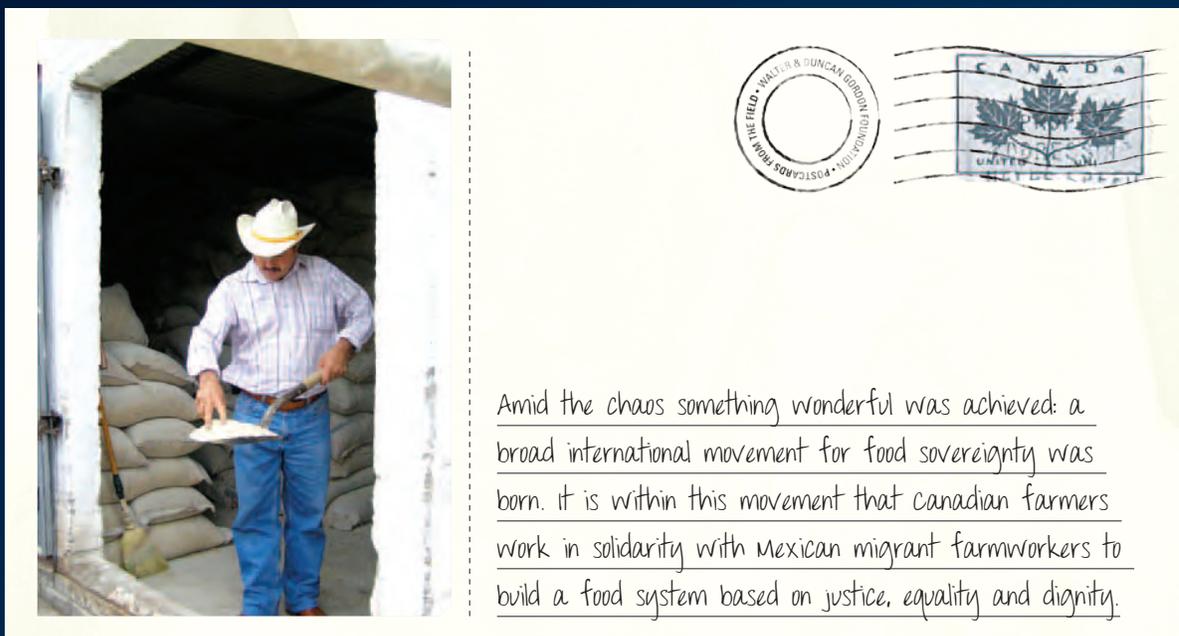
La prise de conscience sur l'ampleur internationale des problèmes que pose l'action collective, exige qu'une plus grande attention soit accordée à l'investissement dans les biens publics mondiaux. Une approche raisonnable serait de créer un mécanisme de financement gouvernemental qui permettrait aux pays d'utiliser un petit pourcentage de leurs droits de triage spéciaux (DTS) du Fonds monétaire international (FMI) pour apporter des capitaux à une entité de financement qui investirait dans des problématiques sous-financées, comme par exemple des projets destinés à atténuer les effets du changement climatique dans les pays en développement. Selon le *Center for Global Development*, une telle entité de financement permettrait d'« offrir des obligations sur les marchés internationaux de capitaux soutenus

par ses réserves de DTS » et pourrait générer plus de « 75 milliards de dollars avec un coût budgétaire presque inexistant pour les gouvernements participants. »¹

APPROFONDIR NOS CONNAISSANCES SUR LE DÉVELOPPEMENT INTERNATIONAL

Au Canada, seul un petit nombre d'universitaires et de chercheurs s'intéressent de près aux questions liées au développement international. Il en résulte une difficulté à tirer les enseignements des expériences canadiennes en la matière et d'intégrer celles-ci dans un ensemble cohérent. Si le Canada souhaite aller au-delà d'une série d'initiatives ponctuelles, il est impératif qu'il développe sa capacité à adopter un regard critique sur ses propres pratiques.

¹ Find me the money: Financing climate and other global public goods," *Working Paper* 248 (Washington: Center for Global Development, April 2011), <http://www.cgdev.org/content/publications/detail/1424979>.



Amid the chaos something wonderful was achieved: a broad international movement for food sovereignty was born. It is within this movement that Canadian farmers work in solidarity with Mexican migrant farmworkers to build a food system based on justice, equality and dignity.

A FARM OF ONE'S OWN BY MARTHA ROBBINS

"Not by coincidence, Mexican migrants are the cheap labour that is needed by industrial agriculture in the United States. So it is like a system that is creating its own supply of labour by destroying and disrupting the rural communities, the peasant communities, of Mexico." Carlos Marentes, head of the Border Agricultural Workers Project in El Paso, Texas, tells me this as he leans over a table covered in a bright Mexican blanket. And so begins my exploration of how millions of Mexican peasants are being forced off of their own land to search for work instead on American and Canadian farms as migrant farmworkers.

In 1992, Article 27 of the Mexican constitution was amended allowing for the privatization of the ejido, the collective landownership system enshrined after the Mexican Revolution. Then, in 1994, the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) came into effect and close to four million people in rural Mexico were directly affected. Approximately two million of those lost their land.

In Canada, agri-food exports tripled between 1988 (when Canada signed a free trade agreement with the United States) and 2007. Yet, during the same period, net farm income decreased by

77% and over 63,000 farmers left the land. Canadian family farmers were faced with dwindling rural communities and subsequent labour shortages, while larger industrial operations became more common and required more inexpensive labour.

I wasn't convinced that the outcomes of this perfect storm were inevitable. There must be a way for both Mexicans and Canadians to make a living farming their own land and for a more just relationship between our two countries to emerge.

It was February 2007, unbearably hot—over 40°C, and dry. So dry that nosebleeds and cracked feet were a regular occurrence among those of us not acclimatized to the region. We were an international team working alongside a local team to pull off the first international conference on food sovereignty.

The challenge was that the conference was in rural Mali, just outside a town called Selingue, in a traditional village that was being constructed for the purpose and was far from complete. And we had been denied access to the only potable water source. And the foam mattresses and mosquito nets hadn't arrived yet. And there were multiple huts

labelled with the same number, which made keeping track of keys virtually impossible.

Despite the difficult circumstances, close to 700 delegates from every region of the world representing farmers, peasants, pastoralists, fisher folk, migrants and rural workers, women, indigenous people and labour, environmental, and non-governmental organizations came together to globalize the struggle for food sovereignty. Food sovereignty, initially articulated by the international peasant movement *La Via Campesina*, calls for the right of countries to define their own agricultural and food policies. It includes a focus on localizing and democratizing food systems, ensuring economic and social viability for rural people and rural communities and, providing safe, healthy, culturally appropriate and sustainably produced food for all.

Amid the chaos something wonderful was achieved: a broad international movement for food sovereignty was born. It is within this movement that Canadian farmers work in solidarity with Mexican migrant farmworkers to build a food system based on justice, equality and dignity.

The Declaration of Nyéléni of the Forum for Food Sovereignty held in Mali in 2007 provides a holistic definition of the concept: Food sovereignty is the right of peoples to healthy and culturally appropriate food produced through ecologically sound and sustainable methods, and their right to define their own food and agriculture systems. It puts the aspirations and needs of those who produce, distribute and consume food at the heart of food systems and policies rather than the demands of markets and corporations. Through her fellowship, Martha used the principles of food sovereignty to inform policy recommendations on Canada's migrant farm worker program, focusing specifically on Mexican farm workers in Canada.

PEACE BUILDING & INTERNATIONAL JUSTICE

As the global economic crisis compounds the impacts of climate change, developing countries are increasingly vulnerable to conflict. To date, Canada's response to global conflict has focused on disputes that have already broken out, in places like Somalia, the Democratic Republic of Congo and Iraq. These countries are high on the international radar and are currently the focus of major multilateral peacekeeping efforts (primarily through the United Nations, but also via NATO and other organizations) to which Canada contributes money and personnel.

In terms of bilateral peace building, Canada has focused its efforts on Afghanistan and Sudan. Important as these initiatives are, many other countries that have suffered recent disasters (whether political or natural) such as Guatemala, Honduras and Nigeria deserve attention before they, too, erupt into violence. Preventing such conflicts goes beyond altruism, for they rarely stay inside their borders. Canada, a peacekeeping pioneer, should build on its progressive reputation by focusing on conflict prevention in the 21st century.

Preventing armed conflict means taking political, humanitarian, development and other measures to tackle the root causes of conflict and addressing the opportunity structures for violence *before* fighting erupts. One critical tool is the development of early warning mechanisms such as the Early Warning and Response Network (ECOWARN) observation and monitoring tool currently used by the Economic Community of West African States for conflict prevention and decision-making. Conflict prevention may also include offering sustained, high-level mediation, providing humanitarian aid, instituting measures to protect civilians, imposing arms embargoes and enforcing targeted sanctions against individuals or groups that provoke armed violence.

Unfortunately, Canada and other UN member states too often gamble that crises will resolve themselves or will result in limited violence when we should be implementing a comprehensive conflict-prevention strategy. It may be cheaper in

the short term to stand idly by, but ultimately inaction is a costly gamble with lethal consequences for international peace and security.

Indeed, conflict prevention is cheap when compared to the vast sums spent on peacebuilding, peacekeeping and humanitarian operations after situations have escalated into war. Recent studies suggest the cost of armed conflict in Africa is equivalent to or exceeds the amount of money the continent receives in international aid. Had that money not been lost as a result of armed con-

“CANADA, A PEACEKEEPING PIONEER, SHOULD BUILD ON ITS PROGRESSIVE REPUTATION BY FOCUSING ON CONFLICT PREVENTION IN THE 21ST CENTURY.”

flikt, it could have been used to address Africa's substantial development and humanitarian needs. Conflict prevention is thus imperative for achieving the UN Millennium Development Goals.

In some areas, Canada's record is positive. We have responded to contemporary threats to international peace and security with strategic investments in combatting terrorism and organized crime, eliminating weapons of mass destruction and implementing the Ottawa Landmine Ban Treaty.

Meanwhile, Canada's Stabilization and Reconstruction Task Force (START) has raised the bar for wholistic responses to conflicts and natural disasters in fragile states such as Afghanistan, Haiti and Sudan. These initiatives deserve credit, yet they are largely traditional strategies that react after the fact. Despite the Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade's (DFAIT) formal recognition that “building international human rights norms and standards, especially those pertaining to minority rights, are essential to developing effective international conflict prevention strategies,”¹ Canada has failed to place a high priority on conflict prevention and to push for inclusion of conflict prevention on the peace and security agenda in international fora.

Nevertheless, it was the Canadian government after the genocide in Rwanda that tasked a commission of 14 international experts with answering a simple yet profound question: Are there limits to state sovereignty? Limits that would mandate the international community to respond when the lives of citizens are threatened by the state meant to protect them? The experts' solution was novel: if a state is either unable or unwilling to protect the lives of its citizens, then the international community not only has the right, but

the responsibility to intervene. What followed was a three-year battle to get the commission's Responsibility to Protect (R2P) principle accepted in a UN document. Despite significant opposition, the Canadian-born principle was unanimously recognized at the High-level Plenary Meeting of the General Assembly in September 2005. This international statement puts human rights before power politics, at least on paper; in 2011 R2P was enacted for the first time in history with respect to the Libyan crisis. The aftermath of that conflict's eventual outcome will determine whether R2P is seen as a legitimate mechanism that does in practice what it promises in theory.

A ROLE FOR CANADA IN CONFLICT PREVENTION

One of Canada's top foreign policy priorities in 2011-2012 is to “contribute to effective global governance and international security and stability,” including “promot[ing] Canada's interests in evolving summitry and renewed efforts to reform global institutions” and “contribut[ing] to addressing emerging security challenges.” What should we be doing in terms of conflict prevention? There are three ways Canada can assert leadership.

¹ “Glynn Berry Program for Peace and Security,” Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade, last modified December 9, 2011, <http://www.international.gc.ca/glynberry/index.aspx?view=d>.



speaking with Liberian women in the security sector was a reality check for all of my research on UN Security Council Resolution 1325 and the international community's efforts to ensure that women have an equal and significant role in peace-building and peacekeeping. I spoke directly with Liberian women, some of whom served as combatants on all sides of the brutal conflict, some voluntarily and many under coercion. Thousands of women also suffered from the kinds of gender-based violence that have become signature weapons of war in contemporary armed conflict. Even now, rape is Liberia's most common serious crime. These same Liberian women were instrumental in bringing the armed hostilities to an end

VOICE OF THE WOMEN BY NUALA LAWLOR

"At some point, you know that you will be asked for sex if you want to be promoted. It's changing, but for most women, this is still the reality." For the majority of women working in the security sector in Liberia, coping with discrimination and sexual harassment or even abuse is simply an additional challenge in a male-dominated, post-conflict environment.

Speaking with Liberian women in the security sector was a reality check for all of my research on UN Security Council Resolution 1325 and the international community's efforts to ensure that women have an equal and significant role in peace-building and peacekeeping. I spoke directly with Liberian women, some of whom served as combatants on all sides of the brutal conflict, some voluntarily and many under coercion. Thousands of women also suffered from the kinds of gender-based violence that have become signature weapons of war in contemporary armed conflict. Even now, rape is Liberia's most common serious crime. These same Liberian women were instrumental in bringing the armed

hostilities to an end, and the 2003 UN resolution authorizing the peacekeeping mission in Liberia provided for a Gender Advisor with a mandate of mainstreaming gender in its mission.

"During the failed coup in '85, my father—who was in the military—was killed by Samuel Doe," one woman told me. "I worked in the sector to provide for my family. During the war, we were harassed and abused by the rebels, but we stayed. At the end of the conflict, I continued working in the sector in the seaport police. I was forcibly retired during the restructuring process under the peace agreement, with no benefits. Now, at the age of 45, I have had to re-join the security sector by qualifying for the Armed Forces. It's the only way to support my family."

The women sharing their narratives about being female in Liberia's security sector are members of the Female Law Enforcement Officers' Association (LIFLEA). LIFLEA was established in 2000 to give a voice to the numerous women working in the security sector in hopes that through their united numbers

they can shift policy to address some of the challenges facing women in the sector and seek better benefits for their members. Another non-governmental organization, the Ghana-based Woman, Peace and Security Network Africa (WIPSEN-Africa), is collaborating with key partners on the issue of gender and security sector reform in Liberia. LIFLEA's members are directly benefiting through training course and workshops to improve their strategic planning and to strengthen their organization.

Liberia is not the only country making strides for women in the security sector. Ghana's National Action Plan on UNSCR 1325 is underway, and the Kofi Annan International Peacekeeping Training Centre, based in Accra, launched the Women, Peace and Security Institute in October 2010.

"I am extremely grateful to these organizations for the opportunity to attend training, to learn, and to improve my own standing," another woman told me. "They have opened our eyes to other possibilities. It is important for all of us to be seen. And heard!"

UNSCR 1325, adopted unanimously in October 2000, requires parties in a conflict to ensure women's participation in peace negotiations and post-conflict reconstruction. Through her fellowship, Nuala worked with WIPSEN-Africa and the Kofi Annan Peacekeeping Training Center to develop training materials to improve mainstreaming of gender perspectives in peace operations.



INSTITUTIONALIZE CONFLICT PREVENTION

Conflict prevention should be given a high priority in those countries and regions where Canada has strategic investments. A Conflict Prevention Directorate should be created within the Stabilization and Reconstruction Task Force to incorporate conflict prevention into START programs. Political officers in the field should receive training on conflict prevention and early warning indicators so that this information can be relayed back to headquarters to promote early action.

ENGAGE WITH GOVERNMENTS WHILE DRAWING ON THE EXPERTISE OF CIVIL SOCIETY

Many governments lack the resources to implement national conflict prevention strategies. With our growing experience in START, Canada has an opportunity to promote not only whole-of-government action on conflict prevention, but also to embrace international and regional organizations in the search for holistic solutions. For instance, Canada can build on its relationship with the African Union and sub-regional organizations by supporting these institutions in their efforts to prevent conflict, gather early warning information and per-

form conflict mapping to understand the spread of conflict. Canada can also support these institutions in their support of democratic institutions, the rule of law, good governance and human rights.

Civil society—non governmental organizations (NGO), think tanks, journalists and universities—offer a pool of knowledge that our government ignores at its peril. Research on Canada’s extractive sector is particularly important in this regard—the potential of mining companies to exacerbate conflict abroad and the role of corporate social responsibility merit closer study and should inform the development of a comprehensive conflict-prevention strategy.

MOBILIZE MARGINALIZED GROUPS IN DEVELOPING STRATEGIES FOR CONFLICT PREVENTION

The groups most affected by conflict are often those with the greatest expertise in prevention activities such as civic dialogue and the mediation of disputes. For example, women’s groups have developed innovative conflict prevention strategies in northern Uganda, yet they tend to be excluded from formal peace talks. When this happens, as with children, internally displaced people and refugees, the victims all too often become the perpetrators, taking up arms themselves and exac-

erbating the conflict.

Canada could link with NGOs to create and support appropriate capacity-building programs. In Colombia, for instance, World Vision has created a movement known as *Gestores de Paz* (Peace Managers) that has given thousands of children a platform from which to advocate for peace, making a substantial contribution to the search for stability in this war-torn nation. By encouraging such efforts, the Canadian government would capitalize on the work and expertise of Canadian NGOs while also assisting NGOs in conflict and post-conflict zones.

AFGHANISTAN & PAKISTAN

A decade into the US-led international intervention in Afghanistan, violence throughout the country is at an all-time high. The majority of the population remains impoverished and unemployed, women in particular, while security and the rule of law remains elusive in many parts of the country. The Afghan government is widely considered inept, corrupt and incapable of meeting the needs of its people. Despite such challenges, however, ordinary Afghans are rebuilding their lives; young citizens have access to education, public institutions are able to provide basic, albeit limited, services and the once non-existent private sector is gaining a foothold with economic and trading opportunities.

Some of these limited successes are due to the efforts of Canada, which, in making Afghanistan our largest recipient of bilateral aid, has poured \$1.2 billion in development and reconstruction funds into the country in less than a decade. The

health; 2) advancing security, the rule of law and human rights, including through the provision of up to 950 trainers for Afghan security forces; 3) promoting regional diplomacy; and 4) helping deliver humanitarian assistance.

While there is much to applaud in these goals, two other areas—reconciliation and refugee protection—are also in need of urgent attention. Both are within Canada’s realm of expertise, and both are crucial to the long-term stability of Afghanistan and the entire region.

RECONCILIATION

The plan for Afghanistan is to gradually replace international security forces with domestic authorities by 2014. In order for that to work, a growing consensus (both inside the country and out) sees reconciliation of the country’s warring factions as an essential prerequisite. This means not only opening dialogue with the

build durable peace among Afghans through a public truth-seeking process. In other words, reconciliation does *not* mean total impunity for the worst criminals, as some fear; it means not automatically branding all insurgents as criminals.

Unfortunately, just as the international community and the Afghan government are turning to reconciliation and transitional justice in an effort to end hostilities, Canada has abandoned its reconciliation priority in Afghanistan. At the beginning of our engagement, reconciliation had been high on our agenda. Indeed, DFAIT declared in 2009 that only an “Afghan-led, internationally supported reconciliation process can serve to weaken the insurgency, heal communal divisions and foster sustainable peace.” And in 2008, Canada backed reconciliation with a pledge to support Afghan-led mechanisms that encourage dialogue, improve the Afghan government’s capacity to communicate with its citizens and strengthen Afghan civil society’s capacity to promote rapprochement. Our government earmarked \$14 million to achieve those goals, a relatively modest sum when set against our other expenditures in the country, but an important contribution nonetheless.

What happened to that money and the impetus behind it? Both have disappeared without explanation. In November 2010, when the government outlined Canada’s “new role” and its achievements in Afghanistan to date, there was no mention of any progress on reconciliation or why it might have been dropped from our list of priorities. In 2011 quarterly reports to Parliament on Canada’s engagement in Afghanistan, there is little mention of the political reconciliation priority, and it is unclear what support, if any, Canada might have provided to support either the High Council for Peace (the Afghan body responsible for reconciliation) or the Afghanistan Peace and Reintegration Program (an Afghan-led initiative to reintegrate insurgents).

It remains unclear if Canadian policy-makers now consider reconciliation as a lost cause or an unsavoury one. The latter seems probable, given that the likely outcome of the process is the inclusion of the “enemy” into the government. But if fear of that result is what drove our government to abandon its pursuit, then it must be pointed out that the Taliban and other insurgents are not the only human rights abusers in Afghanistan—former warlords, organized crime bosses and alleged war criminals are

“SINCE 2002, MORE CANADIAN DEFENSE, DIPLOMACY AND DEVELOPMENT DOLLARS HAVE BEEN ALLOCATED TO AFGHANISTAN THAN ANY OTHER COUNTRY OVER THAT TIME. AS CANADA RETREATS FROM ITS COMBAT ROLE, A HOLISTIC APPROACH TO THE CHALLENGES FACED IN THE REGION, INCLUDING A FOCUS ON RECONCILIATION AND SUPPORT FOR THE WORLD’S TWO LARGEST PROTRACTED REFUGEE SITUATIONS, IS SORELY NEEDED.”

Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade (DFAIT) has acknowledged the need to address root causes of the conflict, stating in 2008 that “Afghanistan cannot secure peace or realize its governance and development objectives by military means alone.” That opinion was echoed by the UN Security Council, which in March of 2010 proclaimed that “there is no purely military solution to ensure the stability of Afghanistan.”

It was against this backdrop in November 2010 that Canada announced its continued engagement in Afghanistan. Dubbed Canada’s “new role,” the post-2011 commitment reaffirms our longstanding goal of contributing to “a more secure, stable and self-sufficient Afghanistan that is no longer a safe haven for terrorists.” But unlike the 2008-2011 period with its military focus on Kandahar province, Canada’s post-2011 engagement will be non-combat and centred in Kabul, with four stated priorities: 1) investing in the future of Afghan children and youth through development programming in education and

Taliban and other insurgent groups, but also reintegrating them into all levels of society, including government. This principle was affirmed at the first National Consultative Peace Jirga in Kabul last year that formally pledged to support Afghan government reconciliation efforts. At the same time, hundreds of Afghan elders, community leaders and women’s groups adopted a declaration that mandates the Afghan government to engage in the peace and reconciliation process.

To this end, the Afghan government launched a Peace and Reintegration Plan aimed at reconciling and reintegrating Taliban and other insurgents with guarantees of personal security, grievance resolution and economic incentives. The Afghan government also pledged to revise and re-launch its 2006 Transitional Justice Action Plan with the support of civil society and the international community. This plan, initially drafted with Canadian support in 2004-2005, aims to eliminate impunity, address serious human rights violations and seeks to

already part of the Afghan government, placed there by the international community. It is naive and counterproductive to suddenly balk at reconciliation efforts on the grounds that insurgents are human rights abusers. So long as justice and accountability are also on the table, the key to Afghanistan's long-term stability lies in everyone sitting at it.

REFUGEE PROTECTION

Migration from Afghanistan into neighbouring territories predates the formation of modern states with distinct boundaries. Cross-border migration has been facilitated through commercial, ethnic, tribal and kinship ties between the peoples of Afghanistan and their neighbours to the north in Central Asia, west in Iran and east in Pakistan. Longstanding social networks have historically absorbed and cared for the needs of migrating Afghans. But this delicate historic balance has been grossly distorted by the current war. Over three million Afghans have been forced to flee the growing conflict, making them the single greatest refugee population in the world. Their presence in neighbouring states has in turn created a regional disturbance as dangerous as the conflict itself.

The Canadian government, therefore, has good reason to formulate a policy response to refugees fleeing war and persecution. In doing so, it will be crucial to employ a regional approach; above all, this means fully engaging Iran, along with Pakistan, the major recipients of Afghan refugees and migrants. In the past, Canada has engaged Iran within the context of the UN Refugee Agency, but this has largely been done through back channels. There is room for a more open process. In this regard, it is worth noting that the Obama administration expressed no objections to Iran taking part in a high-level summit regarding Afghanistan in October 2010 to discuss ways to end the war. This “contact group” included the Afghan government, NATO, the EU, UN and other stakeholders, demonstrating that it is possible to engage the Iranian government on some discrete policy issues while still expressing disagreement and exerting pressure on others. Canada’s status as a relatively neutral middle power puts us in a special position to draw Iran into a collaborative approach on Afghan refugees that would benefit all parties—most obviously the refugees themselves, but also the international community (which can only gain from any act of co-operation with Iran) and Canada, whose credibility as an international bridge-builder would be reaffirmed.

It is equally important for Canada to align domestic asylum policies with our foreign



policy initiatives. It has been said that relative to other refugee-receiving states, Canada has been generous in its commitment to the resettlement of Afghan refugees, thereby contributing to global burden sharing. Yet our global commitment is limited to 20,000 refugees per year, only a fraction of which consist of Afghans. Canada has endorsed the 2004 UN Multilateral Framework of Understandings on Resettlement that advances the principle of resettling refugees as a strategic tool to alleviate the burden on host states in protracted refugee situations. Yet when Canada’s 20,000-per-year quota is compared with the nearly three million registered refugees languishing in Pakistan and Iran alone (a figure that would easily double if adjusted to include unregistered refugees and unauthorized migrants), it becomes clear that we are nowhere near where we should be in terms of burden sharing.

Conflict-induced displacement surely creates a moral imperative, if not legal obligation, on the warring parties to care for the needs of those civilians dislocated by their actions. Yet it should not result in the warehousing of refugees in host states while Canada seeks to implement increasingly restrictive policies for asylum seekers that reach our shores.

In this regard, it was telling that Pakistani opposition, academic and civil society representatives recently stated at a forum organized by the independent Pakistan Institute for Policy Studies that their government should not have signed on to the extension of the Tripartite Agreement (allowing Afghans to remain in Pakistan until 2012) without NATO also being a party to the agreement. In other

words, there is a growing dissatisfaction in the region with the uneven distribution of burdens and an emerging consensus that we need to shift from a paradigm of “burden sharing,” which in practice has been heavily skewed in favour of the interests of advanced states, to one of “responsibility sharing.” In this regard, Canada must assume its full share of those responsibilities by significantly increasing resettlement quotas and redoubling aid contributions to host states, given the immense developmental challenges posed by the mass influx of refugees as well as irregular migration.

Since 2002, Afghanistan has been the single most important foreign policy priority of the Canadian government. More Canadian defence, diplomacy and development dollars have been allocated to Afghanistan than any other country over that time. As Canada retreats from its combat role but continues to provide development and training assistance, a holistic approach to the challenges faced in the region, including a focus on reconciliation and support for the world’s two largest protracted refugee situations, is sorely needed.

SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA

Canada is limiting its engagement with Africa just when the continent appears set to rise in strategic importance. Despite major ongoing problems—a continent with 14 per cent of the world's population provides 88 per cent of its conflict deaths—the longer view suggests that conditions in Africa are improving overall. Where virtually the entire continent was overrun by dictatorships following the independence wave of the 1960s, democracy is today the rule, proven by a handful of notable exceptions. Apartheid is gone. According to *The Economist*, during the past decade, African countries accounted for six of the world's ten fastest-growing economies. And in eight of those years, Africa's growth rates surpassed those of East Asia. The International Monetary Fund (IMF) has also noted that sub-Saharan Africa was one of the fastest regions in the world to bounce back from the global economic crisis—and not because it was disconnected from world markets in the first place (previous global recessions have had sharper effects), but because governments were able to strengthen their policy frameworks in the run-up to the crisis. Twenty of sub-Saharan Africa's 29 low-income countries increased

cannot do everything, and may well have been spread too thin in the past. But any realignment should never take place in an ad hoc manner that catches our aid partners off guard. Canada would earn more trust and develop better international relations if it maintained a consistent and transparent approach. In doing so, it will be crucial to discern the dynamics of individual African countries while accounting for patterns that affect the continent as a whole. The recommendations that follow have this balance as their guiding principle, while pursuing two broad themes—promoting peace and security on the one hand, as well as aid and economic development on the other.

PEACE AND SECURITY

Canada, largely through G8 summit commitments, has long been active in addressing African peace and security issues. The list of our involvements includes, but is not limited to: peacekeeper training, police capacity building, support for the African Peace and Security Architecture (under the African Union), widespread financing for reconstruction needs (largely in the area of disarmament, demobilization and reintegration)

area of education in crisis or conflict situations, because education is perceived as a development tool solely for peaceful environments. Meanwhile, the loss of opportunity for a whole generation of children—as is happening in a number of protracted African conflicts—continues to lay the foundation for new violent outbreaks. Furthermore, addressing the recruitment and use of child soldiers requires a frank discussion of causal factors to dismiss the myth that all child soldiers are forced into service. The provision of education and, with it, the possibility of a peaceful livelihood, is a crucial next step.

While Canadian organizations and individuals are active in community-level peacebuilding activities and projects, government efforts to support peace and security in Africa concentrate primarily on large-scale institutions and projects. This official approach simplifies the disbursement of funds to a small number of recipients whom we generally trust and can easily report on. But it also means a trade-off in our ability to stay flexible as conflicts develop. Grassroots initiatives often have a more immediate impact at the individual and community-level. In Southern Sudan, for example, very little is being done to address the psychosocial trauma of the civil war on individuals and local communities. This lack of effort directly harms these communities' economic development and keeps them vulnerable to future outbreaks of armed conflict. A more balanced approach between funding large institutional recipients and community-level initiatives (through mechanisms such as the Canada Fund for Local Initiatives) would help local communities in places like Southern Sudan heal properly. Given the priority Canada has placed on Sudan (our third largest aid recipient), there are clear opportunities for Canada to have a significant impact in this area.

AID AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

With the proliferation of donors, including non-traditional donor states and private foundations, there is an ever greater need to collaborate and specialize. Non-traditional donors to Africa, such as Saudi Arabia, India, Brazil and China, and private organizations, like the Bill & Melinda Gates Foundation, are only going to increase their activity on the continent. China, for one, recently provided Ghana with a credit facility of US\$9 billion. Canada should build on the expertise we have already developed in

“THE FACT THAT WE ARE LOSING INFLUENCE ON THE CONTINENT AT PRECISELY THE SAME TIME THAT MANY EMERGING POWERS ARE ESTABLISHING THEIR PRESENCE ONLY HEIGHTENS OUR OVERALL LOSS.”

health and education spending in 2009, and the IMF predicts the region's economy will grow by nearly six per cent in 2012, matching 2011's growth. And then, of course, there are Africa's resources, the least tapped of any continent. Anyone who views Africa simply as a drain on our foreign aid budget is missing a great number of opportunities.

Nevertheless, the refocusing of Canada's foreign policy has involved a net withdrawal of diplomats, trade and aid missions, development funding, and peace initiatives from the continent. The damage this has done to our relationship with several African nations (and therefore, to Canada) is already being felt on the world stage. It was a major reason behind our failure to win a seat on the UN Security Council in October 2010. The fact that we are losing influence on the continent at precisely the same time that many emerging powers are establishing their presence only heightens our overall loss.

There are good arguments to be made for strategic refocusing. The Government of Canada

and combating the role of conflict resources such as oil, diamonds and timber in financing bloodshed. We have also participated in the majority of African UN peace support operations.

But while our involvement in such operations and post-conflict situations deserves credit, our work on preventing conflict and addressing its root causes could be greatly improved. Despite being an early proponent of the 'Responsibility to Protect' principle, Canada lacks early warning systems that would help us address signs of imminent violent conflict—forewarnings such as rapid economic, social and political deterioration, as well as controversy over natural resources. Like many in the international community, our tendency is to react to conflict after it breaks out—preventive measures are few and far between.

For instance, we now know that the international community shouldn't aspire to peacebuilding and statebuilding initiatives without first establishing long-term civil institutions. Yet Canada does not program in the

a few key areas, such as education, agriculture and promoting gender equality. We should also endeavour to work in contexts where our expertise matches the priorities of the recipient countries. This level of predictability would help other donors to create a complementary offer and increase the overall effectiveness of aid.

Unfortunately, the quality of Canada's aid delivery is in the doldrums. In a recent World Bank study, "Aid Quality and Donor Rankings," Canada ranked 29th out of 38 major donors surveyed. The obstacles to our aid delivery range from the average 43 months it takes a proposal to go through the Canadian International Development Agency's (CIDA) approval process to the rapidly changing aid priorities advocated by rotating leadership at the agency. This phenomenon is not limited to Africa, of course, and a more thorough analysis can be found in the development section of this publication. Suffice to say that a radical overhaul of CIDA has been needed for some time.

CIDA is currently choosing development partners based on "their real needs, their capacity to benefit from aid and their alignment with Canadian foreign policy priorities." In practice, this often translates into coupling aid with trade and favouring Canada's economic partners as aid recipients. This is not necessarily a bad approach, so long as other criteria (such as respect for human rights and accountability) are also taken into consideration. Such an aid policy should also be made more explicit—finding synergies with Canadian international investors can indeed yield tangible results, but the perception that we are doing so on the sly is hurting our credibility.

In fact, we should be anything but shy when it comes to leveraging market forces. The Canadian government should be thinking and planning how to assist Canadian businesses, organizations and citizens to engage responsibly and effectively with their counterparts in Africa. After all, Canadian corporations, particularly in the extractive sector, have a much greater footprint in Africa than does the Canadian government, yet they receive far less public attention and virtually no government regulation. With that caveat in mind, we should look at this dynamic continent as a source of new trading and investment opportunities, not only as aid recipients or the source of humanitarian crises.

However, there are few indications that Canada's trade and foreign policy is addressing the growing reality of Africa as a consumer market and supplier of strategic natural resources. As the BRIC countries well know, there is money to be made in Africa. Open and honest business dealings have the

potential to enrich both parties, particularly when a benevolent government facilitates the transaction. By valuing externalities and taxing goods and services that fail to produce social welfare, we can help create a market for ethical products such as fairly traded commodities or organic agriculture. We could also do more to subsidize innovations that serve the poor, such as the "biosand" water filters created at the University of Calgary that have the potential to save millions of lives across this continent and elsewhere.

So-called twinning is another powerful development model. Canada's aid should look to strengthen partnerships in Africa among Canadian and international schools, hospitals, farming co-operatives, municipalities, non-governmental

“RECENT DEVELOPMENTS IN THE SAHEL, NIGER DELTA, AFRICAN GREAT LAKES AND MADAGASCAR DEMONSTRATE HOW WEAK GOVERNANCE AND INSTABILITY CAN POSE A THREAT TO CANADIAN CITIZENS AND OUR COMMERCIAL INTERESTS THROUGH TERRORISM, UNRESOLVED POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC GRIEVANCES, PROTRACTED CIVIL WARS AND UNDEMOCRATIC TRANSITIONS OF POWER.”

organizations (NGOs), universities and more. Such relationships allow for lasting bilateral exchanges of expertise among practitioners and make expensive consultants unnecessary. They also encourage southern nations to exchange capacities and experiences among each other, precisely the kind of independence that is the goal of development work.

CONCLUSION

Instead of withdrawing, now is the time for Canada to re-engage with Africa. The continent is, among other things, a growing consumer market and supplier of strategic natural resources. We should be fostering positive investments that benefit all parties. In terms of security, our interests in building or maintaining peace on the continent are equally vital. Recent developments in the Sahel, Niger Delta, African Great Lakes and Madagascar demonstrate how weak governance and instability can pose a threat to Canadian citizens and our commercial interests through terrorism, unresolved political and economic grievances, protracted civil wars and undemocratic transitions of power.

We should be wary of reducing the continent's challenges to single issues such as famine, piracy or conflict-diamonds—problems that, ultimately, are but manifestations of deeper system failures. Somalia's piracy will not be resolved solely by interdiction and maritime patrols. Both the

problem and its solution have their roots in the loss of livelihoods of Somali fishermen. Similarly, throwing food aid at countries affected by famine will not address food insecurity caused by unsustainable agriculture practices, unstable weather patterns due to climate change or exploitive trade agreements. The Government of Canada cannot be present everywhere and on all issues, but we need to take a more strategic and holistic approach on those areas where we do choose to act.

Unfortunately, the political climate in Ottawa appears to be increasingly hostile toward civil society groups who publicly critique our disengagement from Africa, both at home and on that continent. In practical terms, this has translated into a clear preference for NGOs who

are solely involved in service delivery rather than complementary advocacy work and a worrying trend of stepping away from programs and organizations that promote women's rights or conduct policy analysis and development. Groups who have been publicly critical of the government's aid policy or who no longer fit with CIDA's list of ever-changing priorities (such as KAIROS, Match International and the Canadian Council for International Co-operation) have seen their federal funding cut drastically. But in a healthy democracy, civil debate and oversight of government policy is crucial for accountability and the generation of new ideas. In the longer term, these groups play a vital role in engaging the public and influencing the aid policy agenda.

Building on our previous experience—in peacekeeping, education, gender mainstreaming and civil society strengthening, to name a few—governments in Canada and abroad, working with civil society organizations on the ground, should develop a holistic policy framework for Africa that builds synergies across Canadian government departments (trade, aid and defence), countries in the region and common challenges. It isn't just Africa that will benefit from such an approach. Canada will, too.



I eventually realized that my camera and my presence in the village had only brought to the surface existing tensions. I like to think that I had merely been a catalyst. But there are many questions I still reflect on. What is the meaning and consequences of "our" presence in developing countries? Do developing countries tend to rely on our aid because of how history has shaped our relationship?

LIKE WATER FOR GOLD BY ALEXANDRA SICOTTE-LEVESQUE

"The white woman with the test results is here to talk to you," announced Francis Kwesi Blay, Assemblyman for the town of Prestea, in Western Ghana. I was the white woman. About fifty people had gathered in the outdoor town hall to listen to me despite the excruciating heat. The camera was rolling. Standing there, looking at these men and women who seemed full of hope, I wondered if I was creating false expectations.

I had come to the village of Dumasi to make a film which would document the community's struggle against the impacts of Golden Star Resources, a Canadian gold mining company. Environmental degradation, loss of farmlands, unemployment and water pollution were some of the many problems faced by the community. There were many controversies surrounding the quality of the drinking water provided by the company in the village and the surrounding streams. I had decided to carry some water samples to the UK for testing, and a few months later, I had returned to Ghana with a piece of paper in my hands.

The water indeed had high contents of manganese from the village pipes and other contaminants in nearby streams. I felt the villagers had the right to be made aware of the results, but I didn't want to create any confusion. Many of them asked me to announce the results in a public meeting. I hesitated for a long time, and asked Joanna Nkrumah, the main character of my film and a local activist, for some advice. "Thank you, you care for us," she said. Joanna, passionate and determined, encouraged me to speak publicly about the results. But she warned me, "the local leaders are being bribed by the company, and they don't want you here. The company will know what you said because some of the leaders will tell them."

The day after my so-called public announcement, rumours were already going around the village. One of the local leaders confronted me, asking me about the water that could "kill by causing boils and tuberculosis." My worst fears had been confirmed. What I had said had been misunderstood and perhaps even twisted. People had

hoped I would bring solutions to their problems. People were now fighting. As Joanna put it then, "youth are fighting with the leaders, the leaders are fighting with the people working with the white people, everyone is fighting." That day, I left the village with a heavy heart. What had I done?

When I returned some months later, everything in the village had returned to normal. Joanna and others were happy to see me again. I eventually realized that my camera and my presence in the village had only brought to the surface existing tensions. I like to think that I had merely been a catalyst. But there are many questions I still reflect on. What is the meaning and consequences of "our" presence in developing countries? Do developing countries tend to rely on our aid because of how history has shaped our relationship? While I ponder on these questions, I think of Joanna welcoming me into her home with open arms, eager to tell me her story. I feel lucky I had the chance to meet such an extraordinary woman.

*It is estimated that 60% of the world's exploration companies are Canadian, and in 2008 these companies held over \$20 billion in mining assets in Africa, leading one commentator to dub Canada "the quiet powerhouse" in mining on the continent. For more information about Alexandra's film, **When Silence is Golden**, about the activities of one Canadian mining company in Western Ghana, visit www.when-silence-is-golden.org.*



I put on my protective gear and walked into the cleared area marked by red tape in the middle of the minefield. While the de-miners were working, I watched in horror as two women with baskets full of clothing crossed over the red tape from the safe area into the minefield, heading for a large puddle of rainwater. I was shocked that no one stopped them before I realized that they had nowhere else to bathe and wash their clothes something that mine-risk education cannot solve.

A TREACHEROUS ROAD BY JESSICA OLIVER

I have arrived safely in Juba, southern Sudan. The distance from Gulu, northern Uganda overland is only 400 kilometres but the treacherous journey took two full days. I was warned by friends in Gulu not to fly from Kampala to Juba because there have been terrorist threats on the airplanes during the April 2010 election. I was warned not to take the bus from Gulu to Juba because it leaves at 4 am from the front of a brothel and it flies over the mountain passes at Nimule, crashing frequently. So, I managed to get a lift with a 5-car convoy of Zimbabwean de-miners who were moving equipment from Congo to their base in Sudan.

The road from Gulu to Juba is deadly. While rebel groups like the Lord's Resistance Army (LRA) no longer carry out ambushes here, the road is barely passable due to huge potholes which are filled with water in the rainy season. We crawled at 20 kms an hour, but even so, one of the cars in the convoy

flipped near Pabbo IDP camp. We took the driver to hospital, but tragically, he severed his spinal cord and is paralyzed from the neck down. I still haven't processed this.

Juba is a dusty town with green jebel trees against the skyline and mango trees lining the gorgeous river Nile. I walk to my interviews with education stakeholders in full African dress and passersby call out "You are Sudanese!" or "You have beautiful kitenge, kawaja mama!" I want to take pictures, but it's illegal here and there are Sudan People's Liberation Army soldiers everywhere.

I am staying at the de-miners compound here in Juba and they invited me to go to Jebelen to see them work: destroying the landmines, rocket propelled grenades (RPG), and other unexploded ordnances (UXO) that are left over from decades of civil war between northern and southern Sudan, and battles with the Lord's

Resistance Army. These landmines, RPGs, and UXOs line the road to Juba and threaten the lives and livelihoods of men, women, and children from nearby villages. I put on my protective gear and walked into the cleared area marked by red tape in the middle of the minefield. While the de-miners were working, I watched in horror as two women with baskets full of clothing crossed over the red tape from the safe area into the minefield, heading for a large puddle of rainwater. I was shocked that no one stopped them before I realized that they had nowhere else to bathe and wash their clothes—something that mine-risk education cannot solve.

I came to learn about education in post-conflict southern Sudan, but I ended up learning as much about the hazards that the southern Sudanese face everyday, most of whom have never had the chance to go to school.

According to the Canada Landmine Foundation, it is estimated that there are 45-50 million landmines in the ground in 70 countries, which kill or maim 10,000 people every year. In 1999, spearheaded by Canada, the Ottawa treaty to ban landmines came into force. Aimed not only to stop production and deployment of anti-personnel mines, but also to clear all mined areas and provide assistance to mine-affected persons. Jessica's fellowship work, focused on implementing minimum education standards in post-conflict settings, is a perfect example of the many ways the legacies of conflict undermine reconstruction and development.

LATIN AMERICA & THE CARIBBEAN

When Stephen Harper proclaimed in the 2007 Throne Speech that “engagement in the Americas is a critical international priority,” he ushered in a series of foreign policy shifts that have seen Latin America and the Caribbean move quietly to the centre of Canada’s international gaze. Our involvement in Afghanistan remains our single largest foreign expenditure of cash and diplomatic energy, but as that commitment winds

negotiations with the 15 countries that form the Caribbean Community, and it will no doubt play a role in the other negotiations playing out simultaneously in Central and South America.

There are good arguments for coupling aid with trade, but the ghost of tied aid lingers over them all. It was only in 2008 that Canada officially agreed to untie all of its official development assistance (ODA) by 2012, making us one of the last donor countries in the world

and Colombia (where Canadian gold mining juniors are the biggest players in the field), it is the extractive sector. According to the Canadian Council for International Co-operation, the Canada-Colombia FTA “provides what is arguably the most effective enforcement regime ever incorporated into trade agreements because it can be invoked by countless third-party private investors who may recover substantial damages for their efforts.” As an important corollary, the same council concluded that “there are no concomitant obligations in relation to investor conduct.”

While it is generally true that ordinary citizens have a legal right to sue a multinational, the financial clout and political connections enjoyed by the extractive industry ensure that the process is tilted against the overwhelmingly poor and rural demographic it most often clashes with. This amounts to an infraction of minority rights that all too easily leads to violent conflict. Seen in this light, unfettered foreign investment—which we increasingly demand in exchange for aid dollars—runs the risk of hindering the quest for security. If Latin America’s newfound stability is to take root, Canada should try harder to include minority groups in its definition of prosperity. We must regulate industry so that it does indeed bring the wealth it promises, with no conflicting side effects.

“FREE TRADE AGREEMENTS, INDIGENOUS PARTNERSHIPS, DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMS AND FOREIGN INVESTMENT INTO RESOURCE EXTRACTION ALL REPRESENT HUGE OPPORTUNITIES FOR CANADA TO ENJOY A MUTUALLY BENEFICIAL RELATIONSHIP WITH THE AMERICAS.”

fitfully down, Canada’s investments in our own hemisphere are clearly on the rise. Free trade agreements, indigenous partnerships, development programs and foreign investment into resource extraction all represent huge opportunities for Canada to enjoy a mutually beneficial relationship with the Americas.

Our government has elaborated three pillars of the Americas Strategy on which to manage these investments: good governance, prosperity, and security. A closer look at what is actually happening on the ground, however, suggests three different categories where Canada’s footprint in the Americas either does, or could, truly make a difference: trade, indigenous rights, and development.

TRADE AND AID

Ever since the proposed Free Trade Area of the Americas collapsed in 2005, Canada has been aggressively pursuing bilateral trade deals across the region, with access to development assistance being one of our key bargaining chips. This link between trade and aid is one of the most tangible characteristics of our heightened “engagement” in Latin America and the Caribbean. Peru and Colombia, with whom we implemented Free Trade Agreements in 2009 and 2010 respectively, were both added to the Canadian International Development Agency’s (CIDA) “countries-of-focus” list at the beginning of 2009 amid an overall reduction that saw six African nations struck from the same list. In 2011, we concluded negotiations for an FTA with Honduras, also on CIDA’s list of priority countries. Increased development assistance is also an explicit aspect of current free trade

to do so. Just as tied aid had the potential to turn help into harm—for instance, by forcing recipient nations to buy Canadian wheat rather than invest in their own agriculture—the new emphasis on combining trade and aid should be examined for effect as well as intent.

We should keep a particularly close watch on Canada’s mining, oil and gas interests, which now make up the third biggest source of foreign direct investment in Latin America and the Caribbean. Canadian mining and energy companies spend far more than the \$500 million CIDA distributes throughout the region each year, and it is fair to say that their CEOs enjoy greater access to Canadian diplomats and foreign politicians alike than the average citizen of either country. Given the many documented cases of environmental and human rights abuses committed by Canadian extractives throughout not just Latin America but the world, all efforts should be made to put an effective regulatory structure in place that could enforce responsible corporate behavior.

Unfortunately, the one piece of legislation that sought to do exactly that—Bill C-300, *An Act Respecting Corporate Accountability for the Activities of Mining, Oil or Gas Corporations in Developing Countries*—was defeated in Parliament in October 2010. Corporate Social Responsibility, the code of ethics promoted by industry and government alike as the answer to environmental and human rights abuses, thus remains a voluntary philosophy rather than a set of laws.

Meanwhile, if there is one lobby that benefits from free trade agreements (FTA) like those we have with resource-rich countries like Peru

INDIGENOUS RIGHTS

Indigenous peoples comprise the most obvious minority group in much of Latin America and the Caribbean. Indeed, the indigenous character underpinning much of Latin American society reflects many aspects of the Canadian experience. In terms of both need and expertise, then, this a key area where Canada could increase its strategic involvement. Given that the resource companies often represent significant threats to and opportunities for these cultures, Canada’s chance to demonstrate leadership is also a responsibility to carry out our part of the bargain.

Canada’s presence in Bolivia, though limited, deserves mention in this regard. Bolivia, whose government takes a stern view of foreign investment and refuses even to discuss free trade, recently drafted a new constitution mandating the creation of autonomous regions for each of its indigenous peoples. The logistical implications of such a task are a major challenge, and Canada has offered to lend the Bolivians some of our administrative expertise. We are certainly in a unique position to do so among



major western powers—American relations with Bolivia are almost hostile, while the European Union has virtually no indigenous experience of its own. Canada’s own history of negotiating autonomy with First Nations is checkered to say the least, often including stonewalling tactics that have delayed negotiations for decades. But there have been some successes, and so long as our own indigenous leadership is included in the process, we stand to play a positive role in

“IF CANADA WERE TO PURSUE INDIGENOUS RIGHTS WITH THE SAME ATTENTION TO DETAIL AS WE PURSUE CORPORATE RIGHTS IN OUR FTA FRAMEWORK, SUCH DEALS COULD EVENTUALLY BECOME PART OF THE SOLUTION.”

Bolivia’s autonomy project. It would be hard to imagine a better opportunity to act on our stated priority of encouraging good governance. Incidentally, it would also buy us some influence with one of the most influential countries in the hemisphere after the United States, for Venezuela is a close ally to Bolivia.

Unfortunately, our attention to indigenous peoples has been less rigorous in other regions, as indigenous leaders continue to suffer persecution from Mexico to Argentina. Together with union leaders, they are the group at highest risk of assassination for opposing free trade agreements, resource extraction and the “development” of traditional territories. In 2009, for example, a months-long protest against oil and gold extraction in Peru’s northern Amazon region exploded in violence when government soldiers opened fire on unarmed native protesters. At issue was the question of informed consent. According to Convention 169 of the International Labor Organization—ratified by every country in the region, if not yet by Canada—indigenous populations must give their

consent before any development takes place on or affecting their lands. This right continues to be trampled, often with the collusion of the Canadian government that, it must be said, faces similar charges on its own soil. If Canada were to pursue indigenous rights with the same attention to detail as we pursue corporate rights in our FTA framework, such deals could eventually become part of the solution.

Instead, CIDA has a multinational project

called the Indigenous Peoples Partnership Program that aims to establish networks between indigenous communities in Canada and Latin America through a wide range of programs such as student exchange, professional workshops and craft schools. Sub-statal partnerships like these are indeed crucial to the growth of civil society among indigenous peoples and other groups. Unfortunately, the program has recently narrowed its recipient list to those groups that include entrepreneurship or resource extraction in their project.

DEVELOPMENT

Such pro-business decisions raise some basic questions about our approach to development work in places like Latin America. Too often, Canada and other donor countries have failed to listen to our partners to learn *their* priorities, a key component of the 2005 Paris Declaration on Aid Effectiveness. Our development programs have assumed that, with minor variations, ours is the only model to pursue. But the western emphasis on wealth, convenience

and consumption are by no means universally applicable. To the contrary, they are already unsustainable at current levels. Throughout Latin America and the Caribbean, distant, insatiable markets are threatening traditional lifestyles that have adapted over centuries of interaction with the local environment. We should consider the alternative societies that remain, however poor, as one of the continent’s greatest resources. A proper foreign policy would seek to nurture these societies through, for example, a more enlightened version of the Indigenous People’s Partnership Program and treat projects with them as collaborations, rather than the assimilation efforts they so often resemble today.

Finally, no discussion of the Americas would be complete without mentioning Brazil, the rising power of our hemisphere. Brazil has benefitted hugely from the fact that it only holds elections once every 7 years, freeing the country somewhat from the relentless election cycle without divorcing it from democracy. Stability and progressive governance have enabled Brazil to harness its large population and enormous resource base, placing it among the top four emerging powers alongside China, India and Russia. Canada can and should put more effort into engaging this dynamo through trade missions, diplomatic overtures, and development agreements. This is all the more important in the context of a US decline in political and economic clout. Moving into the 21st century, a strong relationship with Brazil will help fill that partial vacuum and ensure Canada’s good standing with our Latin American neighbours.



Mamani and his charges accompanied me on foot to the border. They had no vehicle and just the staples they brought in for their two month rotation. The sergeant showed me a small pool stocked with trout he was raising to supplement their paltry rations. He was beaming, but they weren't bigger than six inches long and only underscored the desperation of his situation.

SERGEANT MAMANI BY BRENDAN MULLIGAN

I negotiated vicuña (a wild relative of the llama) droppings and was careful not to let cactus spines puncture my soles as I walked the sinuous Silala basin in Bolivia's portion of the Atacama Desert. I was approaching the Silala Advanced Military Post, a mere stone's throw from where the waters of Silala flow across the Bolivian-Chilean border. An international dispute over the rights to the waters has been unfolding since 1997, when the Bolivian government revoked a concession awarded to a Chilean company a hundred years prior.

In 2006, Bolivian president Evo Morales inaugurated the military base in the watershed and publicly discussed a plan to bottle the water and sell it with the slogan "Drink Silala water for sovereignty". It was a decidedly provocative action and I wanted to see if the base was as threatening as it appeared from afar.

What looked like a red-brick schoolhouse with a corrugated metal roof came into view. The building was surrounded by a perimeter of brick on

three sides, cabbage-sized cobbles on the fourth. I couldn't imagine the barrier protecting the soldiers from anything other than wind. I snapped a picture of the red letters, SENTINELS OF SILALA, painted below the eaves before I was spotted and a soldier scolded me to lower my camera.

Sergeant Mamani and his seven-man platoon came to greet me and I promptly handed them some dried spaghetti and a box of tea, thinking this is just what the isolated bunch would be craving. "Got any reading material?" barked Mamani. "We finished the Bible long ago."

He wasn't kidding; when not in basic training, baking bread in their adobe oven, or off hunting vicuña, Mamani's crew had been engaged in bible studies. "We've got to keep busy out here."

Despite sensationalist reports (the watershed has been called the only "high risk" basin in South America by the United Nations Environment Programme) and a lack of official diplomatic relations, Bolivia and Chile

have demonstrated significant efforts to cooperate on the issue of Silala. In 2004, their Ministries of Foreign Affairs struck a working group on Silala, which would meet several times in the ensuing years and eventually yield a draft preliminary bilateral agreement on the use of the waters. The construction of the Advanced Military Post appeared to be serious saber-rattling but, upon closer inspection, was a little more than a harmless way to establish a Bolivian presence in the watershed.

Mamani and his charges accompanied me on foot to the border. They had no vehicle and just the staples they brought in for their two month rotation. The Sergeant showed me a small pool stocked with trout he was raising to supplement their paltry rations. He was beaming, but they weren't bigger than six inches long and only underscored the desperation of his situation. I spotted an empty soda bottle discarded in Bolivian territory: PRODUCTO CHILENO. Mamani looked at me, unworried. "They've been on our side."

Transboundary aquifers account for 60% of the world's freshwater resources. Managing them in an era of increasing water scarcity—in which it has been said that the next wars will be fought over water—is one of the most pressing global challenges we face. Brendan's fellowship work sought to better understand the legal, political, social, historical and scientific context of one such watershed, the Silala/Siloli basin straddling Bolivia and Chile, and he found significant evidence of cooperation, despite much political posturing.

EMERGING POWERS

Now that dialogue on the world economy has shifted from the hands of eight leading nations to the G20, a new international balance is coming into focus that will force Canadians to re-examine many dearly-held notions. Canada's economy, already down to 10th place by the time the G20 first met in 2008, can be expected to slip further to 17th by 2050 as the newcomers surpass it. Rather than perceive this as a threat, we should consider the opportunities presented by the emergence of countries like China, India, Brazil and others onto the world stage. The fact that Canada spearheaded the G20's creation is itself a hopeful sign, for in doing so we ensured our continued presence at one of the principal fora where global policy and development issues (to date the domain of the G8) will be discussed. The new voices should be welcomed. As the global financial crisis suggests, we ignore them at our peril.

The shift toward a multipolar world order comes amid pressing global challenges. Addressing issues such as climate change, employment, poverty and inequality are hard enough as it is. Under the backdrop of already sensitive conditions of economic slowdown in advanced industrialized nations, these challenges are truly unprecedented. Given that one-third of the G20 nations are Asian, it's worth considering the Hindu proverb, *Bandar kya jaane adrak ka swad*—"What does a monkey know of the taste of ginger?"—meaning that those who do not understand, cannot appreciate. How, for instance, did so many emerging economies avoid the full brunt of the global recession? Why are they recovering more quickly? How will their transactions with other emerging powers affect our own international relationships? Canada's socio-economic future and its clout on the global stage hinge on understanding and appreciating such questions. They are vital to Canada's investment in a clean, competitive tomorrow.

AN ALTERED LANDSCAPE

We live in a global economic system held together by supply chains and lubricated by financial flows. One would thus expect the major markets of the world to be collectively affected when a serious recession hits two major economies, the United States and the European Union. Yet this was not the case. The phenomenon of "de-coupling" has gained potency, as emerging nations shielded their economies from the worst of the firestorm. It is crucial to recognize that this de-coupling

occurred precisely because emerging states selectively adapted best-practice policy advice emanating from western nations such as Canada and the institutions of the global North. The West's Washington Consensus-based approach, with its focus on economic and financial deregulation, privatization and reduced government spending, was designed to eliminate the very policy tools that many emerging economies used to stave off contagion. In our rush to plug everyone into the global economy, we overlooked the long-term consequences of removing government resources and influence from national economies, leaving it instead to the magic of the market. As usual, actions speak louder than words—the United States, for instance, adopted the exact reverse of fiscal retrenchment rather than face its own crisis-induced structural-adjustment medicine.

Of course, emerging powers are not all the same, and these distinctions deserve closer attention. In economic terms, China is already

"THE SHIFT TOWARD A MULTIPOLAR WORLD ORDER COMES AMID PRESSING GLOBAL CHALLENGES."

the world's second largest economy after the United States, whom it is projected to eclipse by 2050, with India and Brazil also in the top five at that time. These countries' presence will increasingly be felt in regions where Canada plies its trade. China has already surpassed us as a source of U.S. imports, accounting for 18.5 per cent while we now provide less than 15 per cent. Moreover, China is now the main trading partner in countries from Chile to South Africa. Increasingly, then, Canadian economic engagement in the United States, along with multilateral development initiatives (such as in Africa, where the UN Millennium Development Goals face the most obstacles) and our considerable Latin American resource investments, will see us rubbing shoulders with the BRIC and other major players.

For many observers, it is tempting to equate the growing weight of emerging nations with their respective population size. And in some ways, particularly in leveraging foreign investment, it is true that size does matter. China once again sets the bar when it comes to convincing foreign companies to agree to, say, technology transfer, local content and research and development (R&D). These conditions generally help to improve the quality and spillover impacts of foreign investment,

agreements that most investors are more likely to sign when tempted by huge market potential. And in those countries where China is the investor, it has the strength to drive an equally hard bargain.

On the other hand, there are ways around size. Regional agreements like South America's Mercosur or Asia's Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) can give smaller countries more heft since they bring an economic bloc to the table. Taking it one step further, now that China and ASEAN have signed a free trade agreement, ASEAN has given itself another negotiating chip vis-à-vis foreign investors. Moreover, poor countries of any size with natural resources, strategic geographies and politics, and/or local knowledge can leverage such investments to advance other national objectives, such as industrial diversification. This is the very tactic China has used to foster homegrown industries from finance to renewable energy technologies to trains, planes and automobiles.

To some extent, growing resource demands and outward investment flows from emerging countries, particularly China, have already raised flags in other developing countries to utilize this new source of leverage. By all means, maximum leverage should be applied to these new global players to get the best deal for investment and access to these resources. But, in line with this altered landscape, maximum leverage should also be applied to traditional global players. As Rob Davies, South African Trade and Industry Minister, rightly pointed out: "We don't just have to sign on the dotted line whatever is shoved under our noses any longer. We now have alternatives, and that's to our benefit."

The precise economic conditions spurring on the emerging powers vary from country to country, and we must adapt each situation to our own context just as they have done with our advice. Their collective emergence does, however, inspire some suggestions on how Canada can plug into the world of tomorrow.

STRIKING A BALANCE BETWEEN NEW AND OLD

The United States will continue to be of great importance to Canada in the future, but so will China, India, Brazil, Russia, Indonesia, Mexico, South Africa and other emerging



Governments have a clear choice to make: continue to build on the legally binding targets and timetable approach, enshrined in the Kyoto Protocol, or revert to a voluntary pledge-and-review type arrangement. It will forever remain a mystery to me how anyone could think that saving the planet from climate change is a voluntary endeavour!

TILTING AT WINDMILLS BY CLAIRE STOCKWELL

Advocacy in any forum can be a tough job. Frequently those who 'hold the pen,' so to speak, are not interested in listening to the views of civil society, and it is a constant challenge to come up with innovative ways to be heard. Sometimes it takes the form of novel campaigns, other times it is about launching the right report at the right time. Both are easier said than done, but when you get it right, you can really get it right.

My fellowship research focused on the role of technology transfer in the international negotiations. Technology is one of the key building blocks of any global climate deal. This research allowed me to contribute to the civil society version of what a post-2012 global climate deal should look like. What started off as a small brainstorming session amongst a few people in the corridors of the climate negotiations in Accra, Ghana, in August 2008, snowballed into a collaborative effort by 48 individuals from 19 different countries to draft a

60-plus page narrative and 90-plus page legal text of what a fair, ambitious and legally binding deal could be. My own involvement in this project followed a similar trajectory from just working on the technology section to drafting both the narrative and legal texts! While much had been written about the post-2012 climate regime, this was the first time anyone had ever attempted to put all of the pieces together in a comprehensive package. The proposal was launched in June 2009 on the margins of the negotiations and the response was remarkable. Instead of having to run after negotiators to ask for meetings, governments were contacting us with requests to meet. In the half dozen years I have been involved in the international negotiations, the door to speaking with policy-makers had never opened so wide. It was the right product at the right time to help get our message across.

Unfortunately, the post-script of this story is nowhere near as positive. Governments failed to produce a legally

building agreement in Copenhagen that would build on the multilateral architecture created by the Kyoto Protocol. Against the backdrop of devastating Pakistani floods, Russian forest fires and Chinese landslides, 2010 saw the negotiations go from bad to worse and the timeline for reaching a fair, ambitious and legally binding global deal to stop dangerous climate change continually extended. And, following the Durban talks in November 2011, the Canadian government made official the result of years of inaction on this file: Canada would formally withdraw from its commitments under the Kyoto protocol. Governments have a clear choice to make: continue to build on the legally binding targets and timetable approach, enshrined in the Kyoto Protocol, or revert to a voluntary pledge-and-review type arrangement. It will forever remain a mystery to me how anyone could think that saving the planet from climate change is a voluntary endeavour!

In international climate negotiations, technology transfer is one of three key building blocks for a post-2012 climate agreement (the other two are financing for adaptation and, of course, emission reductions). Many emerging and developing economies, including China where Claire conducted her research, have made it clear that they will accept no reductions in carbon dioxide (CO₂) emissions without agreements in place for the technology and the financing to adapt to climate change impacts.

powers. Investing in trade missions, cultural and educational exchanges, diplomatic relationships and economic agreements with the emerging powers while seeking to remain competitive in the United States and Mexico (e.g., North American regional co-operation) will be key. This is true particularly in a G20 economic world, but also for multilateral, diplomatic and development co-operation on global issues. With Canada's dependence on the U.S. market a glaring source of vulnerability for our domestic economy, there is no better time to boost and diversify trade and investment patterns with these new sources of long-term growth.

PRIORITIZING CAPACITY BUILDING

To enable our own sources of leverage, Canada should significantly boost its physical and human investments in its science, technology and innovation capabilities. This would promote linkages with emerging powers that are hungry for co-operative international initiatives to help address some of their most pressing social and economic challenges. While such measures are worthwhile in their own right, a keen emphasis on possible spin-off and joint-venture opportunities would build strong foundations for strategic new relationships. Complementary support for policy research focused on emerging countries is also critical to better understand these dynamic and evolving economies.

PUTTING OUR RESOURCES TO BEST USE

Canada is blessed with abundant natural resources such as lumber and oil that will continue to be in high demand. This calls for a close examination of our historic identity as “hewers of wood and drawers of water;” in particular with regard to a

capricious American market. Just as China has prospered by fostering capacity along its supply chain, Canada should invest its resource rents in fostering secondary and tertiary industries. Manufacturing is a key sector that both uses and creates services, uses resources and conducts significant amounts of R&D. This is not to suggest strict protectionism, but it does call for a sharper focus on a well-balanced economy that can weather external impacts.

PROTECTING AND EXPERIMENTING WITH WHAT WORKS

Certain industries, such as Canada's cultural, transport and telecommunications sectors, are vital to Canada's identity and economy. The same is true for Canada's natural environment and biodiversity. At the very least, these industries are important for establishing Canada's brand as a country, which is significant in promoting other countries' goodwill toward us and our ability to win support for Canadian leadership in international fora. In key sectors where Canada has lagged, such as renewable energies and technologies, the policy community must be willing to boldly experiment with measures to ensure Canada is at the forefront of these industries of the future.

PRE-EMPTING THE FUTURE CLIMATE CRISIS

Without a doubt, one of the central challenges of the present and the future is adaptation to changing climate patterns. Investing in the transition to a low-carbon economy and in sustainable technologies will prove to be a key driver of economic growth in Canada. With international agreement remaining frustratingly elusive, the scene is set for an activist honest-

broker nation to uncover the middle ground on climate change, which is inherently intertwined with ongoing deadlock in other key areas such as international economic governance and trade negotiations.

OF DEEDS PROVERBIAL

There is a crucial corollary to Canada's quest for global influence: our obligations and responsibilities toward the global poor and those living under situations of duress. A huge proportion of them live in the very countries now emerging as our competitors. By continuing to bring attention and assistance to reducing inequality, Canada has a real opportunity to demonstrate that prosperity needn't come at someone else's expense. Our leadership in this regard could well play a critical role in cementing international relations into the future.

ARCTIC

In July 2009, the Canadian government unveiled a comprehensive policy regarding Canada's North. The document, entitled *Canada's Northern Strategy: Our North, Our Heritage, Our Future* outlines public investment and activity in four strategic areas: Exercising Arctic Sovereignty, Promoting Social and Economic Development, Protecting the Environment and Improving and Devolving Northern Governance. One year after the Northern Strategy was revealed, the same four goals were prioritized in the "Arctic Foreign Policy Statement" released by then Foreign Affairs Minister Lawrence Cannon. These two documents suggest that, as far as the Arctic is concerned, domestic policy and foreign policy are deeply intertwined. In other words, Canada's engagement in the circumpolar world begins at home and our international Arctic leadership depends largely on what we can achieve inside our borders. Based on these four priorities, this chapter analyzes what is, or could be, a unified Arctic policy.

EXERCISING ARCTIC SOVEREIGNTY

For many Northerners, attention from the federal government is warmly welcomed. However, Ottawa's Northern Strategy was developed without consulting northern indigenous leaders or even Northerners more broadly. Many in the North were left puzzled as to how these four pillars were conceived. Quite tellingly, the location of the strategy announcement—in the bowels of Ottawa's Museum of Civilization—was a world away from the communities the

"CANADA'S ENGAGEMENT IN THE CIRCUMPOLAR WORLD BEGINS AT HOME AND OUR INTERNATIONAL ARCTIC LEADERSHIP DEPENDS LARGELY ON WHAT WE CAN ACHIEVE INSIDE OUR BORDERS."

document would impact. The event indicated to Northerners that this was just another imposition of southern politics and priorities on a remarkably unique and diverse area of the country. Imagine the uproar that would be caused by announcing an "Atlantic Strategy" or

"Prairie Provinces Strategy" in Ottawa.

Sovereignty is perhaps the most prominent pillar of Prime Minister Stephen Harper's Northern Strategy, receiving the bulk of its financial investment, mainly in the form of military hardware and infrastructure. But while Ottawa addresses sovereignty in the North by constructing a deepwater port and strengthening the presence of the Canadian Armed Forces, Northerners frame the discussion in a different manner. For them, any discussion of sovereignty should be focused on indigenous rights and self-determination. The issue of sovereignty is a local one in the North since in many cases true sovereignty over the land has never been universally established. Does the Crown possess it? Do the Inuit? Do Dene? The extent to which this question is unclear to Northerners may surprise policy-makers in Southern Canada.

In the North, perspectives are often shaped in small communities, even though the framework for policy discourse may trickle down from international bodies such as the UN and Arctic Council, an eight-nation circumpolar body. For the most part, people on the ground do not perceive their struggles as overtly rights-based, so even well-intentioned policies like the UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples lack meaning in the very communities they are intended to benefit. There is no direct translation, for example, of "indigenous rights" into Inuktitut. Perhaps the closest translation is "the way things ought to be." The fight for indigenous rights is grounded in a struggle for recognition of a distinct way of life, one that

indigenous rights.

Moreover, northern indigenous peoples' historical relationship with the Canadian state has in the main been a deeply negative one, marked by over half a century of submission to the norms and demands of military security. Our government has a reputation for asserting Arctic sovereignty at the expense of the people who live there. Events like the forced relocation of Inuit families to the high Arctic are not easily forgotten, even after the welcome federal government apology made in August 2010. This checkered "security" narrative will have to be reconciled with Northerners' direct experience before sovereignty can be well and truly claimed.

PROTECTING THE ENVIRONMENT

Climate change is the single issue that brings all Northern realities together and is the confluence of so many other issues within the North. It is global and local, economic and social. It affects ongoing issues around resource extraction and land use, which are highly contentious to begin with. There are social impacts of climate change that exacerbate the effects of poverty, inadequate housing and addiction, already too widespread in the North.

On a positive note, several strong leaders have emerged and made great progress in melding the discourse on climate change with that of indigenous rights. Mary Simon and Sheila Watt-Cloutier are prime examples, having articulated the "Inuit right to be cold." Their voices offer a crucial counter-argument to the claim (often heard in southern Canada) that climate change will be beneficial to the Inuit because it will open the region to a resource boom. However, such a view ignores the reality that the Inuit have a unique connection with place, to say nothing of the lessons history has taught them about the negative impact of resource booms on local and indigenous populations.

This discourse—the central role of land (understood to include water) in the indigenous world view—is divided at the national level. One side is supportive of the federal government position that seeks to separate Aboriginal peoples from place. This argument frames rights

revolves fundamentally around language and culture. For northern communities, the more tangible issues surrounding land, food, water, family and the health of the community itself are paramount. Yet this grounding in place is all too often left out of official dialogue on

as dependent upon the state and can be seen in current national policies on land claims and self-government. These policies define and restrict the use of land and environment by Northern indigenous communities in accordance with western norms and jurisprudence.

Meanwhile, others hope to change the discourse from one that is focused on law and the state to something more inclusive of indigenous philosophy and world views. This new discourse must be founded on the indigenous notion of attachment to the land and a different approach toward resource management, culture and language. A concrete example of this is the Dehcho Process, in which the Dehcho First Nations are seeking more control over land and resources in lieu of cash to settle their land claim.

Nor does the current federal approach comprehend the idea that environmental damage is experienced as social suffering. Currently, Ottawa's position is that neither has any bearing on land claim negotiations. Yet most northern communities view these negotiations as a means to end suffering—both their own and the land's.

IMPROVING AND DEVOLVING NORTHERN GOVERNANCE

Governance of the North is one of the region's largest and most complex issues. First and foremost, Canada should fully articulate just what the North is. For Northerners, "the North" is largely a southern construct. There is little pan-Northern collaboration among the three territorial governments. For example, the North, according to the Inuit of Eastern

determinants of health, education outcomes, and poverty, among others. So while the goal of Northern development should be the creation of citizens who are able to walk confidently in both the indigenous and the western worlds, the pattern of investment is arguably creating generations who are ill-equipped to walk properly in either.

The Arctic Governance Project, an independent international initiative looking into ways of strengthening governance at multiple levels in the circumpolar world, has found that effective indigenous governance is already in place across much of the Arctic. Canada would be doubly wise to respect its historic land claim treaties, because they can be leveraged internationally to bolster Canada's Arctic sovereignty claims. These land claim settlements are recognized not only within Canada, but also across the circumpolar North, giving us a greater degree of legitimacy than any other Arctic nation.

Unfortunately, when politicians in Ottawa discuss issues of Arctic sovereignty and Arctic governance, they often need to be reminded that there is already a complex and innovative governance milieu in place. At a recent conference on Arctic issues held in Whitehorse, the Government of Nunavut told delegates, who were eager to discuss the "creation" of a new governance model in the North, that there was, in fact, a government already operating in the territory. Rather than ignore local government, the federal government should be doing everything possible to trumpet its existence since, again, our modern land claims treaties

set us apart from all other states and are a strong foundation for the concept of indigenous sovereignty.

On the world stage, it is unfortunate that Canadian foreign policy is minimizing the significance of the Arctic Council, an international body Canada pushed to create at the end of the last century. Mid-level departmental officials represent Canada at its meetings compared with the high-level representation most other nations send. Moreover, Canada has terminated the office of the Circumpolar Ambassador, who by convention was a Northern indigenous person. The revolving secretariat has made the organizational

culture unstable, while the indigenous Permanent Participants receive less funding than before. In fact, Canada tried bypassing the Arctic Council by supporting a parallel process with the five oil-producing Arctic coastal states, thereby excluding the participation of indigenous representatives. Lamentably, Canada has let the power and legitimacy of the Council wither to the point where its future is now unclear. But Canada is not alone in its lukewarm support to this body; other circumpolar states have demonstrated varying degrees of enthusiasm for the Council since its creation.

PROMOTING SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

If national decision-makers truly wish to see the Arctic prosper, then they must value the people who inhabit it. This means viewing the North as something more than a resource hinterland. If Canadians do not address climate change and indigenous sovereignty, we will never be able to call the North home. The most effective and logical way to do this is to invest directly in Northern communities and develop local knowledge. When one considers that the median age of Nunavut's population is 23, one gets an idea of the enormous human capacity that exists in the Canadian North.

Thus far, however, Canada has failed to harness this potential. In the circumpolar North, there are 61 university campuses, an average of seven per country. Canada is the only nation that does not have a single university north of the 60th parallel. The role a university could play in advancing Northern issues and contributing to nation-building is tremendous. The University of Greenland in Nuuk is one example; the Sami University College in Kautokeino, Norway—population 3,000—another. A university in Canada's North, designed by Northerners, has the potential to weave through the jurisdictional silos and provide an institution that can serve all Northerners. And it would undoubtedly serve each of the four pillars of the federal government's Northern Strategy: environment, sovereignty, social and economic development and governance.

"IF NATIONAL DECISION-MAKERS TRULY WISH TO SEE THE ARCTIC PROSPER, THEN THEY MUST VALUE THE PEOPLE WHO INHABIT IT."

Nunavut, is fundamentally different from the North known by the Tlingit in southwest Yukon. As well, what little policy statements exist in relation to the north usually refer only to Canada's three territories. However, many argue that any true definition of the Canadian North should also include Nunatsiavut, Nunavik and possibly the northern portions of provinces from BC to Ontario.

Many in the North also feel that there is little support within the current Canadian political framework for their indigenous worldview. The lack of attention to Northern governance, programs and infrastructure is affecting all socio-economic indicators including social



At the community level, the success of nation building efforts is undeniable. Children are learning the Tlingit language and revitalizing ancient songs and ceremonies, many community members are employed by the First Nation and all citizens are able to participate in the direction of their government. None of these were encouraged under the restrictive Indian Act.

A STRONG CONSTITUTION BY GAVIN GARDINER

Early January 2012 marks the six-year anniversary of one of Canada's newest jurisdictions. The Carcross/Tagish First Nation (CTFN) in the southwest Yukon signed its Final and Self Government Agreements on January 9, 2006. Upon signing the agreements, CTFN became constitutionally recognized as an order of government within Canada. Along with this recognition came exclusive rights and control to nearly 1500 km² of land and legal jurisdiction in over three dozen areas based on both citizenship and geography.

At once, the newly formed nation set out to establish government processes that would respect the laws of the ancestors, reflected in the traditional stories passed down orally by the Elders. Self Government has allowed the legal space for this unique cultural expression. To that end, the Carcross/Tagish Nation has been built on the principles of consensus, community engagement and cultural appropriateness.

Progress has not been easy. The federal and territorial governments are often confused by this new approach to governance, and across the country, innovative and progressive approaches that recognize a First Nation's right to self-government are few and far between. However, at the community level, the success of nation building efforts is undeniable. Children are learning the Tlingit language and revitalizing ancient songs and ceremonies, many community members are employed by the First Nation and all citizens are able to participate in the direction of their government. None of these were encouraged under the restrictive Indian Act.

These are the successes which are making self-governing First Nations in Canada's North the envy of the world. The nation-building exercise currently underway in the Arctic represents some of the most innovative approaches to governance in the world, and the lessons learned here, as well as in

indigenous communities outside our borders, provide rich lessons learned for indigenous communities across the globe in their struggle for political recognition.

On the international stage, pressure is growing for states to right past wrongs against indigenous peoples within their borders. If self-government is implemented properly, Canada has a true opportunity to lead in this regard. Whether in Uganda, where the traditional kingdoms' request for official recognition have led to violence, or Bolivia, whose new constitution has enshrined indigenous autonomy strikingly similar to the powers of self-government in Canada, or in Norway, where the indigenous Sami are struggling for representation on bodies that make decisions on land and resources within their traditional territory, there is a wealth of expertise and experiences that offer invaluable lessons for the international community and for Canada.

Of the 22 self-government agreements in Canada, 19 are in the North (the other three, the Nisga'a, Sechelt and West Bank, are all located in BC). Through his fellowship, Gavin explored how First Nations in Canada and other indigenous nations outside our borders can learn from each other as they shift from conventional/western models of governance towards traditional/culturally-relevant ones.

CONCLUSION

Looking at the world through the eyes of the Gordon Global Fellows who wrote this book, a landscape of tectonic shifts comes into focus. The G8 has been eclipsed by the G20, ushering in a new age of emerging powers; at the same time, international corporations rival nation-states in money and clout; the growing global divide between rich and poor has fed a corresponding preoccupation with security, often at the expense of human rights; Canada's military has spent the better part of a decade in a distant country where the old rules of war no longer apply; looming over it all, the gathering storm of climate change is set to become the defining struggle of the 21st century. Canada's position in this shifting terrain is, or ought to be, the subject of vigorous public debate.

That was the idea behind one last dialogue amongst the Fellows, who were asked to discuss three questions before they left Ottawa last fall:

What has been the greatest success or failure of Canada's foreign policy over the past decade?

What important issues have slipped off our foreign policy radar completely?

What should be our top foreign policy priority going into the next decade?

Opinions varied across all three questions—hardly surprising, given the diversity of the Fellows' backgrounds—but one principle did emerge that drew unanimous support: Canadian foreign policy is most effective when pursued multilaterally. This has been key to our cherished status as a model power, and many Fellows agreed that the last decade has yielded a few more successes in that vein: an international ban on landmines, the Kimberley Process for ending the global trade in blood diamonds, the Responsibility to Protect (enshrining the international community's responsibility to prevent genocide, war crimes, ethnic cleansing and crimes against humanity), and most recently the creation of the G20. All are products of Canadian-led diplomacy that sought international solutions to international problems—an equation that could easily serve as the 21st century's slogan.

Unfortunately, the Fellows further agreed that these examples are increasingly rare exceptions to the rule—Canada's greatest historic success has become its greatest contemporary failure. Our country is now known in diplomatic circles for hindering rather than helping the most important international developments. Most prominent among these are the ongoing climate

negotiations, during which Canada has earned the dubious "Fossil of the Year" award from environmental groups for five years in a row for being the most obstructive nation at the talks. No other western country has argued against concrete targets for emissions reductions, or dodged them at home so successfully, as Canada. Our international influence has been further weakened by the recent dramatic withdrawal of Canadian embassies, peacekeepers, and Official Development Assistance money out of Africa; partly as a result, Canada suffered a historic rebuke when we failed to win a rotating seat on the Security Council at the end of 2010. On the economic front, Canada has narrowed its outlook with an aggressive pursuit of bilateral free trade agreements following the collapsed World Trade Organization (WTO) negotiations, thus fostering competition over cooperation on the world stage. Of course Canada needs to be competitive, but in focusing on short term economic prizes (whose value inches closer to zero with each free trade agreement our partner countries sign elsewhere) might we be risking a slow slide to protectionism, overlooking bigger opportunities

"THE REAL QUESTION IS NOT WHETHER ONE'S TOP FOREIGN POLICY PRIORITY IS CLIMATE CHANGE OR TERRORISM, HUMAN RIGHTS OR CANADA'S INTERNATIONAL REPUTATION—IN THE END, THERE ARE NO SINGLE ISSUES, AND WHAT TRULY MATTERS IS A SOLID GRASP OF HOW THEY INFLUENCE ONE ANOTHER."

that cut across all departments in the process?

After all, progressive multilateralism not only requires cooperation between governments, but inside them as well. In this respect, Canada's Foreign Affairs team deserves credit for developing the innovative whole-of-government response to international disasters, the Stabilization and Reconstruction Task Force (START). Still in its infancy, START cut its teeth in Haiti following the devastating 2010 earthquake; it could, if nurtured, become the model for dealing with the host of 21st-century issues that cut across economic, political, and environmental boundaries. Climate change is again the most obvious of these. But there are many others, including the vulnerability of a global supply chain on which more and more nations depend for both income and consumption. Another grave concern that no single department can address is the ability of international finance not only to circumvent federal laws, but increasingly to have those laws changed in their favor. Canada is no stranger to

the transnationalization of finance, hosting as we do 60% of the world's mining companies on the Toronto Stock Exchange. For the most selfish of reasons, it makes sense to promote international regulatory frameworks that could oversee everything from corporate social responsibility to carbon emissions and trade disputes.

With respect to foreign policy issues that have slipped off our radar, opinions coalesced around a few themes. Water, for instance, is the world's number one extracted resource by volume, while dirty water is the world's leading cause of premature death. A concerted effort to make clean water accessible to the global poor may well be the most strategic way to achieve Canada's goals on maternal and child health. Another (related) unsung policy issue is conflict prevention: the old maxim that an ounce of prevention is worth a pound of cure is gaining currency at the Security Council, and international efforts are underway to install early warning mechanisms in volatile regions. But Canada, a traditional peacekeeper used to arriving *after* hostilities have broken out, has thus far been slow to take up the challenge.

The role of Canadian civil society on the world stage also deserves more credit and support than it currently receives; indeed, many non-governmental organizations with decades of experience in aid delivery must continually fend off funding cuts as the Canadian International Development Agency changes its priorities.

These discussions were crafted with the goal of generating debate, not consensus. The real question is not whether one's top foreign policy priority is climate change or terrorism, human rights or Canada's international reputation—in the end, there are no single issues, and what truly matters is a solid grasp of how they influence one another. A government needs to prioritize if it is to accomplish anything at all, but to do so without first hearing all the options is to invite failure by any measure. Sound policy relies on informed debate. Whatever their disagreements, the authors of this book share that conviction, and with it the belief that Canada's foreign policy is vitally important not just to the world outside our borders, but to Canadians as well.

GORDON GLOBAL FELLOWS



Erica Bach

Erica Bach works for the Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade, currently holding the position of Senior

Advisor with the Office of the Extractive Sector Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR) Counsellor in Toronto. Prior to that, she completed a series of internships in Southern Africa and Southeast Asia, including in the Philippines, Mozambique and Zimbabwe. As a 2009 fellow, Erica investigated the role of victims in international criminal law processes, in particular at the International Criminal Court.



Adrian Bradbury

Adrian Bradbury is currently the Director of Strategy and Partnerships at Public Inc., a Toronto-based organization that raises

money, mobilizes volunteers, and advocates for social issues. He is the founder of Athletes for Africa, a global charity, and GuluWalk, a grassroots movement for peace in northern Uganda. More recently, Adrian launched Football for Good, an initiative in partnership with two-time NBA MVP Steve Nash. Adrian has been honoured as a 'Newsmaker of the Year' by *Maclean's* magazine and has written for the *National Post*, *The Globe and Mail*, and *The Walrus*. As a 2006 fellow, Adrian studied tools for civil society to engage in the United Nations' "Responsibility to Protect" and mechanisms to make the international community intervene when a nation is unwilling or unable to protect its citizens.



Clare Demerse

Clare Demerse is the Director of the Pembina Institute's Climate Change Program, where she works with a range of stakeholders

and acts as a spokesperson for civil society on issues related to greenhouse gas reduction policy. Through her 2008 fellowship, Clare researched financial support for tackling climate change in developing countries, publishing a report about Canada's role in climate financing entitled *Our Fair Share* in April 2009. She continues to work on climate financing in her role at the Pembina Institute.



Louis Dorval

Louis Dorval works as the Managing Director of the Meltwater Entrepreneurial School of Technology (MEST) Incubator in

Accra, Ghana which has invested in a dozen local IT start-ups. Louis is also the founder of Equilibrium Partners, a strategy consulting firm for social enterprises based in San Francisco, California. Prior to this, he spent nine years working for Engineers Without Borders Canada, including four as the Director of Overseas Programs. He now sits on the board of directors of the organization. As a 2007 fellow, Louis investigated the relationship between the learning capacity of African organizations and their accountability to donors.



Gavin Gardiner

Gavin Gardiner is the Senior Government Official for the Carcross/Tagish First Nation (CTFN). As one of less than

two dozen Self-Governing First Nations in the country, CTFN has undertaken a radical decolonization process using traditional stories and Tlingit and Tagish oral history to rebuild an indigenous government. Gavin's 2009 fellowship investigated the similarities between Canadian First Nations and three other communities with a history of colonization in Uganda, Bolivia and Norway. His research sought out areas where Self-Governing First Nations and other emerging democracies can benefit through the mutual exchange of insight, information and experience.



Chris Henschel

Chris Henschel is the National Manager of Domestic and International Affairs at the Canadian Parks and Wilderness

Society (CPAWS). He leads an international network of environmental organizations to define and advocate for climate rules that create accountability for emissions from logging forests and damaging wetlands. Chris' 2007 fellowship work investigated whether rules can be developed under the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (e.g. the Kyoto Protocol) to encourage forest protection as part of climate change response strategies.



Tracy Glynn

Tracy Glynn is the Acadian Forest Campaign Director with the Conservation Council of New Brunswick. She teaches

courses on environmental praxis and social policy at St. Thomas University and is a doctoral student in interdisciplinary studies at the University of New Brunswick. Tracy is also a co-editor of the Mines and Communities website and sits on the board of Mining Watch Canada and is a founding member of the New Brunswick Media Co-op. As a 2009 fellow, Tracy travelled to Guatemala to document stories of Mayan women affected by mining. She is currently working on a book manuscript that tells the stories of mine-affected women, building on previous research she conducted with indigenous women in Indonesia and Labrador (Nunatsiavut).



Farouk Shamas Jiwa (Mato)

Farouk Shamas Jiwa (Mato) works with the Advocacy & Public Policy team at the GAVI Alliance Secretariat

in Geneva, Switzerland. The GAVI Alliance is a global health partnership representing stakeholders in immunization from both private and public sectors. Farouk's focus at GAVI is on strengthening GAVI's engagement with civil society organizations and advancing GAVI's engagement in key public policy arenas such as the G8/G20, African Union, World Economic Forum (Davos), and the like, with the objective of advancing global efforts to increase the number of children who have access to immunizations and life-saving vaccines. As a 2006 Global Fellow, Farouk explored the meaning and relevance of multiculturalism, diversity and the pluralism of identity for foreign policy.


Mohammed Khan

Mohammed Khan is presently working as the Principal Researcher at Community Appraisal & Motivation Programme (CAMP),

a Pakistani NGO based in Islamabad, where he explores how Afghan refugees interact with the Pakistani legal system in the absence of refugee law. Mohammed has also held internship and volunteer positions with the Egyptian Initiative for Personal Rights in Cairo and the Sri Lankan Human Rights Commission's Disaster Relief Monitory Unit. His position with CAMP grew out of his 2009 fellowship, which focused on the legal empowerment of Afghan refugees and migrants in Iran and Pakistan.


Arno Kopecky

Arno Kopecky is an independent journalist whose writing has appeared in *The Walrus*, *Foreign Policy*, *Maclean's*, the *Globe and Mail*, the *Toronto Star*, and other publications.

As a 2009 Global Fellow, Arno investigated the Harper administration's Americas Strategy, focusing on indigenous rights and the free trade agreements Canada recently signed with Peru and Colombia. A book based on his fellowship work will be published by Douglas & McIntyre in the fall of 2012.


Akim Adé Larcher

Akim Adé Larcher is currently the Director & Senior Consultant at The Larcher Group, a consulting firm specializing in a

variety of strategic planning, capacity building and policy development services. He serves on the board of the International Lesbian & Gay Association (ILGA), is a member of the Advisory Committee for the LGBT Program with Human Rights Watch, and founded Stop Murder Music (Canada). As a 2008 fellow, Akim explored the various ways Canada can advance lesbian, gay, bisexual, trans-identified and intersexed rights through both the work of the Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA) and the development aid that Canada provides to donor countries in the Caribbean Community (CARICOM).


Bryony Lau

Bryony Lau lives in Jakarta, Indonesia where she works for the International Crisis Group (ICG), a non-profit organization that

seeks to prevent or resolve political and military conflict through research, analysis and advocacy. She focuses on the Philippines, travels regularly to its conflict-affected areas and is the primary author of ICG's reporting on the country. As a 2009 fellow, Bryony studied the effects of China's influence on the global refugee regime, looking at whether China was influencing government policies on refugee and asylum issues in Southeast Asia. She also considered the strategies used by other governments, the United Nations and NGOs to affect Chinese policy on refugee questions.


Nuala Lawlor

Nuala Lawlor is a foreign service officer with the Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade (DFAIT). Following

assignments in Ghana, Sudan and Venezuela, she is currently living in Lima, Peru and working for DFAIT as a Peru political analyst. As a 2008 fellow, Nuala examined how a gender perspective has been incorporated into the training and capacity-building programs developed to address conflict resolution and peace support operations at the Kofi Annan Peacekeeping Training Centre (KAPTC) in Accra, Ghana.


Émilie Lemieux

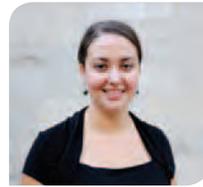
Émilie Lemieux is currently pursuing her Master's at the École nationale d'Administration publique, while working

as a program manager at SUCO (Solidarité, Union, Coopération), a non-governmental organization based in Montreal. SUCO supports partners in Africa, South America, Central America and the Caribbean to promote the participation of local communities in their own development process. Émilie's 2009 fellowship work focused on Peru, where she investigated the efficacy of Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR) principles of Canadian mining companies for fostering positive local development.


Brendan Mulligan

Brendan Mulligan is currently working for the Centre for Indigenous Environmental Resources (CIER) in

Winnipeg, Manitoba on indigenous water issues. CIER is a national, First Nation-directed environmental non-profit organization, working to assist First Nations with building the capacity to address the environmental issues they face. Previously, he was working for the University of Calgary as the Academic Advisor and Coordinator of the CIDA-funded "Water Management in Bolivia" project, which involved strengthening an M.Sc. program in hydrogeology and integrated water resource management in Bolivia. As a 2009 fellow, Brendan investigated transboundary water policy through a case study on the Silala basin, shared by Bolivia and Chile.


Jessica Oliver

Jessica Oliver works as a policy analyst at the Canadian International Development Agency, focusing on education in

emergencies, conflict, post-conflict, and fragile states. As a 2009 fellow, Jessica examined the use and implementation of the Inter-Agency Network for Education in Emergencies, Chronic Crises, and Early Reconstruction (INEE) Minimum Standards in southern Sudan. The objective of this fellowship project was to develop policy recommendations to improve access to education for all war-affected children.


Ajmal Pashtoonyar

Ajmal is currently completing his Ontario articles at Waldman and Associates in Toronto. Prior to that, he was a visiting professional at

the International Criminal Court in the Hague, where he supported the Prosecutor's Office ongoing preliminary examination of Afghanistan. He has also served as Justice Sector Officer, Afghanistan Task Force at the Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade, working directly with the Canadian Embassy in Kabul on transitional justice issues. He has previously worked with the Department of Justice in Ottawa and the United Nations in Geneva and Nairobi. As a 2009 fellow, Ajmal conducted a comparative investigation of transitional justice processes in Bosnia Herzegovina, Rwanda, Sierra Leone and Afghanistan.


Rita Soares Pinto

Rita Soares Pinto is currently working as a gender justice program officer at Oxfam-Québec in Montreal and, at the

global level, she is acting as a member of the Gender Justice team of Oxfam International. She also serves on the coordination committee of the "Gender in Practice" community of practice that she founded with the Association Québécoise des Organismes de Coopération Internationale (AQOCI). "Gender in Practice" aims to reinforce the capacity of Canadian civil society organizations to integrate gender and women's rights in their development work, and in 2011 the initiative secured long-term funding from IDRC and was recognized as an innovative initiative for building the capacity of member organizations to advance gender equality. Through her 2007 fellowship, Rita organized an international conference and edited a collective publication entitled *Women's rights and gender equality in Canadian cooperation: Challenges and perspectives*, in addition to founding "Gender in Practice."


Daniel Din-Yu Poon

Daniel Din-Yu Poon is currently working as a researcher with the North-South Institute in Ottawa. He has lived, studied and worked in

Beijing for a number of years, delving into issues of Chinese economic development and industrial policies, as well as those related to microfinance. He has worked as a policy consultant with various civil society organizations including: the Canadian Autoworkers Union, the Ontario Manufacturing Council, the Canadian Foundation of the Americas, and the Canadian Centre for Policy Alternatives. As a 2008 fellow, Daniel was a visiting scholar with the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences (CASS) in Beijing, China, as well as with Trade and Industrial Policy Strategies (TIPS) in Pretoria, South Africa to deepen his understanding of Chinese industrial policy and how it might be applied in the South African context.


Anuradha Rao

Anuradha Rao is a marine conservation consultant, biologist and writer. She has facilitated and participated in

conservation initiatives and research in Canada, Southern Africa, West Africa, Indonesia and the Caribbean, and for over a decade held the volunteer position of West Africa Coordinator for Amnesty International. Most recently, she has provided technical support to marine planning processes in British Columbia directed by First Nation, federal and provincial governments. As a 2006 fellow, she studied the mapping, conservation and restoration of coastal ecosystems to preserve their function as protective barriers against the effects of climate change in Newfoundland and Ghana.


Katherine Reyes

Katherine Reyes has served as the Special Assistant to the Deputy Joint Special Representative of the African Union-United

Nations Operation in Darfur. She is currently pursuing a PhD on security and local leadership in refugee/IDP camps at the University College London. Her 2008 fellowship investigated Canada's support to the African Union, with a focus on that support's impact on efforts in conflict resolution and prevention.


Martha Robbins

Martha Jane Robbins is currently studying agriculture and rural development at the International Institute of Social Studies

of Erasmus University Rotterdam. Prior to that, she was the International Coordinator for the National Farmers Union from 2007 to 2011. In this role, she worked closely with the international peasant and small-scale farmers movement, La Via Campesina (LVC), on agriculture and food policy. For her 2006 fellowship, Martha concentrated on the situation of Mexican migrant farm workers employed in Canada. She also traveled to Mali for the first international conference on food sovereignty and to work with LVC's International Commission on Migration and Rural Workers.


Amitabh Saxena

Amitabh Saxena recently completed his MBA at INSEAD, an English-language business school south of Paris that emphasizes

global leadership. Prior to that, he was a director in the Marketing and Product Development Unit of ACCION, a nonprofit pioneer in microfinance that provides financial services to over 2 million poor people. As a 2007 fellow, Amitabh studied the Canadian regulatory environment of person-to-person international money transfers through the mobile phone, in an effort to reduce the cost of remitting money abroad.


Alexandra Sicotte-Lévesque

Alexandra Sicotte-Lévesque is a filmmaker, journalist and development worker with over 10

years experience on the African continent. In 2002, Alexandra co-founded Journalists for Human Rights (JHR), an NGO mobilizing African media to spread awareness about human rights. For her 2006 fellowship, focused on Canada's responsibilities towards communities affected by Canadian extractive industries abroad, Alexandra directed and produced the documentary film *When Silence is Golden*. The film, about a Ghanaian community's struggle with a gold mine, was screened around the world and awarded an honorary mention at Montreal's Pan-African Film Festival, Vues d'Afrique. Alexandra is now working for the United Nations while directing her second film, *The Waiting Room*, which follows the journeys of four young Sudanese leading up to the 2011 referendum on southern Sudan's independence.


Shibil Siddiqi

Shibil Siddiqi is a lawyer, journalist and political analyst. He works at a community legal aid clinic in Toronto. He also writes

a column for the *Express Tribune* (the Pakistani affiliate of the *New York Times' International Herald Tribune*), and blogs for *The News International*, *Geo News*, *Asia Times*, and *The Mark*, covering international affairs and strategic security issues in South Asia and the Middle East. He is also a Fellow at the Centre for the Study of Global Power and Politics at Trent University. He has worked with international and local organizations in Pakistan and Afghanistan, including the National Democratic Institute for International Affairs and the Legal Aid Organization of Afghanistan. His 2007 fellowship research covered the historical relationship between Afghanistan and Pakistan, and explored the regional and global dimensions of the protracted Afghan conflict.


Guillaume Sirois

Guillaume Sirois est présentement étudiant au doctorat au département d'histoire de l'art et d'études en communication de

l'Université McGill. Ses recherches portent principalement sur les politiques culturelles dans le contexte de la mondialisation. Il agit aussi comme consultant indépendant dans le domaine des politiques culturelles, œuvrant principalement pour des regroupements d'artistes et des groupes de représentation des intérêts dans le domaine des arts et de la culture. À titre de bénévole, il occupe actuellement le poste de président du conseil d'administration de Musique Multi Montréal, un organisme dédié à l'intégration des musiciens du monde dans le paysage musical montréalais. Pour son fellowship en 2008, Guillaume a examiné quels sont les besoins des milieux artistiques des pays en voie de développement, pour contribuer à l'établissement d'une réelle coopération internationale dans le domaine de la culture.


Magdalena Smieszek

Magdalena Smieszek currently works as the Regional Integration Officer for the United Nations High Commissioner for

Refugees (UNHCR) Regional Representation in Central Europe based in Budapest, Hungary. In her role, she examines and advocates on policies of integration of refugees and beneficiaries of international protection in seven Central European countries. She has previously worked with the UNHCR in Nepal, Pakistan, Lebanon, and Yemen, as well as for the UNDP in Ghana and the International Organization on Migration in Hungary and Bosnia and Herzegovina. Her 2008 Fellowship work studied international policy on trafficking for sexual exploitation.


Claire Stockwell

Claire Stockwell began her DPhil at the Centre for Socio-Legal Studies at the University of Oxford in 2011 and is examining

the effectiveness of climate change litigation. Prior to that, she worked as a consultant in the field of climate change law and policy, living in Canada and China. She has been attending the international climate negotiations since 2003 and has worked with many organizations in the field, from youth groups to the United Nations Institute for Training and Research's Climate Change Programme. Claire's 2008 fellowship research focused on the role of technology transfer in the international negotiations and included three months of fieldwork in China.


Myroslava Tataryn

Myroslava Tataryn has over 10 years of diverse life and work experience at the intersection of disability rights, social inclusion,

and access to health services. Currently, Myroslava Tataryn is based in the UK working as a research officer for BasicNeeds. After completing the MSc in Public Health in Developing Countries at the London School of Hygiene and Tropical Medicine in 2010, she joined the School's International Centre for Evidence in Disability. Prior to living in the UK, Myroslava was based in Uganda, working as the Advisor on Disability and HIV/AIDS for AIDS Free World. As a recipient of a 2008 fellowship, Myroslava investigated disabled women's experiences in accessing health care services, focusing on sexual/reproductive health care services in particular in Canada and Uganda.



Jessie Thomson

Jessie Thomson is an advocate for refugees and internally displaced persons. She is an Emergency Response Program Manager

at CARE Canada. Prior to that, she worked as a Protection Delegate with the International Committee of the Red Cross in Pakistan, as a senior policy advisor in the Humanitarian Affairs and Disaster Response Group at the Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade Canada, and in the Refugees Branch at Citizenship and Immigration Canada. As a 2008 fellow, Jessie examined efforts underway to resolve protracted refugee situations around the world, co-producing the short film *Home Free* in partnership with the Burundi Film Center. *Home Free* documents the story and voice of three refugee families; it is a training and advocacy tool aimed at raising awareness about protracted refugee situations and provides concrete examples of successes and failures in ongoing efforts to bring an end to displacement.



Ross Wallace

Ross Wallace is currently working in government affairs for AstraZeneca Canada, one of the world's largest pharmaceutical

companies. In addition to working with a wide variety of government, health sector and innovation partners, Ross also sits on two global teams that directly relate to his fellowship work—one focused on rolling out a new international corporate social responsibility “Signature Initiative” focused on adolescent health, and the other aimed at increasing access to medicines in the developing world. For his 2006 fellowship, Ross examined four unique public-private partnerships focused on discovering, developing, and distributing new medicines for “neglected diseases”—afflictions like HIV/AIDS, tuberculosis, malaria and chagas.



Surendrini Wijeyaratne

Surendrini Wijeyaratne works at Oxfam International's New York office as the Humanitarian Advisor.

Prior to that, she worked with the Canadian Council for International Cooperation, specializing in peace and conflict. As a 2007 fellow, Surendrini examined Canada's international policies on peacebuilding with a particular focus on support for peace processes at the official level and with local communities, conducting field research in Afghanistan, the Democratic Republic of the Congo, and Northern Uganda. The extent to which gender equality and women's participation have been supported was central to her study.



Michael Wodzicki

Michael Wodzicki has over 10 years of experience working in politics and international cooperation. He is

currently Director of Market Development for the Canadian Cooperative Association, with a focus on helping the cooperative sector diversify and increase funding for projects that support credit unions, agricultural cooperatives, and small businesses around the world. As a 2007 fellow, Michael studied what people in developing countries really think of foreigners supporting their democracy, using Indonesia as a case study.



Christina Yeung

Christina Yeung works for the Department of National Defence as a researcher on security sector reform and stabilization

missions. Prior to that, she was seconded to the Stabilization and Reconstruction Taskforce (START) at DFAIT where she worked on conflict prevention and peacebuilding programming in Uganda, Kenya and Sudan. Her 2007 fellowship project concentrated on finding participatory policy solutions to the misuse and proliferation of small arms in pastoralist communities in East Africa, including demand-oriented alternatives to disarmament.

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**FIELD DIPLOMATS:
FOREIGN POLICY NOTES
FROM THE GORDON
GLOBAL FELLOWS**

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