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From middle to MAJOR POWER

Correcting course in Canadian foreign policy

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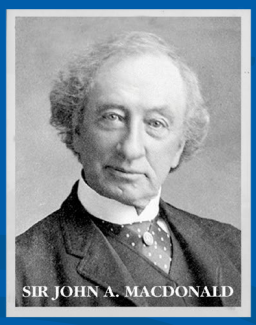
A DECADE OF TRUE NORTH IN CANADIAN PUBLIC POLICY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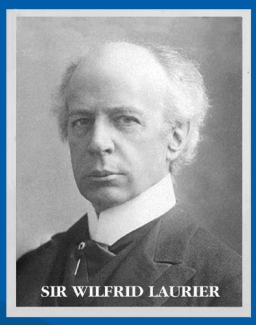
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Executive Summary

Eight decades of Pax Americana allowed countries like Canada to, sometimes, take Washington's defence and economic umbrella for granted. However, today we face an inwardly focused United States – a trend accelerated by the COVID-19 pandemic – and, simultaneously, a rising and aggressive People's Republic of China and a revanchist Russia. As a result, the rules-based international order has come under increasing threat in this emerging multipolar era. It falls on countries such as Canada, Australia, and Germany to ensure this order endures.

Designing a foreign policy that takes Canada from middle to an emerging major power requires coming to grips with the geopolitical shifts and key socio-economic and technological trends, including China's rise and Russia's resurgence, populism and economic nationalism, and authoritarian regimes' use of digital technology to undermine our shared norms and values. For Canadian policy-makers, this means rethinking outdated Cold War era approaches. Ottawa needs bold ideas on how to navigate these new currents and not get swept away.

Canada helped cofound NATO in 1949 to pursue transatlantic collective security and called for democracy and economic promotion to be part of NATO's collective security purpose. This helped enable the future admission of ex-Warsaw Pact countries into NATO in the 1990s and 2000s. At the end of the Cold War, Canada played a pivotal role in building consensus among the key players on Germany's reunification and incorporation into NATO. In 1990, it was Prime Minister Mulroney who convinced US President Bush to pursue a multilateral response to Iraq's invasion of Kuwait.

Success can breed complacency, however. After the Cold War, Canada's model of foreign policy persisted without major changes. This forestalled the country's capacity for strategic thinking, leaving Canadian foreign policy adrift. Three interrelated factors can account for this:

- Politicization of foreign policy, including end of bipartisan consensus and focus on short-term electoral calculations. The most

damaging result has been Ottawa's "astrategic" approach to China, which has opened Canada up to economic coercion and hostage diplomacy.

- Bureaucratic atrophy, including weakened effectiveness of Global Affairs Canada (GAC) and the Department of National Defence (DND), and a system disincentivizing subject matter and regional experts.
- Transatlantic bubble: Canada's historical and cultural ties to Western Europe, while understandable, have generated a blind spot to other regions, such as the Indo-Pacific, that are important to the national interest.

Indecision need not be our only course of action. To ensure Canada can become an emerging major power and promote its security, prosperity, and values, Ottawa needs to revamp its foreign policy approaches. This paper offers the following recommendations:

- Update the 2017 defence policy, reassessing the capabilities of the Canadian Armed Forces to respond to the new multipolar security environment. Decision-makers must resist calls to pursue pandemic-related defence cuts.
- Formally mandate overseas intelligence collection to meet the proliferating cyber-security and misinformation threats.
- Lobby for a stronger coordination between and the inclusion of like-minded democracies into Five Eyes-plus cooperation, even on an ad-hoc basis.
- Create a National Security Council and a national security strategy to bridge the policy gaps among DND, GAC, and the central agencies.
- Audit Canadian positions in multilateral institutions, clearly assessing the national interests of Canada.
- Undertake a comprehensive assessment of Canadian objectives in the Indo-Pacific between now and 2050.
- Demonstrate Canada's commitment to the Indo-Pacific by leading naval and air patrols in the South China Sea, the Taiwan Strait, or the East China Sea.
- Create a Canada-Australia-New Zealand-UK forum to strengthen mutual areas of cooperation in trade and security matters.
- Convene a targeted international supply chain review group.
- Create a global governance framework on data and Internet privacy protection.
- Establish a critical infrastructure centre and develop a pan-Canadian critical infrastructure and critical minerals strategy to identify and manage risks in this area.

- Formally ban Huawei and similar telecommunication companies from Canada's 5G network.
- Reassess Canada's membership in Beijing's Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank (AIIB) to lessen vulnerabilities to foreign economic coercion.
- Re-establish a values-promotion arm as part of Canadian foreign policy.

The project before Canadians today is one of defining the role of the country in the century to come. By mid-century, where do Canadians expect their standing in the world to be? With the Indo-Pacific as the centre of gravity for global growth, a transformation of transatlantic relations underway, and a realigned Middle East and Red Sea region emerging, it is insufficient for Canada to depend on a half-century old model for its future. As this paper shows, we need the discipline of strategic thinking around Canada's strategic ambition; only then would this country become an emerging major power in the decades to come.

Sommaire

Huit décennies de Pax Americana ont amené, par moments, des pays comme le Canada à tenir pour acquise la protection militaire et économique de Washington. Or, nous nous retrouvons désormais face à des États-Unis axés vers l'intérieur – une tendance accélérée par la COVID-19 –, la montée en puissance d'une République populaire de Chine agressive et une Russie revanchiste. L'ordre international fondé sur des règles est donc de plus en plus menacé dans cette nouvelle ère multipolaire. Il revient à des pays comme le Canada, l'Australie et l'Allemagne à veiller à la pérennité de cet ordre.

Une politique étrangère conçue pour relever le Canada de sa position moyenne à celle d'une grande puissance émergente doit tenir compte des changements géopolitiques et des principales tendances socio-économiques et technologiques, notamment la montée de la Chine et la résurgence de la Russie, le populisme, le nationalisme économique et le détournement des technologies numériques par les régimes autoritaires pour bafouer nos normes et valeurs communes. Les décideurs canadiens doivent donc repenser les approches dépassées de la Guerre froide. Ottawa a besoin d'idées audacieuses pour ne pas sombrer au milieu de ces nouveaux courants.

Le Canada a participé à la création de l'OTAN en 1949 pour défendre la sécurité collective transatlantique en réclamant que la promotion de la démocratie

et de l'économie soit intégrée à cet objectif. Cela a ouvert la voie à l'admission future, durant les années 1990 et 2000, d'anciens pays du Pacte de Varsovie. Puis, à la fin de la Guerre froide, le Canada a grandement contribué au consensus entre les acteurs clés de la réunification de l'Allemagne et de son intégration à l'OTAN. C'est le premier ministre Mulroney qui, en 1990, a convaincu le président Bush d'en appeler à une action multilatérale contre l'invasion du Koweït par l'Irak.

Le succès peut cependant faire place à la complaisance. Après la Guerre froide, le modèle canadien de politique étrangère n'a connu aucun changement important. Cela a nui à la capacité du pays à s'engager dans une réflexion stratégique, poussant sa politique étrangère à la dérive. Trois facteurs interdépendants peuvent l'expliquer :

- La politisation de la politique étrangère, notamment la fin du consensus bipartisan et la priorité accordée aux calculs électoraux à court terme. Le résultat le plus dommageable tient à l'approche inorganisée d'Ottawa à l'égard la Chine, qui a exposé le pays à la coercition économique et à la « diplomatie des otages ».
- L'atrophie bureaucratique : l'efficacité moindre d'Affaires mondiales Canada (AMC) et du ministère de la Défense nationale (MDN) et un système décourageant les spécialistes et les experts régionaux.
- Bulle transatlantique : les liens historiques et culturels du Canada avec l'Europe de l'Ouest, bien que compréhensibles, ont laissé dans l'ombre d'autres régions importantes pour nos intérêts natinaux, notamment l'Indo-Pacifique.

L'indécision n'a pas à être notre seule ligne de conduite. Pour que le Canada redevienne une grande puissance émergente et promeuve sa sécurité, sa prospérité et ses valeurs, Ottawa doit renouveler ses approches en matière de politique étrangère. Cette étude présente les recommandations suivantes :

- Actualiser la politique de défense de 2017, en réévaluant les capacités des forces armées à réagir au nouvel environnement multipolaire. Les décideurs doivent résister aux pressions visant à réduire les dépenses militaires en raison de la pandémie.
- Accorder un mandat officiel de collecte de renseignements étrangers pour contrer les menaces croissantes de cybersécurité et de désinformation.
- Militer pour que les démocraties aux vues similaires soient mieux coordonnées et qu'elles coopèrent avec le « Five Eyes Plus », même sur une base ponctuelle.
- Mettre sur pied un Conseil de sécurité nationale et une stratégie de sécurité pour refermer les écarts en matière de politiques entre le MDN, AMC et les agences centrales.

- Rendre compte des positions du Canada au sein des institutions multilatérales en évaluant de façon claire ses intérêts nationaux.
- Procéder à l'examen complet des objectifs canadiens dans l'Indo-Pacifique d'ici 2050.
- Démontrer l'engagement du Canada au moyen de patrouilles navales et aériennes dans la mer de Chine méridionale ou orientale ou, encore, le détroit de Taiwan.
- Créer un groupe de travail réunissant le Canada, l'Australie, la Nouvelle-Zélande et le Royaume-Uni en vue de renforcer la coopération mutuelle en matière de commerce et de sécurité.
- Rassembler un groupe ciblé pour l'examen de la chaîne d'approvisionnement mondiale.
- Créer un cadre mondial de gouvernance pour la protection des données et de la vie privée sur Internet.
- Mettre sur pied un centre d'infrastructures essentielles et une stratégie pancanadienne sur ces infrastructures et les minéraux critiques pour cerner et gérer les risques dans ce domaine.
- Exclure officiellement Huawei et les entreprises de télécommunication similaires du 5G au Canada.
- Réexaminer l'adhésion du Canada à la Banque asiatique d'investissement dans les infrastructures (AIIB) de Pékin pour réduire notre vulnérabilité à la coercition économique étrangère.
- Ramener la promotion des valeurs dans le cadre de la politique étrangère canadienne.

Le projet qui attend les Canadiens consiste à définir le rôle du pays durant le siècle à venir. Quelle place entendent-ils occuper dans le monde d'ici 2050? Compte tenu du rôle central de l'Indo-Pacifique dans la croissance mondiale, de la transformation des relations transatlantiques et du réalignement au Moyen-Orient et autour de la mer Rouge, l'avenir du Canada ne peut plus dépendre d'un modèle datant d'un demi-siècle. Comme le montre cette étude, à l'égard de l'ambition stratégique du Canada, nous avons besoin des compétences liées à la pensée stratégique; ce n'est qu'à ce prix que le pays pourra devenir une grande puissance émergente dans les prochaines décennies.

Introduction

The global pandemic and subsequent economic disruptions have brought into acute focus a relative decline of the United States and the rules-based international order it helped fashion and finance in the aftermath of the Second World War. The influence and predominance of the US, both during the Cold War and in its "unipolar moment" in the 1990s to 2010s, have been chipped away by domestic unrest, polarized institutions, the 2008-09 global financial crisis, protracted military campaigns, and the resurgence of isolationist impulses. American elections this year demonstrate a deeply polarized yet engaged American polity, presenting a presidency in 2021 that will continue a more narrowly defined agenda for US leadership and international engagement.

As in the case of previous great power shifts taking place after hot and cold wars in 1918, 1945, and 1991, the geopolitical vacuum will be answered with new alignments. The corollary of US decline is a rising and aggressive People's Republic of China and, separately, a revanchist Russia. Examples of both regimes' hostile behaviour abound, whether it is Beijing's open embrace of economic coercion, hostage diplomacy, co-optation of established international bodies like the World Health Organization (WHO), and island-building in the South China Sea, or Moscow's interventions in Ukraine and Syria and electoral interference against Western democracies. Yet this isn't the emergence of a united Communist bloc the world once feared. It is instead the emergence the People's Republic of China replacing Russia as the West's principal rival. And it is defined by a neocolonial China Model of technological, economic and security half-hegemony, being exercised over Russia and across the world. Simply put, countries like Canada are encountering a fiercely competitive and deeply complex multipolar world. An American capacity to uphold Western norms and values, so intrinsically connected to allied security, prosperity, and values, is now no longer certain (Global Canada 2020, 4).

Eight decades of Pax Americana afforded middle powers to take for granted Washington's defence and economic umbrella. The middle power foreign policy adopted by Ottawa to deal with the Cold War's bipolar superpower ri-

valry endured largely due to Canada's comfortable geostrategic position atop North America, the reliability of its two US alliances (NORAD and NATO), and the benefits derived from its membership in the US-backed continental and global economic order (NAFTA, WTO, World Bank, IMF). Throughout the Cold War, prime ministers used Canada's position to stake out leadership positions that kept the Western military alliance together (peacekeeping) and advanced effective values-based issues of global concern (anti-apartheid and acid rain). However, as the unipolar decades marched on, successive governments of both partisan stripes did little in the way of strategic thinking, making uneven commitments to investing in critical foreign policy tools such as democracy promotion, overseas aid, the foreign service, and the Canadian Armed Forces (the 20-year funding plans laid out in the 2017 defence policy, *Strong, Secure, Engaged*, have so far escaped the pandemic budgetary axe; Global News 2020). Foreign policy reviews, if they were done, occurred once a decade or longer (the last was in 2005). Today, Canada no longer occupies such a position of luxury, and its foreign policy is adrift.

Today, Canada no longer occupies such a position of luxury, and its foreign policy is adrift.

For Canadian ministers and parliamentarians, the emerging multipolar era requires rethinking old approaches and coming to grips with the hard realities of how Washington sees its role in the world, regardless of who sits in the Oval Office. One, defined by a consensus on both the American left and right, an inwardly focused US will proceed with narrow, selective international engagements (like its 2020 Abraham Accords with Israel, the United Arab Emirates, and Bahrain). Aspirations for an American-led international liberal order are no more. Two, beyond rhetoric to the contrary, skepticism will persist on the merits of pursuing big multilateral trade deals. Even with a Biden presidency, heightened protectionism is here to stay (Alden 2020). Three, America expects its allies to pay more for their own defence (recall President Obama's 2016 speech to Canada's Parliament). One of the few foreign policy issues with bipartisan consensus in Congress today is on US allies doing more to help offset the cost of confronting China's military buildup and Russia's military adventurism, and accept more responsibility for their own defence (Panetta 2020). And finally, the global pandemic has accentuated the mistrust between Europe and the US, originating as it did from the 2003 Iraq War and the inattention of the Obama administration to transatlantic issues (Sandbu 2020).

Geography, strong institutional cooperation, and common sense dictate that Canada must ensure its security and commercial relationships with the US succeeds. However, the country needs a foreign policy reflecting this new multipolar world, backed by a pan-partisan nation-building project that takes Canada from middle to major power. If American leadership can no longer be taken for granted, then it falls on countries like Canada, Australia, and Germany to ensure that our shared norms and values endure to our mutual interest and benefit. The Cold War-based foreign policy approach served its purpose, but that age has passed, a new one beckons ahead, and Canadians deserve the bold ideas that realize their values and interests in the world, rather than be shaped by the interests of others. The time to act is now.

Winds of change

Designing a foreign policy that takes Canada from middle to major requires coming to grips with not only the realities of geopolitical realignments (Devlen 2020), but also the defining issues precipitating them. Three such trends stand out:

China has replaced Russia as the West's principal rival: The ascent of Xi Jinping to general secretary of the Chinese Communist Party in 2012, followed by the presidency in 2013, represented a turning point in China's post-Mao engagement with the wider world. The meteoric economic rise of China following the reforms introduced by Deng Xiaoping in the 1980s transformed a largely agrarian society into a global manufacturing giant, responsible for 28 percent of all global manufacturing (equivalent to almost the US, Japan, and Germany combined) but also paralleled an increasingly aggressive foreign policy and concentration of power under Xi (Economist 2020). Deng's dictum of "Hide your strength, bide your time," shifted from one of strategic patience to an effort at seizing a strategic advantage (Majumdar 2020b).

New grievances mixed with old as China challenged international institutions and norms, beginning with maritime confrontations in the East and South China Seas. The Chinese Communist Party, long a vocal proponent of non-interference and state sovereignty, had no such qualms when it ignored the 2016 Hague ruling that rejected its man-made island-building campaign and its expansive maritime claims around the "nine-dash line" in the South China Sea. Likewise, the brazen violation of the internationally recognized and legally binding 1984 *Sino-British Joint Declaration* by Beijing's crackdown on Hong Kong pro-democracy protesters did not merit any remorse. In both events, CCP leadership relied on Middle Kingdom definitions of international order, dispensing with post-Cold War altogether. The mass internment of more than a million Uyghur Muslims in at least 85 internment camps in Xin-

jiang province (Wood n.d.) represented, if anything, a clear demonstration of China's economic strength today, with muted condemnations and minimal sanctions casting a pall over much of both Muslim and Western worlds.

China's economic power continues to be channelled into foreign and military policy actions as its security apparatus intimidates expats and overseas Chinese communities alike; pursues cyber-espionage against Western companies and governments; utilizes state-owned enterprises (SOEs) to legally and illegally acquire critical minerals, natural resources, and advanced technology (often aided and abetted by Western businesses and, until recently, governments like Canada's); and weaponizes trade by placing import restrictions on key products while undertaking hostage diplomacy. The centerpiece of China's economic foreign policy goals remains its signature Belt and Road Initiative (BRI), a vast data and infrastructure program aimed to entice developed and developing governments under Beijing's influence (Pickford and Collins 2020). China's military capabilities have rapidly expanded over the past decade. A major People's Liberation Army-Navy naval buildup is underway, with a target fleet of 425 ships by 2030, including three aircraft carriers, a number of large capital ships (destroyers and cruisers), Arctic icebreakers, and a mix of land-based anti-ship missiles designed to negate American influence from the Indo-Pacific and destabilize the region's smaller powers (Mehta and Larter 2020).

> *China's military capabilities have rapidly expanded over the past decade.*

Second in importance to China's rise has been Russia's resurgence, paid for by China's long-term energy deals converting the Russian economy into a glorified gas station. Vladimir Putin's consolidation of power in the 2000s effectively removed any chance of Western rapprochement with Moscow. Putin's Russia sees itself in conflict with the West, believing that Europe and North America aim to deny Russia's rightful return to great power status, overthrow its government, seize its natural resources, and corrupt its society. Consequently, the Kremlin continues to undertake actions that pit Western countries against one another, undermine the integrity of their democratic institutions, showcase its weaponry and the prowess of its armed forces. Tragically, for Ukraine and Syria, these actions have led to considerable loss of life and territory. Russian mercenaries and supported proxies have deployed globally, including in Libya, Venezuela, and the Central African Republic. Aside from

conducting information operations during US presidential elections and the Brexit referendum in 2016, the Kremlin sponsored coup attempts in Montenegro and the Republic of North Macedonia in 2016 and 2020, respectively (Blank 2020, 11-18).

What binds Beijing and Moscow together as allies in this new order is their rejection of Western norms and values, and the diminution of their neighbours' sovereignty. Each government is principally concerned with regime longevity, tied in turn to the idea of a "strong leader to promote economic growth, protect the regime, and advance the national interest abroad." If international institutions cannot be co-opted like the WHO or paralyzed like the UN Security Council, then parallel bodies to establish an alternate order can be created, like the Eurasian Economic Union or the Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank (which Canada formally joined in 2018; see Devlen 2020a, 48-50).

In this multipolar world that is replacing Pax Americana, countries like Canada have to forge new alliances in their national interest, and establish long-term direction on how to increase influence in a disrupted international order.

Populism and (economic) nationalism: When the Berlin Wall fell in 1989, it supposedly symbolized the "end of history." Gone were the battles over competing ideologies that shaped so much of the 20th century; Western liberal democracy would now reign supreme (Fukuyama 1989). The end of the Cold War facilitated the move toward cross-border regulatory harmonization and supply chain integration, proliferation of free trade agreements, and the freer flow of people. The 1993 Maastricht Treaty institutionalized these beliefs in the formal creation of the European Union ("a new stage in the process of creating an ever closer union among the peoples of Europe") and with it, common EU citizenship and the free movement of citizens between its members. Borders and nations would cede way to global aspirations and designs.

Yet, the pandemic is only the latest in a series of events over the past decade that have raised questions about such post-modern views. The 2008-09 global financial crisis and 2010-12 Eurozone crisis were the backdrop to a refugee and migrant surge emanating from conflicts spanning the Middle East, North Africa, and sub-Saharan Africa that, in combination with accelerated EU expansion into Eastern Europe, fuelled legitimate debates over sovereignty and border controls, the concept of the nations of Europe, and the primacy and control over a common European direction.

Some would contend that the European Union was akin to a bad marriage, with powerful tensions between the reality and the promise of a united Europe. Germany had disproportionately been benefitting from a single currency. High debt and unemployment in the EU south dragged on the euro, making German products cheap, boosting their exports, increasing their pro-

ductivity, and draining jobs out of Italy, Spain and elsewhere. As this continued, southern Europe grew into a landscape of retirement communities for rich northerners, alongside holding camps for migrants.

In the post-financial crisis, the distance between elites and the people only increased, resulting in a growing divide between people who live in their homes and communities, and those who traverse the world on business-class flights, conference hopping with the world's super-rich from five-star retreats. Not only had the priorities of economic classes increasingly diverged, but basic assumptions about the world and their region were not shared, and an incapacity to communicate except through condescension on the one side and anger on the other took hold. This story has born out from Greece, Germany, the UK, on different issues.

> *Schengen's collapse could be seen as a demonstration of Europe restoring itself.*

The result has been a European Union in perilous crisis, in which Schengen's collapse could be seen as a demonstration of Europe restoring itself, and the indelible concept of the nation-state (and its economic nationalism) re-asserting itself. Left unchecked, in their more extreme, these debates run the risk of metastasizing into xenophobic backlashes against migrants, rising anti-Semitism, deeper anti-EU resentment, and the advent of extremist socialism threatening to tear down the democratic capitalist system.

Populism's emergence across Western populations today afford powerful questions on the nature of the liberal democratic project and the relationship between national interests and global cooperation.

The early months of the pandemic in 2020 also revealed to many governments, including Canada's, the necessity of sovereignty and sovereign border controls to combat the virus's spread. The danger of pursuing ideology over interests can now be measured among COVID's casualties. The race for personal protective equipment and other critical supplies, including by EU members, heightened the importance of the fundamental principle that a government's first duty is to the health, safety, and well-being of its citizenry (Rankin 2020; Lister, Shukla, and Bobille 2020; Munro and Oliver 2019). And it highlighted how essential trust must feature in the global economy's critical supply chains.

Nowhere is this skepticism more pronounced than in the present debate over free trade agreements. Free trade for the sake of free trade no longer holds sufficiently good reason for states to enter such agreements, especially when both perception and reality is of job loss, heightened risk exposure to economic shocks, and dangerous reliance on state actors practicing weaponized trade. In the face of such pressures, both governments and large companies are entering a period of decoupling and disentanglement from China, or reshoring jobs to different jurisdictions to minimize supply chain vulnerability. A good example is Japan, which set aside US$2.2 billion to assist Japanese firms in reshoring from China (Reinsch 2020; Witt 2020).

Technological disruption: In all aspects of human experience and international statecraft, technological disruption features three tentpoles: the role of big tech, the entrenchment of individual and civil rights, and the advent of state information and cyber warfare.

The explosion in digital technology has revolutionized how we shop, travel, learn, and interact with one another. It has shaped how citizens engage with their elected representatives, participate in the democratic process, and utilize public services. However, the proliferation of apps and data and the consolidation of the social media industry into a handful of big technology companies (e.g., Twitter, Google, Facebook, Apple) in the last two decades have revealed dangerous side effects. Big tech now find themselves in an identity crisis over their role as a platform or publisher, drawn into questions of adjudication across different national laws, and resulting in charge of censorship and an erosion of public trust.

Authoritarian regimes have turned to digital technology to monitor dissidents and spread propaganda. Although "weaponizing" information to maintain regime survival and undermine a foreign foe is not new – the Soviet Union and East Germany relied on such techniques throughout the Cold War – the difference today is the speed and scale on which it can occur and the extraordinary resources now available. This year, US intelligence officials declared that Iran and Russia had acquired US voter registration data in an attempt to sow confusion and discord among voters in the lead-up to the November presidential vote, harkening back to the Kremlin's interference in 2016 in both the Brexit referendum and US presidential campaign. China, meanwhile, relies on social media and digital surveillance to both promote fake pro-regime entities, target Uyghur, Tibetan, and religious minorities at home and abroad, conduct mass surveillance of its general population (Kolga 2019; Barnes and Sanger 2020), and foment protests-on-demand in democratic societies. Beijing has used thousands of hacked Twitter (a service officially blocked in China) accounts to spread misinformation about the Communist regime's handling of the COVID-19 pandemic and Hong Kong democracy protesters (Kao and Li 2020).

For democracies like Canada, the challenge is at both the domestic and international levels. With the former, domestic legislation and practices need to be improved to maintain the credibility and sanctity of democratic debate, institutions and electoral processes, centrally featuring individual privacy rights. With its restrictions on in-person gatherings and remote working, the COVID-19 pandemic places even more onus on democracies to maintain robust security processes (Garnett and James 2020). Internationally, the absence of a global governance framework on data leaves societies vulnerable to foreign manipulation by authoritarian regimes and an unregulated space for social media companies. Japan's championing of such a framework at the 2019 G20 meeting and its reciprocal data adequacy agreement with the European Union provide models to build upon (Berkshire Miller and Crowley 2019). The OECD has established a working group that includes India to navigate these issues, and the UK has proposed a "Digital 10," expanding a group beyond the G7 to decide common principles.

Cold War middle power

Turning to Canada's past can help draw out lessons for future actions while providing an understanding as to how the country became so listless in its current approach to foreign policy. How Canada came to have a middle power foreign policy in the first place was the result of its constitutional evolution between 1867 and 1931 and the impact of the Second World War. Prior to 1945, Canadian governments largely took a backseat on foreign affairs, leaving decisions on war, peace, and alliances to colonial authorities in London. Even issues of direct interest, like foreign trade and boundary disputes, involved imperial say. But it was the country's experience and that of its fellow self-governing Dominions in the Boer War (1899-1902) and the First World War (1914-18) that led to a push for more legal and political control over foreign policy, first at the 1923 Imperial Conference, and then later with the passage of the Statute of Westminster in 1931 (Hillmer 2008). Having full control over foreign policy though did not mean complete independence, for Ottawa depended on Great Britain and its Royal Navy for great power protection into the Second World War (Sokolsky 1989, 15).

If Canadians thought they lived "in a fire-proof house, far from inflammable materials," as Raoul Dandurand once said, the outbreak of the Second World War forever altered that perception.[1] Japanese conquest in the Alaskan Aleutian islands and Nazi U-boat attacks as far inland as the St. Lawrence river made it clear that Canada was not only vulnerable to expansionist, hostile foreign powers but could not depend on Great Britain for great power protection. In marshalling its human and material efforts, Canada played an

outsized role in the successful allied war effort. Roughly one in 10 Canadians served in the armed forces, and by the end of the war, Canada had the world's fourth largest air force, one of the largest navies, and an army of six divisions that led the liberation of the Netherlands (Canada n.d.).

The war pushed Canada onto the international stage too, forcing Ottawa to take diplomacy more seriously. In 1939-45, Canada opened 40-plus diplomatic and trade posts across Europe, Asia, and Latin America (Clark 2013, 46). Canada's military and diplomatic presence was boosted by its economic transformation; with a relatively sheltered territory rich in resources, Canada's wartime expenditures on defence (which by 1945 represented 35 percent of the GDP and 80 percent of all federal spending) served as the basis for a massive industrial boom and laid the foundation for a robust automotive, manufacturing, telecommunications, and aerospace sectors (Lang 2019, 1). Lester Pearson would later write that without the country's industrial base, Canada "could not play its part in international affairs" after the war (1951, 19). It stands to reason that contemporary Canada's industrial base should feature centrally in the path forward.

Canada's military and diplomatic presence was boosted by its economic transformation.

Before the war ended, officials in Ottawa began envisioning how the country could maintain a role in international affairs that warranted its war efforts yet maximized its "limited but respected military capabilities and diplomatic esteem" within the US-led postwar order following demobilization and mounting pressures for an activist welfare state (Murray and McCoy 2010, 174; Lagasse and Robinson 2008, 3-4). The concept of a "middle power" offered such a framework. Like other Western states at the time (e.g., Australia), Canada had a population base and material wherewithal to generate influence and undertake actions that could support the new postwar US rules-based system, and protect its own national interests and values (Jordan 2003; Welsh 2004).

At the core of a middle power foreign policy is the idea that smaller powers can advance their influence and interests with great powers through their relevance, capacity, and contribution levels (the "functional principle"). During the Cold War, the middle power concept enjoyed largely bipartisan Canadian support and proved a powerful tool in justifying a "disproportionate influence in international affairs" (Chapnick 2000, 188-89). Countries as diverse

as Australia, Norway, South Korea, the Netherlands, Denmark, and Spain have since self-identified as middle powers (Cooper 2011). Convergence of national interests and values was seen in Canada's leadership in settling 110,000 refugees fleeing the communist Vietnamese regime in the late 1970s to mid-1980s, boycotting the 1980 Moscow Olympic games in protest of the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, and leading the Commonwealth in mobilizing international efforts against apartheid South Africa (Martin 2013; CBC 2017). And contrary to today's altruistic mythology, Canadian peacekeeping efforts helped address more pragmatic and pressing matters such as avoiding a fracturing of the NATO alliance and rejuvenating a paralyzed United Nations Security Council (Maloney 2005). Unlike the most recent campaign for a seat on the Security Council, Cold War Canada was not only able to gain a seat on the council but also used that position to gain more insight into global security problems and address issues close to it and its allies. It was Prime Minister Brian Mulroney who convinced President George H. W. Bush to pursue a multilateral response to the 1990 Iraqi invasion of Kuwait and then used Canada's Security Council seat to successfully mobilize an international military coalition (Chapnick 2020a; Hampson 2018).

Canadian influence similarly played out at NATO, which Canada helped cofound in 1949 on the belief that transatlantic collective security was needed to, in the immortal words of its first secretary general, Lord Ismay, "keep the Soviet Union out, the Americans in, and the Germans down" (NATO n.d. "Lord Ismay"). NATO membership satisfied Ottawa's need to deflect domestic anti-US sentiment, obtain prestige by having a seat at the world's most powerful military alliance, and reduce its defence burden (Jockel and Sokolsky 2009, 316). NATO also spoke to wider Canadian values on cooperation between democratic societies. Article 2 (the "Canada clause") of the Washington Treaty called for democracy and economic promotion to be part and parcel of the organization's collective security purpose, which helped set the stage for the future admission of ex-Warsaw Pact countries into NATO's ranks in the 1990s and 2000s (NATO n.d. "Canada and NATO"). Occasional criticism from allied capitals notwithstanding, Canada matched its rhetoric on alliance commitments with rotations of thousands of troops and advanced weaponry to Canadian bases in France (until 1966) and West Germany (until 1994; see Collins 2019). Canada finished the Cold War in Europe playing a pivotal role in building consensus among the Soviets, the Americans, French, British, and Germans on the reunification of Germany and its incorporation into NATO (Hampson 2018, 183-187).

These and other notable foreign policy successes during the Cold War period were possible in great part due to the policy flexibility emanating from Canada's bilateral alliance with the US. The Second World War solidified Canada's defence and industrial orbit to its southern neighbour. Through a series of incremental arrangements and understandings, including the 1940 Ogdensburg Agreement and the 1958 NORAD Agreement, Canada assumed

the unique role of being the only country with a bilateral commitment to defend the American homeland.[2] Global events like the Second World War and the subsequent superpower standoff with the Soviet Union certainly underpinned this arrangement. But so too did the reality that Canada's geostrategic position meant it could not become a strategic liability in Washington's eyes, lest it lose control over its foreign policy. Ottawa spent "just enough" to maintain continental security, buying interoperable US fighter aircraft and cost-sharing the building and maintenance of northern radar installations like the current North Warning System. As the late military historian Desmond Morton once wrote, "Our priority is to do what we must do to make the Americans feel secure on their northern frontier" (cited in Barry and Bratt 2008).

This, regrettably, remains true today.

Canada adrift

Success can breed complacency. Once the Cold War ended, the middle power model conceived in the 1940s as the basis for Canadian foreign policy persisted without serious alterations, owing in large part to the dominance and global influence of the US. Liberal internationalist values in free trade, open borders, supranational institutional building like the EU, and the proliferation of democratic values (sometimes by Western military interventions) were a given. Canada's 1995 foreign policy review embodied this view, having stipulated that the first priority is "promotion of prosperity and employment" (Canada 1995). Ottawa took action, where it could, to help in these efforts, including promoting Russia's entry into the G7 in 1997 and China's membership in the WTO in 2001, and participating in a wide variety of UN (at least until the early 2000s) and later NATO overseas missions (*National Post* 2014; CBC 2001).

Although this period represented a historical high-water mark for Canadian prosperity and safety, it forestalled the country's capacity for strategic thinking and hard decisions, leaving Canadian foreign policy adrift by 2020. Three interrelated factors can account for this:

Politicization of foreign policy: The end of the Cold War ended the bipartisan consensus that had largely held sway on foreign policy matters. The result was and is a permissive environment in which matters of foreign policy are generally not treated seriously, and are instead carefully gauged to pursue short-term electoral calculations.[3] The 2019 federal election, despite all the turmoil occurring in the world, failed to feature a debate on foreign policy (Fisher 2019), a result of an incumbent campaign disinterested in distractions from their narrow domestic and cultural virtues. Recent years have shown the

folly of this approach and the damage it does to Canada's national interests and reputation.

Although there are certainly bright spots, including the bipartisan support for NATO's deterrence mission against Russia, the examples of a politicized foreign policy are legion, including the dithering on ballistic missile defense in 2004-05, the Afghanistan detainee debates, the end of CF-18 combat operations against ISIS in 2016, the brief return to a sizable UN peacekeeping operation with the mission to Mali in 2018-19 (which only took place after a long period of indecision), and the June 2020 UN Security Council seat loss, which one historian of the subject said reflected "a failure in political judgment more than it does a failure of foreign policy" (Chapnick 2020b).[4] The politicization has even crossed over into institutions set up to promote Canadian values, like the closure of the Office of Religious Freedom in 2016. Amid growing authoritarianism and religious intolerance, Canada remains without a values-promotion arm. Canada's "astrategic" approach to China, however, has arguably been the most damaging setback – whereby a confluence of familial nostalgia, narrow-minded business interests, and vote-banking has opened Canada up to economic coercion and hostage diplomacy by the world's second-most powerful country (Pickford and Collins 2020).

> *Canada's "astrategic" approach to China, however, has arguably been the most damaging setback.*

Bureaucratic atrophy: Canada's traditional foreign policy departments, Global Affairs Canada (GAC) and the Department of National Defence (DND), are no longer the source of ideas and influence they once were. When it comes to foreign policy ideas, international relations scholar Fen Hampson and former Canadian ambassador to the US Derek Burney write that Canadians have been "ill prepared and poorly severed by a basket of mediocrity" (Burney and Hampson 2020, viii). Reasons abound, including the centralization of power within the Prime Minister's Office, parliamentary foreign policy illiteracy, and the diffusion of competing foreign policy expertise across almost every other government departments (e.g., Finance, Agriculture, Health). Exacerbating these challenges even further is an explicit disincentivizing system for subject matter and regional experts at GAC, resulting in a profound homogeneity in bureaucratic perspectives. The focus in the Canadian public service on system aptitude over knowledge and experience has weakened the effectiveness of the foreign affairs department to maintain sustainable policy directions, or host robust debates, on a range of issues.

Whether through overcautiousness or inflexibility, GAC and DND have been at times their own worst enemies, frustrating their political bosses even on the rare occasions when firm direction is given for the formulation of new policy directions. Pierre Elliott Trudeau and his inner circle found both departments "bereft of ideas" (Bothwell and Granatstein 2017). During the 2004-05 International Policy Statement review, the Paul Martin government turned to an outside academic and an army general for advice as GAC earned the reputation of a department that "would sacrifice a policy outcome for a process" (Gross Stein and Lang 2007, 154). DND was none the better; Martin's defence minister, Bill Graham (2017), labelled that department's policy work as "bland, excessively bureaucratic" with the Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade (DFAIT) unable to "come up with a compelling, articulate vision" for a new foreign policy statement. A September 2020 letter signed by more than 100 former diplomats calling for Ottawa to release Huawei executive Meng Wanzhou from house arrest in Vancouver in exchange for Canadians Michael Spavor and Michael Kovrig (held hostage in China since 2018) is illustrative of the disconnect between large parts of the foreign service community and Canada's national interests (Chase and Fife 2020).

Transatlantic bubble: The historical and cultural ties to the UK and France, and Western Europe more broadly, retain a powerful hold over foreign policy thinking in Canada. There are, of course, good reasons for this: former colonial linkages and their persistence through the Commonwealth and *La Francophonie*; Canadian involvement in the two World Wars; Canada's role in creating NATO, its institutionalized governance structures built around the headquarters in Brussels, and contributions to transatlantic collective security; and the settlement patterns and concentration of the country's population, industry, media, and national capital in the eastern provinces, Ontario and Quebec.

During the Cold War, a transatlantic foreign policy orientation made perfect sense; unfortunately, it generated a blind spot to other regions that are important to the national interest. The Indo-Pacific is the most obvious example (Majumdar 2020a). In the current government's 2017 defence policy, *Strong, Secure, Engaged*, China is barely mentioned and without any connection to the government's then stated priority of obtaining a free trade deal with the Communist giant. Canada, it is said, rediscovers "Asia approximately every ten years or so" but never puts the sustained diplomatic and military effort to cement relations (Grinius 2015). In important regional fora like the Quad (Australia, India, the US, Japan), the East Asia Summit, or ASEAN Defence Ministers Meeting-Plus (ADMM-Plus), Canada is a non-factor. Prime Minister Trudeau's last-minute holdout on the signing of the Comprehensive and Progressive Agreement for Trans-Pacific Partnership (CPTPP) in 2017, according to a former high commissioner to Australia, set Canadian foreign relations in that region back a decade (Perry 2020).

The way forward

Canada's foreign policy is adrift, but paralysis need not be our only course of action. Although geography, security, and economic integration make ignoring the US not an option, Canada should do what it can to maintain security on the northern half of the continent and reimagine established and emerging alliances in the long-term. There will be issues in which Canadian and US interests may not always align, and the pursuit of a foreign policy rooted in the trends identified in this paper, and not those of the Cold War, offers the prospect of transitioning Canadian leadership from one of middle to an emerging major power, and to advancing the country's interests and values.

Tellingly, close allies have shown that middle powers in the near-term can stand up for their values and national interests amid these changing geopolitical trends. Despite being far more reliant on Chinese trade and investment, Australia in 2018 banned Chinese vendors from its 5G network and established a Critical Infrastructure Centre to identify key infrastructure assets and potential national security risks. In 2020, Canberra called for an investigation into the pandemic's origins and the WHO's response, and commissioned a new A$270 billion defence policy (Dean 2020). Sweden, Finland, and Norway are increasing their defence budgets in the face of the pandemic's economic impacts, uncertain US resolve in Europe, and Russian military activity akin to Soviet times (Nikel 2020; Norway 2020; O'Dwyer 2020). Germany is deploying naval forces to the Indo-Pacific, embedding officers in the Royal Australian Navy, and excluding Huawei from its 5G network (Bagshaw and Bourke 2020).

> *There is still time for Canada to begin playing the leadership role that Canadians expect.*

There is still time for Canada to begin playing the leadership role that Canadians expect (Devlen 2020b), utilizing the alliances and values it shares with other like-minded democratic states. Japan, Germany, and France, for instance, have interest in joining the Five Eyes (Panda 2020). The seeming decline of multilateralism or at least the ineffectiveness (in terms of innovation and responsiveness) of large multilateral, bureaucratic institutions like the WTO or the WHO in the face of great power competition opens up the possibilities of targeted (e.g., the Quad) or even smaller trilateral (e.g., Canada-US-Mexico trade and security relations) approaches to addressing common security and prosperity challenges (Teo 2018; Moret 2016).[5] Canada has

some ad-hoc success on this front in the post-Cold War era, playing roles in the G20 and the "Arctic Five" grouping of the world's Arctic littoral states, respectively. A burgeoning alliance of sorts between Canada and a post-Brexit UK appears to be developing in 2020, opening up the possibilities of more Canada, Australia, New Zealand, and the UK (CANZUK) collaboration and coordination (MacKinnon, Dickson, and Vanderklippe 2020).

However, for Canada to pursue any new foreign policy endeavours, it needs to also revamp its foreign policy machinery. Therefore, we recommend the following actions as initial steps toward developing a Canadian foreign policy that moves forward from middle power thinking into major power ambitions:

Security

- Commit to a strategic update of the 2017 *Strong, Secure, Engage: Canadian Defence Policy*. The update should reassess the capabilities the Canadian Armed Forces need to respond to this new multipolar security environment. Decision-makers must resist calls to pursue pandemic-related defence cuts. Australia and Scandinavian friends and allies have shown in their own defence policies for 2020 that investment in hard power assets, including fighter jets, submarines, cyber-defences, are central in securing their interests in the multipolar age.
- To meet the proliferating cyber-security and misinformation campaigns of the 2020s, Canada needs to be a better intelligence creator than consumer. One area that can both assist allies and boost Ottawa's own capacity is to clearly mandate formal overseas intelligence collection, an area in which Canada can contribute more meaningfully in Five Eyes relationships.
- Lobby for the inclusion of Japan, Germany, France, South Korea, and India into Five Eyes "plus" cooperation, even on an ad-hoc basis. Cooperation in the face of rising global authoritarian regimes will require stronger coordination between like-minded countries across the Indo-Pacific and transatlantic regions.
- Create a National Security Council (NSC) and corresponding quadrennial National Security Strategy (NSS), housed in the NSC. The NSS would bridge government-wide policy gaps, build institutional knowledge and posit robust foreign policy analysis at the heart of advice to elected leaders.
    - * Articulate Canadian interests across a focused set of geographies and themes:
    - * Audit Canadian positions in multilateral institutions, clearly assessing the national interests of Canada.

- Undertake a comprehensive assessment of Canadian objectives in the Indo-Pacific between now and 2050; taking in stride the strategic challenge posed by China, the fact the region is the world's economic centre of gravity, and that new alliances are forming, establishing the values and norms that will govern the region in the long-term. Producing a "China policy" is an exercise in redundancy, without first understanding Canadian interests in the wider region.
- Lead naval and air patrols in the South China Sea, the Taiwan Strait, or the East China Sea through successive, sustained deployments, which would be an initial symbol of Canada's commitment to the Indo-Pacific and uphold sovereignty and territorial integrity of key regional players such as Vietnam, Taiwan, and Japan. *Operation Neon*, the periodic deployment of Canadian Armed Forces aircraft and vessels to enforce UN sanctions against North Korea, offers a model Ottawa can build upon (Canada 2019).
- Create a CANZUK Forum. Given their common heritage, shared values, and longstanding security cooperation and concerns over the challenges identified in this paper, a CANZUK Forum represents a potential effective mechanism to strengthen mutual areas of cooperation in both trade and security matters. Canadian global engagement need not always go through the UN.

Prosperity

- Convene an international supply chain review group and global centre of excellence. As a NATO member and the only G7 country with free trade agreements with all other G7 partners, the EU, and across Asia, Canada is well placed to take leadership on sharing information on best practices and ideas learned from the COVID-19 pandemic and identifying ways to reduce vulnerabilities in supply chain disruption.
- Propose charter that would guide the global governance framework on data and Internet privacy protection. The charter would serve as the benchmark in norms on data and technology companies, laying the framework for a possible legally binding international agreement in the future while committing its signatories to undertake new regulations over misinformation, data sharing, and technology companies.
- Establish a Canadian Critical Infrastructure Centre to identify and manage risks to Canada's critical infrastructure, particularly by understanding China's global ambitions and how Canadian assets fit within those (e.g., energy projects, natural resources, transportation assets).
- Develop a Pan-Canadian Critical Infrastructure and Critical Minerals Strategy in coordination with the provinces, municipalities, in-

dustry, and civil society sectors. The Trudeau government's 2020 joint action plan with the US on critical minerals helpfully provides the basis for making progress in securing critical mineral supply chains used in manufacturing, defence, and communication technology, but it should be expanded to include other like-minded countries (Canada 2020).

- Formally ban Huawei and foreign state-owned telecommunication companies from Canada's 5G network. The current ambiguity by Ottawa stands in clear contrast to the Huawei bans implemented by Australia (2018), the US (2019), the UK (2020), and now Germany.
- Reassess Canada's membership in the Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank (AIIB), Beijing's answer to the World Bank. Canada needs to lessen its vulnerabilities to foreign economic coercion and not support those institutions designed to weaken post-war norms and values. Tellingly, GAC officials warned the Trudeau government that China uses the AIIB to "advance its economic influence and authoritarian model of governance around the world" (Lim 2020).

Values

- Re-establish meaningful values-promotion as part of Canadian foreign policy. Lessons can be gleaned from the former Office of Religious Freedom, both in its practice and in its contribution to understanding how religious freedom and religious conflict inform international relations. Further, as authoritarian crackdowns on pro-democracy protesters in Hong Kong, Iran and Belarus show, there is a need to have a robust capacity dedicated to upholding Canadian values alongside international partners, including democracy and human rights activists.
- Strengthen parliamentary cooperation with other parliaments, increase the foreign policy literacy of Canadian legislators, broaden the relationships between governments and people, and deepen partnerships with new and emerging allies, including India, Israel, Taiwan and others.
- Commence a review of multilateral institutions with a goal of reassessing involvement in institutions under the sway of China and Russia. All options, including withdrawal and suspension of dues, should be on the table.

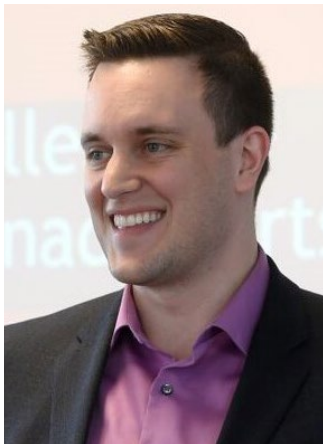
Conclusion

Eighty years ago, Canadians discovered to their shock that they no longer lived in a "fireproof house." Canada's longstanding great power partner, Great Britain, could not be counted on as it dealt with a myriad of challenges stemming from costly hegemonic overreach, domestic pressures, and, of course, defending its very survival from Axis military expansion. Canada's leaders then, with ingenuity and resolve, reoriented the country's foreign policy around the middle power idea, anchored by an emerging Pax Americana that would underpin a rules-based international system.

The trends outlined in this paper represent the arrival of another moment of disruption in Canadian foreign policy, but come with a call to assess the new multipolar order, while laying out recommendations for how Canada can best achieve its security, prosperity, and values. Indecision need not be the only choice in Canadian foreign policy. As in 1945, today's challenges present opportunities to take leadership roles and find common ground among like-minded countries that seek stability, security, and adherence to values and rules hard fought decades ago.

Perhaps most importantly, the project before Canadians today is one of defining the role of the country in the century to come. By mid-century, where do Canadians expect their standing in the world to be? With the Indo-Pacific as the centre of gravity for global growth, a transformation of transatlantic relations underway, and a realigned Middle East and Red Sea region emerging, it is insufficient for Canada to depend on a half-century old model for its future. What will be the nation-building that Canadians must do in order to secure a rising place in a changing world order, rather than muddle in the middle and remain at the mercy of great power interests? By introducing the discipline of strategic thinking around Canada's strategic ambition, the country can succeed in making the conversion from middle to major power in the decades to come.

About the authors



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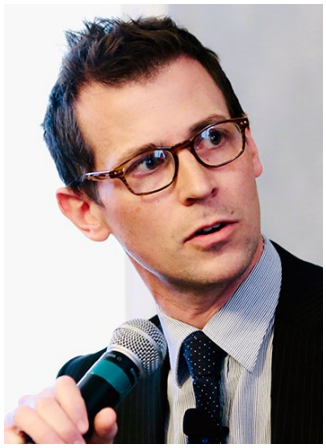

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Endnotes

1 The now famous comment was uttered by future Canadian Ambassador to the League of Nations and then Liberal Senator Raoul Dandurand in 1924 (cited in Clark 2013, 44; Canada 2011).

2 The Ogdensburg Agreement established a framework for continental defence cooperation, creating the Permanent Joint Board of Defence and later, in 1946, the Military Cooperation Committee (see Canada 2015, 2; Stone 2012, 83; Sokolsky 1989, 12).

3 This factor is distinct from domestic politics, which entail larger discussions of a country's national interest (e.g., national unity) and values, all necessary components to any democratic country's foreign policy.

4 On the politics of the detainee issue, see Chapter 6 in Boucher and Nossal (2017).

5 Examples of Canada-US-Mexico trilateral arrangements include the new NAFTA, the North American Leaders' Summit ('Three Amigos'), and the former Security and Prosperity Partnership dialogue.

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