CANADA AND PEACEBUILDING - HUMAN SECURITY IN PRACTICE?

by

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Abstract

Canada has embarked on a new approach to security in the post-Cold War era. Through its Minister for Foreign Affairs, Lloyd Axworthy, Canada has championed the concept of human security. This paper analyses Canada's successes and failures with regard to each of the seven components of human security.

The opening chapter of this paper analyses human security from the Canadian perspective. The chapter outlines the traditional definition of security that Canada followed during the Cold War and the redefinition that occurred in the post-Cold War era. The chapter then describes how the theory of human security is being put into practice by Canada through peacebuilding initiatives. The second chapter provides a checklist of the seven components that make up human security and Canada's efforts in relation to each component. The seven components of human security that are analysed are economic, food, health, environmental, personal, community, and political.

Canada has made positive progress on some of the components of human security. However, for the most part Canada's human security efforts suffer from a severe lack of funding. Canada does not contribute nearly as many financial resources as other like-minded nations and is in serious danger of losing its good international reputation if it continues to shrink its commitments financially.
Table of Contents

Abstract ii
Table of Contents iii
Acknowledgements iv
Introduction 1

Chapter One Human Security - The Canadian Perspective 3
           Human Security as Peacebuilding 10

Chapter Two Canada’s Efforts Towards the Seven
           Dimensions of Human Security 13
           Canada’s Efforts in Economic Security 13
           Canada’s Efforts in Food Security 18
           Canada’s Efforts in Health Security 20
           Canada’s Efforts in Environmental
           Security 23
           Canada’s Efforts in Personal Security 26
           Canada’s Efforts in Community Security 31
           Canada’s Efforts in Political Security 35

Chapter Three Conclusion 38

Bibliography 44
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Introduction

Canada has travelled a long road to its present position on the international stage as a country that promotes human security. Immediately after World War Two and up until the end of the Cold War, Canada followed the realist notion of security. Canada was an active participant in the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation and its main form of participation was in the form of United Nations peacekeeping, which helped maintain the international status quo. However, with the end of the Cold War things evolved dramatically.

Human security is the new buzzword in Canadian security circles. Canada has tried to build on its reputation as a peacekeeping nation and is now focusing on peacebuilding initiatives. However, the Minister for Foreign Affairs, Lloyd Axworthy, has had a hard time defining human security in Canada. The definition has changed over time, but the underlying principle still stands: people need to be part of the security equation and not just the state. The Canadian government has had more success implementing some of the dimensions of human security than others. Many reasons explain the Liberal government’s successes and failures. A serious lack of funding on the part of the Liberal government for peacebuilding initiatives explains most of the failures. However, the main theme that runs throughout is that Canadian interests come first.

If Mr. Axworthy and the Liberal government continue to use rhetoric and shrink their commitments financially, Canada may be in serious danger of losing its good international
reputation. This loss would severely limit its effectiveness and prominence on the international stage.

The first chapter of this paper analyses human security from the Canadian perspective. The chapter outlines the traditional definition of security that Canada followed during the Cold War; this definition being realism. The chapter then outlines how Canada changed its definition of security at the conclusion of the Cold War and began to focus on human needs (human security) as well as state needs. Finally, the first chapter describes how the theory of human security is put into practice by Canada through peacebuilding initiatives such as the global ban on land mines. The second chapter provides a checklist of the seven dimensions that make up human security and Canada’s efforts in relation to each dimension. The seven human security dimensions that are analysed are economic, food, health, environmental, personal, community, and political. The third and final chapter provides a conclusion and general recommendations. The primary recommendation is that Canada needs to spend more money on human security initiatives and reach the United Nations goal of overseas development assistance (ODA) being increased to 0.7 percent of gross national product (GNP), which would bring Canada in line with nations like Sweden, Norway, and the Netherlands.
Chapter One

Human Security - The Canadian Perspective

Realism is the dominant theoretical analysis that is used to describe international relations in the twentieth century. Realism argues that the international stage is an anarchic structure in which the states primary concern is external dangers (other states). Consequently, the world saw a tremendous build up of the military capabilities of states in the twentieth century. This build up of military capability was not limited to a few nations, as all states must rely on their own capabilities for their security. It was also because of the predominance of realism that anything that did not have to do with political/military issues was consigned to the domain of 'low politics'. As a result, issues concerning economics, human security, and other images of security were left off the agenda by most states.¹

Canada was no exception to the realist thinking described above. Most analysis in Canada has been conducted from a realist perspective and has assumed that Canada is responsible for its own security. The realist structure provides three key insights into Canadian security policy. First, because of the anarchic nature of realism, Canada’s security has been defined in military terms. Second, because of Canada’s limited military power, Canadian strategy has been that of alliance formation. Third, because Canada needs manpower to fight wars,

the Canadian military has been the guarantor of Canadian security.²

The Canadian military’s main contribution during the Cold War involved its UN peacekeeping efforts. These efforts were guided by the principle of sovereignty and non-intervention. Almost all Canadian peacekeeping missions in the Cold War era involved regional wars which had the potential of becoming much more serious and widespread. If these regional wars did spin out of control this could have meant that countries like the United States, the USSR, and China could have become involved, which would have meant a much larger conflict or perhaps a major war. As a result, Canada’s participation in peacekeeping missions in the Cold War era was undertaken in the hope that regional disputes would be constrained. Canada and other peacekeeping nations were not primarily concerned with humanitarian intervention. In fact, Canada restrained from either the promotion or actual participation into any of these types of missions in the Cold War period.³

The point that Canada participated in peacekeeping to maintain the status quo on the international stage cannot be emphasised enough. The motive behind peacekeeping for all middle power countries in the Cold War period was system maintenance and not an urge to reform or create radical change on the international stage. This point is summed up by Laura Neack: middle powers acted primarily because of “an obligation

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³ Andrew F. Cooper, Canadian Foreign Policy: Old Habits and New Directions (Scarborough: Prentice-Hall Canada Inc., 1997), 176.
to protect the international peace and to preserve international norms and values."4

The international order that existed at the end of the Cold War was far different than the one that existed during the Cold War. There are three primary changes that occurred on the international stage at the end of the Cold War. First, the end of the American-Soviet rivalry allowed several internal wars to be dealt with that could not have been dealt with during the Cold War because there was a fear that these conflicts might have boiled over into a major war if there had been superpower involvement. Most notable among these were Cambodia, Central America, Angola, and Mozambique. Developing and colonised countries like Namibia and Western Sahara also received greater independence in the post-Cold War period; the fear that these countries would turn to communism was no longer evident. Second, several states like Yugoslavia, Somalia, and Georgia fell victim to internal civil war. These civil wars were avoided in the Cold War period because the superpowers maintained stable governments in these satellite states. However, when the Cold War ended support for favoured governments disappeared and this left the door open for civil war. Third, with the collapse of the Soviet Union and its satellite states, the Western countries pushed more forcibly for political and civil rights in developing states and former communist states.5 These changes laid the groundwork for the concept of "human security" and its adoption by the Canadian government.

4 As quoted in Cooper, Canadian Foreign Policy: Old Habits and New Directions, 177.
Although Lloyd Axworthy, the Minister for Foreign Affairs, likes to take credit for the concept of human security, it is important to remember that there were earlier discussions of this idea. J. Ann Tickner is just one of several critical theorists who were focusing on individuals while others were obsessed with the realist notion of the state in an anarchic system. Tickner’s feminist work examines security at the multilevel and multidimensional levels, which broadens the definition of security. She asserts that security should include social justice, economics, and the environment to the same extent that it includes military/political security. Tickner argues that these definitions of security are relevant because women have experienced a disproportional amount of hardship concerning these definitions of security. She points out that women throughout the world are paid less, work more, and do undervalued tasks. As Edna Keeble and Heather Smith point out, Tickner’s work laid the groundwork for Foreign Affairs Minister Axworthy, whose definition of human security is remarkably similar to Tickner’s.

Axworthy articulated the new approach Canada would take in redefining security in a Spring 1997 article in International Journal. He stated that traditional measures that attempt to ensure security such as the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty and the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty have failed in establishing

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6 It is important to note at this stage that some scholars argue that the concept of human security is not a new concept, but a concept that is being reborn. For an example of this, refer to Lawrence T. Woods, in Lawrence T. Woods, “Rediscovering Security: An Asia-Pacific Example,” in Mark Charlton, ed., International Relations in the Post-Cold War Era (Toronto: ITP Nelson, 1999), 271-277.
7 Keeble and Smith, (Re)Defining Traditions Gender and Canadian Foreign Policy, 69.
stability and peace. Axworthy outlined a new role for Canada on the international stage. He asserted that Canada and a small number of other nations had moved beyond the traditional definition of security. Canada and these other nations now believed that more than arms control and disarmament are needed to ensure lasting peace. What emerged from this belief was the notion of human security. Axworthy argues that human security consists of protection against economic privatisation, a guarantee of human rights, and a reasonable quality of life. For this to occur, he states that nations will have to recognise that the human environment and human security are interrelated. When human security is guaranteed, lasting stability can be achieved. In addition to this, Axworthy believes that Canada has the capacity and credibility to play a lead role in the campaign for human security. His belief is largely due to the past success Canada has had in dealing with international incidents that required peacekeeping operations.8

Axworthy went so far as to suggest that security goals should primarily focus on individual needs and not state needs. He argues that the individual should be the centre of reference and not the state as in the past.9 This type of thinking and the idea of using "soft power" to achieve his goals has alienated some Canadian scholars. Perhaps no one was more alienated at the Minister's new direction than Kim Richard Nossal, who wrote an opinion piece to the Ottawa Citizen criticising the Foreign Affairs Minister. Nossal believes that


soft power is not really power at all, but simply persuasion or inducement. He argued that soft power is cheap and useless because it encourages the belief that all Canada needs to do is talk a good game, but not back it up with traditional hard power infrastructure such as a highly skilled diplomatic core, a war-ready armed forces, and internationally reaching intelligence service. Nossal is of the opinion that in the real world hard power would be more effective in protecting Canadian interests than soft power.\textsuperscript{10}

Axworthy’s response to Nossal was critical and scathing. Axworthy accused Nossal of living in a Cold War mentality and being out of touch with the changing world. Axworthy also accused Nossal of being an isolationist who is fighting old wars and not embracing the present and the future global world.\textsuperscript{11} Some scholars found Axworthy’s response to Nossal extremely arrogant. Fen Osler Hampson and Dean Oliver used the term “pulpit diplomacy” to describe Axworthy’s attitude and new vision of security for Canada and criticised him for his arrogance. They stated that Axworthy should be open to debate about the idea of soft power and human security being the wrong policy for Canada.\textsuperscript{12}

This criticism persuaded Axworthy to change his definition of human security. The change in definition is obvious in the Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade document, “Human Security: Safety for People in a Changing World”. In

\textsuperscript{11} Lloyd Axworthy, “Why “soft power” is the right policy for Canada,” Ottawa Citizen, 25 April 1998, B6.
this document, Axworthy still argues that in the post-Cold War era governments can and should focus on the individuals and improve the standard of living for people in developing countries. However, in stark contrast to his earlier definition, Axworthy describes how human security must be a complement to national security and not replace it. In addition to this, the document outlines seven key dimensions that make up human security and complement national security. The dimensions used were taken from the 1994 United Nations Development Plan. They are listed as the economic, food, health, environmental, personal, community, and political dimensions of human security.¹³

The next chapter will explore Canada’s performance in addressing each dimension. Before doing so, however, it is necessary to illustrate the link Canada makes between human security and peacebuilding.

Human Security as Peacebuilding

The term “peacebuilding” was first used in 1994 in the United Nations An Agenda for Peace and was defined as efforts to identify and support structures that consolidate peace and advance a sense of confidence and well-being among people. It was envisioned that peacebuilding would take place after peacekeeping and peacemaking missions had achieved their objectives. Peacebuilding initiatives would ensure that lasting peace could be maintained in the conflict area.14

The Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade (DFAIT) describes peacebuilding as an effort to strengthen the prospects for international peace and prevent violent conflict. The department argues that peacebuilding is ultimately building human security, which includes democratic governance, human rights, rule of law, sustainable development, equitable access to resources, and environmental security.15

It is important to understand the definition of human security in Canada because human security is the theoretical framework from which Canada develops its peacebuilding initiatives. Axworthy argues that peacebuilding is an essential dimension to peacekeeping and peacemaking. After a peacekeeping or peacemaking operation, peacebuilding becomes human security in practice. If essential infrastructure such as a civilian police force, a free media, and an impartial judiciary are put into place, lasting peace can be a reasonable goal. Axworthy states that Canada has established an annual

14 Ratner, The New UN Peacekeeping: Building Peace in Lands of Conflict After the Cold War, 16-17.
ten million dollar peacebuilding fund. The peacebuilding fund brings human rights experts together who are then deployed to recent peacekeeping or peacemaking sites with the mission of establishing essential infrastructure. Axworthy points out that Canada has already had some level of success with peacebuilding initiatives in Haiti and Bosnia.\textsuperscript{16}

Besides the annual ten million dollar peacebuilding fund, Canada has sponsored some specific human security initiatives in the form of peacebuilding programs that show the Canadian government is using human security as the theoretical framework for peacebuilding. The first extensive program that Canada undertook in its quest for human security was to place a worldwide ban on antipersonnel land mines. The process partnered governments with international agencies in the hope of banning one of the most destructive military devices, which hinders human security. Many of the individuals harmed by land mines are women and children and the problem of land mines persists long after the military conflict has finished. Asia is one of the most heavily populated land mine regions in the world and countries ranging from Vietnam to the Koreas still experience land mine tragedies. Cambodia alone has hundreds of land mine casualties every month, which has given Cambodia the dubious distinction as the nation with the highest proportion of physically disabled people in the world. These tragic situations have led to the partnership of governments and international agencies with Canada providing a leading role in banning land mines. The convention to ban land mines was signed in Ottawa in December of 1997 by 122 states from around

\textsuperscript{16} Axworthy, "Canada and human security: the need for leadership," 185-187.
the world. In addition, many of the states who did not sign the ban agreed to follow the guidelines set out in the convention.17

Canada has launched several other initiatives to further its promotion of human security in the world. Small arms proliferation is of particular concern to Axworthy. He makes the argument that small arms are the weapon of choice for non-state combatants. Small weapons are cheap, easy to use and transport, and are the preferred weapon for individuals who want to challenge international peace and security. Directly linked to small arms proliferation is the use of children in armed conflict. Quite often in civil wars children play a large role and make up a substantial number of the front line troops. The Minister wants to stop the proliferation of small arms, which would help disarm these children. After this has been completed, special efforts have to be made to reintegrate child soldiers back into society.18 These are just a few examples of human security forming the theoretical framework for Canada's peacebuilding initiatives, but they are only the most publicised cases. The government has been active in some of the seven dimensions of human security and noticeably inactive in others.

18 "Notes for an Address by the Honourable Lloyd Axworthy Minister of Foreign Affairs to the International NGO Consultations of Small Arms Action," Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade <http://www.dfait-maeci.gc.ca/english/nes/statements/98 state/98050e.htm> (4 April 2000).
Chapter Two
Canada's Efforts Towards the Seven Dimensions of Human Security

There are seven dimensions of human security: economic, food, health, environmental, personal, community, and political. The following section will describe these dimensions and analyse Canada’s efforts in each.

Economic Security
Economic security means an assured basic income, which usually comes from productive and renewable work. In a last resort, a public safety net may serve as the source of income. This is a very ambitious goal as only one quarter of the people in the world today enjoy economic security. Industrialised nations are less economically secure than they were a few decades ago. The number of jobs created has not kept pace with the growing size of the labour force. In the past two decades gross domestic product (GDP) has doubled, but job creation has increased at only half that rate. Developing countries are experiencing even greater hardship. The unemployment rate in developing countries is extremely high and those that are working are underemployed and earn very little money. If an individual loses his/her job, there is little in the way of a social safety net, which means that losing one’s job can lead to personal and family disaster. In addition to this, wages in developed and developing countries have not kept up with inflation. The situation is not critical in developed
countries, but it has reached a critical level in developing nations.\textsuperscript{19}

Canada’s record on supporting developing countries in terms of economic security has been mixed. Canada has had a long tradition of supporting and playing a role in creating institutional economic mechanisms on the international stage. The Canadian government played a role in the creation of the General Agreement on Trades and Tariffs, the International Monetary Fund, and the World Bank. Canada participated in the creation of these economic institutions because Canada wanted to participate on the international economic scene in order to gain protection from the economic superpowers of the world. Basically, Canada wanted a rules-based trading system with laws, which would protect middle power countries like itself.\textsuperscript{20} This philosophy of operating in the rules-based trading system conceived after World War Two has remained to this day.

The Liberal Government’s document, Canada in the World, outlines Canada’s stance on the international economic system. The document states that Canada’s first priority is to put its financial house in order, which will make Canada a more competitive player in the world. The document affirms Canada’s desire to operate in a rules-based international economic system and credits the rules-based international economic system with Canada’s economic success in the period following the Second World War. It also states that the economic system has increased productivity and living standards worldwide. The


document asserts that the best way to make developing countries economically secure is through strengthening the ability of developing countries to grow and become productive in the marketplace. Consequently, the government argues that developing countries will achieve economic security by fully integrating themselves in the rules-based economic order that exists on the international stage.21

Axworthy states that Canada believes economic development is an integral part of human security. In stark contrast to the Canada in the World document, which claims that all states have benefited from the international economy, he acknowledges that the poorest countries in the world receive less of the world's income than they did in 1960. Although several success stories exist, namely Japan and the Asian Tigers, most developing countries have not been able to replicate this success. Axworthy acknowledges that developing countries have the right to economic development and to alleviate their poverty. However, he makes the point that developing countries cannot pursue their economic development at the cost of environmental degradation and human rights abuses. Consequently, Axworthy encourages developing countries to engage in the rules-based trading economy and develop economically through the marketplace.22

Prime Minister Jean Chretien espouses the same belief. Chretien argues that trade and investment pursued in a fair and open economy will increase the living standards for people all over the world just as it has done in Canada. Canadian

22 Axworthy, “Canada and human security: the need for leadership,” 190.
business involvement in developing countries will contribute to social, economic, and legal improvements. However, in stark contrast to Axworthy, Chretien advocates trading with countries that have poor human rights records. He disregards the claim that the choice is trade versus human rights. He makes the general argument that social conditions and human rights will improve as trade and economic links increase.²³

The DFAIT document, Canada and Peacebuilding - The Canadian Peacebuilding Experience, outlines several economic measures Canada has taken to increase economic security in developing countries. In the Great Lakes Region of Africa, Canada has forgiven $2.1 million of Rwanda’s World Bank debt. In Sri Lanka, Canada has assisted in the economic reintegration of uprooted groups. In Haiti, Canada has contributed $4.5 million to economic recovery by democratising public enterprises and privatising others. In El Salvador, the Canadian government has put $20.7 million into sustainable social reconstruction, which includes production-oriented poverty alleviation.²⁴

Despite these efforts and contrary to what was said in Canada in the World, the poorest nations in the world continue to become poorer. From 1970 to 1985, global gross national product (GNP) has increased 40 percent. However, the number of poor individuals increased 17 percent in that same time frame. In the last 30 years the poorest 20 percent of the people in

the world have seen their share of global income fall from 2.3 percent to 1.4 percent, while at the same time the richest 20 percent have seen their income rise from 70 percent to 85 percent. If this trend continues, the United Nations Development Program administrator Gustave Speth stated that the disparity between rich and poor nations will move from inequitable to inhuman.25

Different individuals in the Canadian government seem to be operating on different wavelengths when it comes to economic security. The Canada in the World document states that rules-based trade and the marketplace have benefited everyone worldwide. Lloyd Axworthy directly disputes this point, he states that rich nations have become richer while the poorer nations have become poorer. The statistics cited above seem to back up Axworthy’s argument. In addition to this, Prime Minister Chretien argues that Canada must pursue trade with countries that abuse human rights and that the argument cannot be polarised into a human rights versus trade debate. However, Axworthy argues that human rights cannot be sacrificed in the name of development. Canada is following Chretien’s thinking on this matter as it continues to trade with countries like China. The Canadian government has devoted some economic resources that have encouraged economic security in developing countries. But, if the government is serious about reversing the trends of the last 30 years and improving the disparity in wealth, much more will have to be done.

Food Security

Food security is achieved when people have both physical and economic access to food. Contrary to what some may think, there is actually enough food to feed everyone in the world. During many famines, enough food was actually on hand, but people did not have the economic ability to access the food. There is a serious problem with distribution and the lack of purchasing power that individuals have in developing countries. National and international agencies have tried to increase food security, but their efforts have only been met with limited success.26

The seriousness of food shortages around the world cannot be stressed enough. Malnutrition and its effects are creating serious problems. In 1996 there were nearly 195 million children under the age of five who were undernourished. The most serious cases of undernourishment exist in developing countries that suffer from war and famine. Studies show that malnutrition at a young age can limit long term intellectual development. Limiting long term intellectual development has dramatic consequences for individuals and states as it has a negative influence on work productivity.27

Canada has recognised that food security is a serious problem and that it is an essential part of human security. Both the Canadian government and the Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA) have stated that basic human needs, which include health care, basic education, family planning, nutrition, water, sanitation, and shelter, should take up 25

percent of Canada’s Official Development Assistance (ODA).\textsuperscript{28} Despite this, Canada has had a hard time meeting this goal.

Another major concern with Canada’s food aid is the self-serving nature of the program. The Canadian government has tightened its requirements to food aid and has forced developing countries to accept products that they do not really need. Canada gives away large amounts of fish and other processed items, which suggests a disposal of surpluses. The Canadian government is also careful to protect local industrial revenues at the expense of developing nations. This type of action suggests that national priorities override developmental considerations in developing countries. Canada says that it is committed to genuine food aid, but Canadian food aid practices lag far behind those of other developed countries that donate food aid.\textsuperscript{29}

Perhaps even more alarming than tied aid and surplus dumping is the reduction in the amount of food aid being given in recent years. In the 1992-1993 fiscal year, the CIDA distributed $141.68 million to nutrition programs. In the 1993-1994 fiscal year, the CIDA distributed only $80.49 million in nutrition programs. As soon as the Chrétien government took power in 1993, it severely slashed food aid to developing


countries. These cuts included emergency food aid, which does not contribute to long term food security.\textsuperscript{30}

Although the Liberal government has stated that basic human needs (which includes food aid) should take up 25 percent of the ODA budget, this has not happened as of yet. With the inclusion of emergency food aid, the percentage going to basic human needs may be as high as 21 percent. However, if emergency food aid is removed from this calculation, the percentage is far lower. In short, the government has failed to meet its objective any way the numbers are manipulated.\textsuperscript{31}

Although the Canadian government and Lloyd Axworthy state that food security is an important dimension to human security, they seem unwilling to back up this acknowledgement with sufficient financial resources. Malnutrition has serious effects on child development, which has dramatic effects on the state in the long run. Canada may recognise these facts, but it appears that Canada's commodities industries and own financial situation take precedence over food security in developing counties.

\textbf{Health Security}

In developing countries, the major cause of death is disease, which kills 17 million people each year. There are several reasons for this, but poor nutrition and unsafe drinking water are the main problems. Individuals in developing countries also lack access to doctors. In

\textsuperscript{30} Alison Van Rooy, \textit{A Partial Promise? Canadian Support to Social Development in the South} (Ottawa: The North-South Institute, 1995), 25.
industrialised nations, there is approximately one doctor to every 400 people. The ratio increases to one doctor to every 7,000 people in developing countries. In Africa, the ratio is even higher, one doctor to every 36,000 people. Two other problems that are disproportionately suffered by individuals in developing countries in comparison to developed countries are the high level of AIDS and an infant mortality rate that is 18 times greater.\textsuperscript{32}

Health problems in developing countries cannot be underestimated. Population booms in cities have caused even more problems. Unemployment in many cities tops 20 percent and, with inadequate sanitation, infectious disease and chronic illness are flourishing. However, people in developing countries still flock to cities in hope of a better life.\textsuperscript{33}

Like food security, health security is considered to be part of basic human needs. The Canadian government has stated that 25 percent of ODA should go to basic human needs. However, the government has failed to meet this objective. The CIDA has implemented several beneficial programs in basic health, but the CIDA’s goals in health are underfunded. If the CIDA wants to accomplish its goals in the area of health, more resources have to be put into the program. When the Liberal government took power there was an increase in basic health spending by the CIDA. Basic health spending totalled $26.78 million in the 1992-1993 fiscal year. This number increased to

$41.62 million in the 1993-1994 fiscal year. This suggests that the government is making basic health care a priority.34

Although the Liberal government spent more money on basic health care when it came into power, it is important to put these numbers into perspective. Prime Minister Chretien did just that in a 1999 speech delivered in Winnipeg. Chretien pointed out that Americans spend $8 billion each year on cosmetics and that Europeans spend $11 billion each year on ice cream. He also pointed out that basic sanitation for 2 billion people could be put into place for $9 billion.35 Basic sanitation would greatly reduce infectious diseases in developing countries. Consequently, when the numbers are put into context, $41.62 million does not seem like that much.

The Liberal government has diverted more resources towards health security. However, it is important to recognise that total ODA spending on basic human needs in the 1992-1993 fiscal year was $228.32 million. In the 1993-1994 fiscal year, this number dropped to $174.47 million.36 As a result, all the government has done is shift money around basic human needs programs. Health security is a huge concern in the developing world. It is a serious problem that requires a serious effort on the part of Canada and other nations.

34 Rooy, A Partial Promise? Canadian Support to Social Development in the South, 31-33.
Environmental Security

Rapid population growth and intensive industrialisation in both developed and developing countries has had dramatic effects on the environment. Water shortage is becoming a serious problem in the developing world, nearly 2 billion people lack access to safe drinking water. Just as alarming as the water shortage is the disregard that developed countries have for air pollution. Los Angeles and London produce over 4,000 tons of air pollution annually. Air pollution is harmful to human health and has devastating effects on the natural environment and economy. The deterioration of Europe’s forests from air pollution causes an economic loss of $35 billion annually.37

The idea of the environment being considered a security risk has very few critics. The critics that do exist remain largely silent on the issue, which has led to considerable attention being put on environmental concerns. Many of the individuals that study the environment agree that the major environmental concerns facing the United States today are ozone depletion and climate change and that these issues cannot be ignored.38 Other authors have suggested that the environment is a national security issue facing the United States. President Clinton has included environmental security as part of the United States national security. This was done because of the effects the environment has on people, because it is a factor behind violent conflict and the success of the

These concerns are not limited to the United States. The environment concerns all nations in the world today.

Canada has espoused that environmental security is an essential dimension of human security. Despite this, Canada’s track record concerning environmental security is feeble. Countries from around the world came together in Rio in 1992 to sign the Framework Convention on Climate Change. However, this convention has been far from successful. The convention is voluntary in nature, which means that most of the states do not follow the protocol set out in the convention. Canada is one of these states. At the Conference of Parties (COP) I and II, Canada formed an alliance with Japan, the United States, Australia, and New Zealand. This alliance became known as JUSCANZ and it rejected all attempts by the European Union to limit greenhouse gas emissions at 1990 levels by the year 2000. At the Kyoto conference things changed slightly, the JUSCANZ coalition weakened with various states promising different levels of reduction. Canada committed to a reductions target of 6 percent reductions of greenhouse gases from 1990 levels by 2008-2012. However, this was a complicated formula that allowed Canada’s forests to act as carbon sinks. To make things worse, Prime Minister Chretien suggested to the provinces (who had to agree to the deal as well) that certain international agreements are never ratified. This comment seriously undermined the process and makes one wonder if Canada is serious about reducing greenhouse gas emissions.40

Canada also has a very poor record in regards to environmental security in Kosovo. The bombing of Kosovo by North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO) warplanes had serious environmental effects on the landscape. NATO warplanes bombed the petro-chemical complex at Pancevo in the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia when they carried out their mission in 1999. The oil and chemicals that were used in this plant subsequently drained into a nearby canal that eventually flowed into the Danube River. The Danube River is now polluted by toxic chemicals, including mercury, 1,2-dichlorethane, and dioxins. The toxins will eventually find their way into the Black Sea, which is already in a delicate state environmentally. Even more alarming is that millions of individuals rely on the Danube River for their sustenance.41

Canada participated in the bombing campaign that devastated much of Kosovo and is directly responsible for the environmental aftereffects. Lloyd Axworthy states that the NATO did not provoke the Kosovo tragedy, but responded to it. He argues that the NATO could not turn away from the tragedy and that the bombing shows that human security matters to the NATO. These are the reasons Canada participated in the bombing.42 Axworthy’s assessment seems rather strange from a human security perspective. He advocates protecting people’s personal and political security, but at the same time ignores

42 “Notes for an Address by the Honourable Lloyd Axworthy, Minister of Foreign Affairs, to the Woodrow Wilson School of Public and International Relations Princeton University “Kosovo and the Human Security Agenda,” Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade <http://www.dfait-maeci.gc.ca/engli...s/statements/99_state/99_028-e.htm> (2 December 1999).
the environmental security problems that result from Canada's actions. It seems strange to justify the implementation of some of the dimensions of human security while devastating others.

The Liberal government has had a very confused position on environmental security. Axworthy states that developing countries do not have a right to develop economically at the expense of the environment. However, the Canadian government does just that by forming alliances like JUSCANZ and directly undermining the Kyoto agreement by suggesting to the provinces that some international agreements are never ratified. In terms of environmental security it is obvious that Canada does not practice what it preaches. The Liberal government's actions and comments suggest the attitude that Canada and its economy come first, contrary to their human security agenda.

**Personal Security**

In many developing nations, people are at greater risk than they ever have been before. Crime and violence are serious problems in developed countries, but are at a critical level in developing countries. Women and children are experiencing more hardship now than they ever did in the past. Although women are better educated today then in the past, they still experience tremendous hardship. Sexual assault is a serious problem in both developed and developing countries. Children are also being abused and neglected. In developing countries children are experiencing high levels abuse and

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43 Axworthy, "Canada and human security: the need for leadership," 190.
neglect. Hundreds of thousands of children in developing countries are homeless or child prostitutes.  

The most famous personal security initiative that Canada has undertaken is the ban on land mines. In 1997 the Liberal government managed to get 122 countries to sign the convention to eliminate the manufacture, use, and export of land mines. Many countries that did not sign the deal indicated that they would follow the protocols of the convention. By all accounts the convention was very successful, but the Liberal government soon found themselves surrounded in controversy.

When Canadian forces were sent to East Timor, they took with them the Claymore mine. Most anti-personnel land mine activists feel that the use of the Claymore mine violated the spirit of the convention. Lloyd Axworthy agrees, but Claymore mines were still used. In fairness to the Canadian forces, the mine is used to protect soldiers on patrol and is removed when the soldiers leave. Consequently, civilians will not be harmed by the mines when the conflict is over, although they could be during the conflict.

Another personal security program that the Liberal government has tried to pursue is to control the flow of small arms. Lloyd Axworthy states that small arms are the weapon of choice for non-state combatants. They are cheap, extremely easy to use and transport. Small arms are the tools of the trade for drug smugglers, terrorists, and criminals. These

weapons also play a key role in violence, erosion of political legitimacy, and the loss of economic viability. Axworthy argues that the best way to stop the proliferation of small arms requires four steps. First, small arms should be on the international disarmament agenda. Second, the problems small arms create need to be studied on the ground, where they are having their effect. Third, international agreements banning the sale of small arms need to be negotiated. Finally, combatants need to be disarmed and reintegrated into the community. However, like land mines, the Liberal government has a contradictory record concerning small arms.

The Liberal government did not get off to a good start when they first took office in regards to small arms. The Canadian arms industry had a record year in 1994, arms sales from Canada to Third World countries jumped more than 40 percent from the previous year. Of even greater concern was the fact that small arms were being shipped to countries with poor human rights records. Despite export controls that were put into place, small arms were still being exported to conflict areas as well.

In 1996, Axworthy announced his plans to have the export of small arms from Canada tightened. The new legislation would ensure that recipient countries had gun control laws and were not involved in internal war. When the 1995 Firearms Act comes

47 "Notes for an Address by the Honourable Lloyd Axworthy Minister of Foreign Affairs to the International NGO Consultations on Small Arms Action," Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade <http://www.dfait-maeci.gc.ca/engl...ws/statements/98_state/98_050e.htm> (4 April 2000).
48 "Canadian Arms Sales to the Third World: A Record Year for Team Canada," Ploughshares Monitor <http://www.phoughshares.ca/content/MONITOR/mons95a.html> (4 April 2000).
into place in the year 2000 the new rules should ensure that small arms do not find their way into the wrong hands. With regards to small arms it appears that Axworthy and the Liberal government have experienced a reasonable level of success. Canadian manufactured small arms should no longer find their way to countries that abuse human rights and or are involved in internal wars.

The other high profile personal security program that the Liberal government has undertaken is the protection of children. The first area where the Liberal government is trying to protect children is in armed conflict. Civilians are now the main victims and targets in armed conflict. The number of deaths in armed conflict doubled in the 1990s in comparison to the 1980s. The overwhelming number of casualties are civilians, about 80 percent. In the 1990s over 2 million children were killed, 4 million were disabled, and over 300 thousand served in armies as fighters, cooks, porters, messengers, spies, labourers, and sex slaves. To reverse this disturbing trend, the Liberal government has made several recommendations: first, increase the knowledge about the situation around the world and encourage states to act; second, strengthen international norms by instituting tough laws against the exploitation of children; third, integrate the protection of children into peacemaking and peacebuilding operations around the world; fourth, encourage humanitarian and development programming towards war-affected children; fifth, co-ordinate assistance efforts in war-torn zones, which would make the most of financial resources; and finally, promote

partnerships with non-government organisations, (NGOs) that work with civil society and tackle child exploitation and abuse. The Liberal government has acted on some of Axworthy’s recommendations. The government has instituted tough new laws on those who abuse children abroad and have worked closely with NGOs in war-torn regions.

The Liberal government also commissioned a House of Commons Sub-Committee report on Sustainable Development entitled, “Ending Child Labour Exploitation: A Canadian Agenda for Action on Global Challenges.” The report has 19 recommendations that Canada should pursue in terms of child exploitation. Some of the highlights of the report recommend extra-territorial legislation of child prostitution, minimum age for military conscription, and limiting the export of military arms. The Liberal government has acted on some of these recommendations. They have enacted legislation on extra-territorial child prostitution and instituted new legislation on the export of small arms.

In terms of personal security, the Liberal government has pursued several programs. The convention on banning land mines has been fairly successful. The government was able to get 122 countries to sign the convention and several others agreed to the terms even though they did not sign. The use of the Claymore mines did not violate the convention, but many believe

50 “Notes for an Address by the Honourable Lloyd Axworthy Minister of Foreign Affairs to the Conference at Columbia University on “The Protection of Children in Armed Conflict”," Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade <http://198.103.104.118/minpub/Pub1...?FileSpec=/Min_Pub_Docs/100213.htm> (2 December 1999).
that it breaks the spirit of the convention. The Claymore mine did not technically violate the convention because there is a significant difference between traditional land mines and the Claymore mine. The Claymore mine is removed when the soldiers leave and will not later effect civilians as a result. This is the most substantial problem with traditional land mines: they maim civilians long after the conflict is over. The government has also made several recommendations concerning the exploitation of children and has instituted some of its recommendations. Consequently, in terms of personal security, it appears that the Liberal government and Lloyd Axworthy are trying to live up to their policy statements.

**Community Security**

Community security means finding security within a group, such as a family, a community, an organisation, or an ethnic group. Many aspects of community security have deteriorated in the 1990s. The extended family, traditional languages, and cultures have dwindled in the past decade. Since the end of the Cold War, traditional communities, particularly ethnic groups have come under direct attack from each other. About 40 percent of the countries in the world have five distinct ethnic groups within their country. These ethnic groups often fight with each other over the resources that the state has to offer, whether they be social services from the state or jobs in the economy. As a result of this competition about 50 percent of the countries in the world have experienced some internal conflict. The most serious cases are in areas where the superpowers suppressed ethnic divide during the Cold War. The results of these ethnic clashes have been devastating;
hundreds of thousands of people have been killed and hundreds of thousands of women have been raped.\textsuperscript{52}

One way in which Canada has tried to protect traditional languages and culture is through the La Francophonie. As a member, Canada has utilised the organisation in its peacebuilding initiatives. The La Francophonie hosted a high level meeting on conflict prevention in Africa in Ottawa in 1995. The La Francophonie made a contribution of $350,000 to fund a series of round tables on conflict prevention in West Africa. The La Francophonie has also assumed a more political role in peacebuilding initiatives around the Great Lakes region in Africa. A Great Lakes Expert Group was formed to represent the La Francophonie’s interests in the area. Finally, the La Francophonie formed a Francophonie forum in the Congo to support the transition of that government to a democracy.\textsuperscript{53}

Although Canada has made some attempts to protect the French language and culture through the La Francophonie, it is important to realise that they are very minor and modest attempts. Canada’s Minister for International Co-operation and Minister responsible for La Francophonie, Diane Marleau, does not even mention the La Francophonie in her opening message in the government document, Canada’s Peacebuilding Initiative.\textsuperscript{54} This omission suggests that the La Francophonie is not an overly important mechanism that the Liberal government uses to pursue its peacebuilding initiatives.

\textsuperscript{52} UNDP, “Redefining Security: the Human Dimension,” 264.
\textsuperscript{54} “Canada’s Peacebuilding Initiative,” Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade \texttt{<http://www.dfait-maeci.gc.ca/peacebuilding/peace-e.asp>} (23 April 2000).
The major way the Canadian government has sought to ensure community security has been through peacekeeping and peacemaking operations. Canada had a solid record when it came to peacekeeping during the Cold War. Canada participated in all peacekeeping missions that occurred during the Cold War and for the most part the missions were successful. Most of the missions that occurred during the Cold War were traditional peacekeeping missions requiring the consent of both parties.\(^5\)

In the post-Cold War period, Canada and the United Nations pursued several complicated peacemaking missions. One of the most notable to Canadians was the Somalia mission. Somalia broke out into a civil war in 1991 that had disastrous consequences. President Mahdi and General Aidid signed a cease-fire in early 1992. The United Nations sent a small observer group to Somalia to observe the cease-fire and ensure the protection of aid workers. Despite this, the situation continued to deteriorate and aid workers in the area were subjected to extortion and murder. The Security Council increased the mission from an observer mission to a traditional peacekeeping mission with armed personnel in June 1992. Finally, the Security Council decided to act and authorised the peacemaking operation Restore Hope. The force was largely American, which supplied 30,000 troops; however, there were an additional 17,000 troops from other countries. In the beginning this new show of force was effective, but General Aidid’s soldiers soon began killing peacekeepers. Matters continued to deteriorate, journalists were being killed, Canadian soldiers killed Somalian civilians, and more United

Nations soldiers were killed, including several American troops. All of these factors led to the American withdrawal from Somalia and the eventual failure of the mission.\textsuperscript{56}

The Somalia mission shows that the Canadian government had good intentions in seeking to restore community security and stop the internal conflict. The failure of the mission shows how peacemaking missions are much more complicated in the post-Cold War period and have been far less successful than missions in the Cold War era. The subsequent withdrawal of Canadian support for peacekeeping and peacemaking missions is of concern. During the Cold War era, Canada was the foremost contributor of troops to peacekeeping. In the post-Cold War era, Canada has fallen to 24th, behind Jordan and just ahead of Namibia.\textsuperscript{57}

In terms of community security, the Canadian government has a mixed record. It works through the La Francophonie, but only in a very limited way. It does not appear that the Liberal government is overly serious about protecting French language and culture in the world. Canada has a good record concerning peacekeeping and peacemaking, which have become essential mechanisms for ensuring internal stability between ethnic groups. Without these missions community security could never be guaranteed. However, in this case as well the Liberal government has withdrawn support. The fact that Canada has gone from the primary supplier of peacekeeping troops to 24th

shows a lack of commitment on the part of the Liberal
government.

Political Security

Political security is achieved when people have the
ability to live in a society that honours their basic human
rights. There has been considerable improvement in this area
since the 1980s. Many oppressive regimes have handed over
power to civilian administrations and are holding elections.
Regardless, human rights violations still occurred in 112
countries in 1992. Military and police officials are quite
often the agents that the government uses to institute
oppressive regime orders. One of the key indicators about a
government’s political insecurity is the priority the
government gives to the military in comparison to other
government programs. Iraq is a good example of this: in 1980
Iraq spent eight times more on their military than on education
and health.58

The document, Canada in the World, outlines the Canadian
position on political security. As Latin America and Asia have
advanced economically democracy has been taking root at the
same time. The document states that power should move into the
hands of the electorate and out of the hands of authoritarian
rule. With democracy, human rights records have improved in
Latin America and Asia. However, the document cautions that
the new found democracies are fragile and need support to
succeed.59

59 “Canada in the World,” Department of Foreign Affairs and International
Trade <http://www.dfaite-maeci.gc.ca/english/foreignp/cnd-world/menu.htm>
(23 April 2000).
Lloyd Axworthy states that the promotion of human rights and governance is a top priority. The Organisation of American States (OAS) has begun discussions on how to strengthen the inter-American human rights system and has formed a unit for the promotion of democracy. The latter is a Canadian initiative. Canada has also directly supported political security in Haiti. Canada was heavily involved in Haiti and helped set up police training, judicial training, and coast guard training. The development of a civilian police force and an impartial judiciary are critical aspects that ensure political security.

One could say that political security is one of the top priorities of the Liberal government in developing countries. The government document, Canada and Peacebuilding - The Canadian Peacebuilding Initiative, outlines Canada’s peacebuilding spending and a substantial portion of the resources are being devoted to political security. The former Yugoslavia, Cambodia, Sri Lanka, El Salvador, and Guatemala all have received Canadian assistance to implement political security.

The Liberal government has put a fair amount of attention on political security and has diverted a substantial amount of the funds available for peacebuilding towards political security. There has been heavy involvement in countries such

60 “Notes for an Address by The Honourable Lloyd Axworthy Minister of Foreign Affairs to the Annual Conference of the Canadian Bureau for International Education,” Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade <www.dfait-maeci.gc.ca> (23 November 1999).
61 Axworthy, “Canada and human security: the need for leadership,” 186.
as Haiti and the peacebuilding initiatives have had some successful results. However, as was mentioned in the economic section of this paper, Prime Minister Chretien places a higher emphasis on economic relations than human rights. Consequently, although political security appears to be a priority for the Liberal government, Canada’s economic situation seems to take precedence over human rights and political security in developing nations.

This chapter has summarised Canada’s efforts towards the seven dimensions of human security. As was described Canada has made a recognisable difference in some of the dimensions of human security. However, other dimensions of human security have been ignored by the Liberal government and little or no progress has been made in these dimensions of human security.
Chapter Three
Conclusion

In this paper, I have attempted to explore the government’s performance in the various dimensions of human security, as defined by the United Nations, in order to help Canadians understand where Canada is performing well and where it needs to improve. Hopefully this paper will have some value in determining Canadian credibility on this issue and how to maintain and improve Canada’s international reputation.

The first chapter of this paper analysed human security from the Canadian perspective. The traditional/realist definition of security followed by Canada during the Cold War was explored. The chapter also outlined how Canada changed its definition of security at the conclusion of the Cold War and began to focus on human needs (human security) as well as state needs. Finally, this chapter described how the concept of human security is put into practice by Canada through peacebuilding initiatives such as the global ban on land mines.

The second chapter provided a checklist of the seven dimensions that make up human security and Canada’s efforts in relation to each dimension. In the area of economic security, Canada has tried to encourage economic security through rules-based trade with limited success. Canada has a poor record in enhancing food security. The Canadian government is more concerned with subsidising and protecting its own commodities industries than establishing food security in developing nations. The third dimension analysed was health security. Although the Canadian government has increased spending on basic health, it has severely decreased spending on other basic
human needs. In the area of environmental security, the Canadian government has failed miserably. The Canadian government advises developing nations that they cannot industrialise at the cost of the environment, but Canada continues to be one of the world's worst polluters. Canada has a better record on personal security and has been a world leader in attempting to ban land mines and small arms. The sixth dimension of human security examined was community security, an area where Canada also has a good record. Peacekeeping is essential in establishing community security and Canada was a world leader in the Cold War era. However, in the post-Cold War period Canada has played only a minor role in United Nations peacekeeping. Finally, Canada has diverted a fair amount of resources towards the political security dimension, but Canada's economic situation still takes precedence.

Canada's foreign policy has undergone a transformation under the tenure of Foreign Affairs Minister Lloyd Axworthy. Critical theorists have applauded Axworthy's new initiative and are delighted to see that the Canadian government is beginning to focus on individuals and not just states. Canada has built upon its reputation as a peacekeeping nation and a good international citizen in pursuing peacebuilding via its new foreign policy. Peacebuilding is the practical application of human security and Canada has had some success. However, from the analysis provided here it appears that some aspects of human security receive more attention from the Liberal government than others. There has also been mixed reaction to the new focus from various scholars.
Fen Hampson and Dean Oliver provide a critical assessment of Axworthy and Canada’s human security agenda. They acknowledge that Axworthy’s new focus is a refreshing change from the realist dominated world of international relations. However, they also argue that, although the Cold War is over, this does not mean that conflict will not occur. Rogue states still exist and international conflict can still emerge. The new doctrine espoused by Axworthy and the Canadian government fundamentally weakens the defence establishment. The case of Iraq shows that military power and the defence establishment still have a vital role to play on the international stage. Realist theory still has a role to play in international studies today. A further problem with the new Canadian foreign policy initiative is that many foreign programs are designed for a quick fix instead of long-term stability. The Canadian government has bailed out national elites and institutions instead of promoting civil society and the democratic process.63

William Bain points out some negative effects that Canada’s new foreign policy could have. Bain asserts that Canada’s new foreign policy seeks to achieve three key objectives: 1) to promote prosperity and employment; 2) to protect security within an international framework; and 3) to project abroad Canadian culture and values. He points out that these policy initiatives could have negative consequences for Canada. The Canadian government’s universal doctrine on human security can cause serious conflicts in a pluralistic world. Many states will accuse Canada of being a moral crusader and

63 Hampson and Oliver, “Pulpit diplomacy: a critical assessment of the Axworthy doctrine,” 382-388.
trying to impose its values on other nations. Consequently, Canada will have to be very careful when balancing its position on human security and the pluralist nature of international society.64

However, the biggest problem facing Canada and Minister Axworthy is the serious lack of funding that has been provided for peacebuilding initiatives and the continual double talk on their part. The document, Canada in the World, states that ODA is very important and that the Liberal government remains committed to improving ODA and reaching the United Nations target of 0.7 percent of GNP when Canada’s fiscal situation allows.65 It appears that the Liberal government has abandoned the goal of ODA being increased to 0.7 percent of GNP. The ODA to GNP ratio for Canada was 0.49 percent in 1991-1992; it fell to 0.34 percent in 1996-1997, and it is projected to fall to 0.27 percent in 1998-1999.66 In comparison, Sweden’s, Norway’s, the Netherlands, and Denmark’s ODA to GNP ratio was 0.72 percent, 0.91 percent, 0.80 percent, and 0.99 percent respectively.67 Canada likes to promote the idea that it works with countries like Norway and that they are like minded nations who share common values and approaches to foreign policy. Canada and Norway have formed a partnership for action in implementing human security through peacebuilding.

initiatives. However, although Norway and Canada may have similar ideas, they are light years apart when it comes to financing peacebuilding initiatives. In reality, Canada is closer to countries like the United States and the United Kingdom who have an ODA to GNP ratio of 0.10 percent, and 0.27 percent respectively. These are countries that Canada does not promote as like minded, but in reality Canada is more like minded with these countries in terms of ODA spending than the countries previously mentioned.

Lloyd Axworthy states that, "Canada has traditionally been a leader in peacekeeping operations. My aim is to move us toward being a leader in peacebuilding." Many scholars would agree that this is a good path for Canada to take. It provides a fresh outlook on international affairs. However, Canada continues to say that it will contribute more when it can. Canada’s GNP continues to rise, but its contributions have shrunk in comparison. Consequently, if Canada continues to shrink its commitments financially and say that it cannot afford to help, Minister Axworthy and Canada are in danger of losing their credibility and good international reputation.

Human security is a noble goal and should receive more attention on the international stage. The Liberal government

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70 "Notes for an Address by the Honourable Lloyd Axworthy, Minister of Foreign Affairs, at York University 'Building Peace to Last: Establishing a Canadian Peacebuilding Initiative'," Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade <http://198.103.104.118/minpub/Publ...?FileSpec=Min_Pub_Docs/102433.htm> (2 December 1999).
should be commended for asserting human security initiatives. However, Canada’s human security initiatives have been marred by a lack of funding on the part of the Liberal government. It is imperative that the Liberal government increase spending on ODA and bring it in line with countries like Sweden, Norway, the Netherlands, and Denmark. If the Liberal government does increase ODA spending and reaches the United Nations target goal of ODA being 0.7 percent of GNP, Canada will be able to make a fair contribution on the international stage.

Although this paper argues for increased ODA spending in order to fund human security initiatives, it should not be implied that Canada should divert money from other departments such as the military. Realism is still a relevant theory in the world today. The Iraq war showed that a strong military has its place in the world. Consequently, Canada is simply going to have to increase its spending. Some will argue that this is not a financially practical course for Canada to follow. Despite this, it is important to keep in mind that Canada is one of the most affluent countries in the world and that Canadians have an extremely high standard of living. If a “Canada First” attitude prevails, our international reputation and the people that live in developing countries will suffer terribly.
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