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## **Canadian Foreign Policy and Global Governance: The Positions of the Federal Political Parties for the 2019 Federal Election**

During federal election campaigns, the World Federalist Movement - Canada surveys the federal political parties about their positions on specific areas of interest to World Federalists.

The questions on the following pages are being presented to the political parties participating in this fall's federal election. Answers will be available at [wfmcanada.org/elections](http://wfmcanada.org/elections) as they are received.

### **What you can do**

1. When federal candidates in your riding come to your door, ask them about these issues. Alternatively, take these questions to all-candidate meetings and other constituency level public meetings and debates.
2. Use these questions and the background material provided to write letters to the editor expressing your support for these – or other -- world federalist ideas.

## Question 1: How should Canada support United Nations peacekeeping?

The United Nations currently has over 100,000 military, police, and civilian personnel serving in 14 peacekeeping missions. That's more troops in UN field operations than any actor in the world, including the U.S. Department of Defense and more than the UK, France, China, and Russia put together.

During the UN's first five decades Canada was a leading contributor to peace operations, but Canada now ranks 58th in the world. Canadian contributions of personnel have declined under successive governments and now stand at (as of May 2019) 165 military personnel and 25 police.

Public support for Canadian participation in UN peacekeeping missions has remained strong over the years and contributions from countries like Canada with advanced military and logistics capabilities are needed to increase operational effectiveness. However, in recent years Canada has maintained a small and diminishing presence in a handful of UN peace operations.

As a middle power with no significant external threat to its borders, a nation dependent on international trade and therefore with an interest in a stable international order, Canada should be primarily interested in a strengthened multilateral system. Until 1995, Canada had participated in every UN peacekeeping mission. Despite the current Liberal government's stated goal of re-engaging in UN peacekeeping (including a 2016 public commitment to deploy 600 military and 150 police personnel), Canada's contribution to UN peace operations remains low and future commitments remain uncertain.

Of Canada's current complement of 190 United Nations peacekeepers, 147 of them are part of the Mali deployment, according to UN statistics. When Canada's role in Mali comes to an end, there will be only 43 Canadian peacekeepers deployed overseas. Prior to the mission in Mali, the number of Canadian peacekeepers had dwindled to the lowest level (40) since Canada proposed the first peacekeeping force in 1956.

Participation in UN peacekeeping is about more than just numbers, though. There is also a need for equipment and training. As part of the current federal government's commitments to peacekeeping, they have launched the Elsie Initiative, a multilateral pilot project to develop approaches aimed at overcoming barriers to increasing women's meaningful participation in peace operations.

***Currently, Canada has 190 uniformed peacekeepers (combined military and police) which places it 58th among contributing countries.. The largest contributor (Ethiopia) provides about 7500 peacekeepers. What size range does your party suggest for Canada's commitment of peacekeeping personnel?***

- 0-50
- 51-250
- 251-500
- 501-1000
- more than 1000

Of the following, which commitments to United Nations Peacekeeping would your party support?

- Increased personnel (military and police)
- Increased support for training, including the Elsie Initiative
- Increased equipment
- Other (explain)

## **Question 2: Global Climate Change: What should be Canada's International Commitments?**

In 2015, Canada signed the Paris Agreement, under the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC). Every country in the world is part of the Paris Agreement (although the United States government has signalled its intention to withdraw from the treaty).

The Paris Agreement commits parties to contribute to limiting average global warming to 1.5°C above pre-industrial levels. To meet this goal, each signatory commits to cut its carbon pollution, and submit a plan to reduce its annual greenhouse gas emissions (GHGs). This plan is known as its "Nationally Determined Contribution" (NDC). Canada's NDC is a plan to cut GHGs by 30% below 2005 emission levels by 2030.

To deliver on its Paris commitments, the current Canadian government developed the "Pan-Canadian Framework on Climate Change and Clean Growth" in 2016, which laid the foundation for subsequent policies and regulations designed to reduce emissions across all sectors of the economy.

However, according to the latest assessment from the federal government there is still a gap of 79 million tonnes of GHGs between our 2030 target emissions and the levels Canada is on track to achieve, based on current commitments and practice.

Furthermore, we know that our current target is nowhere near what constitutes Canada's fair share of a world-wide effort to hold global warming to the 1.5°C limit. A report released by the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change in October 2018 confirms that the current 2030 climate pledges of all Parties to the Paris Agreement aren't consistent with any scenario that limits warming to 1.5°C. Rather, we can expect to see warming of between 2.6°C and 4°C if nations continue down the current path.

Addressing the need for greater ambition by the international community will be front and centre at United Nations conferences to follow up the Paris agreement in September 2019 and November 2020.

***What will be your party's commitment to addressing global climate change? Under a government led by your party, would Canada's Nationally Determined Contribution:***

- remain at the present level, (i.e. a commitment to cut GHGs by 30% below 2005 emission levels by 2030) but falling short on domestic action to meet this goal.
- remain at the present level, (i.e. a commitment to cut GHGs by 30% below 2005 emission levels by 2030) but strengthening domestic action so that Canada meets this goal.
- increase Canada's commitment, so that we cut GHGs by 45% below 2005 emission levels by 2030.
- double Canada's commitment, so that we cut GHGs by 60% below 2005 emission levels by 2030.

### **Question 3: Nuclear disarmament: Which measures intended to promote the realization of a world without nuclear weapons should Canada support?**

The present international political climate is one where many governments, including the world's three largest military powers, are demonstrating a reduced commitment to the rule of law and cooperation within the framework of international organizations like the United Nations.

One consequence of this crisis in multilateralism is a growing risk of nuclear catastrophe. Recent developments include: a deterioration in East-West relations, notably between Russia and NATO; U.S. withdrawal from the nuclear agreement with Iran; imminent U.S. and Russian withdrawal from the Intermediate-range Nuclear Forces (INF) Treaty; heightened military tension between nuclear-armed India and Pakistan; and the development of 'tactical nuclear weapons' and hypersonic missile systems.

All of this is occurring within the context of a new nuclear arms race, precipitated in large part, by the U.S. allocation of \$1.5 trillion to 'modernize' its nuclear arsenal over the next 30 years. In fact all nine nuclear weapons states are modernizing and/or expanding their nuclear arsenals.

Despite these growing threats, Canada's nuclear arms control and disarmament policies have changed very little in over a decade. On June 18, 2018, the House of Commons Standing Committee on National Defence issued the following (all-party) recommendation:

*"That the Government of Canada take a leadership role within NATO in beginning the work necessary for achieving the NATO goal of creating the conditions for a world free of nuclear weapons..."*

There are many steps that Canada could take.

#### **A NATO policy of "No First Use"**

Any use of nuclear weapons would be a violation of the international humanitarian rules of armed conflict. Yet Canada and others in the NATO alliance continue to maintain a strategic doctrine that permits the "first use" of nuclear weapons, even in response to a non-nuclear weapons attack.

A policy of No First Use would mean that NATO pledges that its members would never to be the first to use nuclear weapons. This would be an important step toward bringing NATO's Strategic Concept into line with its acknowledged international legal and political obligations.

#### **"De-Alerting"**

Both the United States and Russia keep about 900 nuclear weapons on hair-trigger alert, ready to be launched in minutes. If satellites and radars send warning of an incoming attack, the goal is to be able to launch their missiles quickly, before the attacking warheads could land.

But the warning systems are not foolproof. There have been well-documented "false warnings" of nuclear attack in both the Soviet Union/Russia and the United States that led the countries to begin launch preparations and increased the risk that nuclear weapons would be used. Taking missiles off hair-trigger alert and eliminating options to launch on warning would end this risk.

#### **Support the Treaty on the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons**

Frustrated with the slow pace of progress toward nuclear disarmament, 122 governments came together in 2017 to negotiate the Treaty on the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons (TPNW). The treaty is a powerful statement, grounded in an understanding of the catastrophic humanitarian consequences of nuclear explosions, of the political, moral, and legal standards enjoining non-use and elimination of nuclear arms, and of the need to redress the damage wrought by the nuclear age to people and the environment.

The TPNW reinforces existing treaty- and custom-based international law requiring the non-use and elimination of nuclear weapons. That law applies to states whether or not they join the treaty. That includes the nuclear-armed states, which did not participate in the negotiations, as well as states, including Canada, in nuclear alliances, most of which likewise did not participate.

Signing the TPNW would oblige Canada to make changes to its policies and practices and make genuine efforts to bring NATO into conformity with the Treaty.

***Which of the following measures intended to promote the realization of a world without nuclear weapons would a government led by your party support:***

- A NATO policy of “No First Use”?
- De-alerting, i.e. a NATO policy of taking missiles off hair-trigger alert and eliminating options to launch on warning?
- Signing the Treaty on the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons?

## **Question 4: What can Canada do to strengthen the United Nations?**

World Federalists support the application of the principles of federalism to world affairs, in order that global governance becomes more equitable, just and democratically accountable. There are a number of specific approaches to strengthening the United Nations.

### **Responsibility to Protect**

WFMC monitors and supports the progressive development of the Responsibility to Protect normative framework, which addresses the international community's failure to prevent and stop genocides, war crimes, ethnic cleansing and crimes against humanity.

The Responsibility to Protect stipulates that the State carries the primary responsibility for the protection of populations from genocide, war crimes, crimes against humanity and ethnic cleansing and that the international community has a responsibility to assist States in fulfilling this responsibility. Additionally, the international community should use appropriate diplomatic, humanitarian and other peaceful means to protect populations from these crimes. Crucially, if a State fails to protect its populations or is the perpetrator of crimes, the international community must be prepared to take stronger measures, including the collective use of force through the UN Security Council.

### **The Campaign for a United Nations Parliamentary Assembly**

WFMC participates actively in the Campaign for the Establishment of a Parliamentary Assembly at the United Nations (UNPA), a global network that advocates democratic representation of the world's citizens at the United Nations. WFMC's support for a UN Parliamentary Assembly is rooted in a dedication to the principles of democracy and the rule of law.

In an era of globalization, many important decisions affecting the lives of the world's citizens are made at the international level, by organizations like the United Nations and related agencies. To help ensure international cooperation and to enhance the legitimacy of the UN, people must be more effectively and directly included in the activities of the UN. A United Nations Parliamentary Assembly would give elected citizen representatives, not only states, a direct and influential role in global policy. Establishing a UNPA offers a pragmatic, gradual approach to this important global governance imperative.

Starting as a largely consultative body, the rights and powers of the UNPA could be expanded over time as its democratic legitimacy increases. The assembly will act as an independent watchdog in the UN system and as a democratic reflection of the diversity of world public opinion.

### **United Nations Emergency Peacekeeping Service (UNEPS)**

WFM-Canada supports the creation of a permanent standing UN Emergency Peace Service, which would include civilian, police, judicial, and military personnel.

This would be a permanent, integrated UN formation that would be ready for immediate deployment upon authorization by the UN Security Council. A UNEPS would be paid for from the UN regular budget. Estimates of the costs vary, but start-up expenses could be as high as \$2 to \$3 billion. Annual recurring costs would be approximately \$1 billion. These costs would be shared among 193 member states. While these estimates may seem high, by comparison with the military expenditures of many UN member states, the cost of a UNEPS is modest.

A UNEPS is specifically designed to help with the prevention of armed conflict; stopping genocide and mass atrocity crimes; protecting civilians at extreme risk; ensuring prompt beginnings to peace operations; and addressing human needs in areas where others cannot.

## **Seventy-fifth anniversary of the United Nations**

The UN General Assembly has passed a resolution on the Commemoration of the seventy-fifth anniversary of the United Nations, which will occur in 2020.

The resolution calls for Member States to actively support the commemoration through national initiatives that raise awareness of the work of the United Nations and the importance of multilateralism in addressing global challenges. It also encourages Member States to find ways to support the work of civil society in this area and to make financial contributions to a UN Trust Fund in support of the commemoration.

### ***Which of the following measures intended to strengthen the United Nations do you support?***

- the Responsibility to Protect
- a United Nations Emergency Peace Service
- a United Nations Parliamentary Assembly
- the 75th anniversary of the United Nations
- Other