

Internationalism Revitalized, or "Pax Americana": W[h]ither Canada?

Group of 78 Annual Policy Conference 2005

September 16-18, 2005

Econiche House: 32 River Road, Cantley, Quebec J8Y 3A1

Conference Chair: Peggy Mason

Presentation of Conference Resolutions: Clyde Sanger

Conference Report Editor: Peter Meincke

Conclusions, Recommendations and Resolutions

The following resolutions were adopted by the plenary session of the Group of 78 annual policy conference, *Internationalism Revitalized, or "Pax Americana": W[h]ither Canada ?*, Sunday September 18, 2005.

CBC Lockout

Owing to the importance of the programming of the publicly-owned Canadian Broadcasting Corporation to Canada's national and international life, the Group of 78:

1. *Urges* Parliament to end the lockout that has destroyed English-language programming. Parliament should subject the issues separating management and union to third party mediation and, if after a period of one month no agreement has been reached, then move to compulsory arbitration.

Outcome of the United Nations Summit and Implications for the UN's Role in the World.

The Group of 78 congratulates the Government of Canada on its leadership role in ensuring the adoption by the Summit of the Responsibility to Protect, which enshrines the collective action of United Nations member states and is founded in clear, multilaterally agreed upon criteria for action. However, it expresses deep disappointment that the Government of Canada remains unwilling to commit itself to a clear and definite time-line for achieving the 0.7 percent of GDP for international assistance. Furthermore, there is still much room for the Government of Canada to push for improvements in the United Nations system. **Therefore, we propose that Canada:**

- Support with vigour the UN Peacebuilding Commission and contribute generously to the new Peacebuilding Fund.
- Work to ensure that the newly agreed - upon Human Rights Council has an effective mandate and composition and will be open, transparent and activist in the conduct of its functions.
- Urge the Government of Canada to exercise leadership in working with all states and other partners to achieve the Millenium Developments Goals.
- Reaffirm its commitment to a reformed and effective United Nations system through concrete support and substantial additional resource allocations to:
 - UN peacekeeping and to the establishment of the proposed standing Police Capacity.
 - The peacebuilding, reconstruction and humanitarian roles of the United Nations in post-conflict environments, and
 - The harmonized development activities of United Nations entities working together at the national level in support of poverty eradication, and other national priorities and capacity-building.
- Work with other countries to ensure that the United Nations gives urgent priority to disarmament, nuclear non-proliferation and small arms control.
- Press for further delineation of rules governing the legal use of force as an instrument of last resort, as a basis for collective security and within the framework of established treaties, and
- Immediately move to increase annual funding to the Canadian International Development Agency from the present eight percent to 16 percent in order to reach \$6 billion a year by 2010, and thus achieve the internationally agreed target for foreign aid.

Institutional and Political Impediments to Meeting the Environmental Challenges of the 21 st Century

There is strong support for a quality environment in Canada : clean air, clean water and uncontaminated land. These are under threat. Doing what needs to be done is beset with obstacles that have to be overcome. These obstacles can be categorized under three headings:

- ***Inertia*** that is rationalized in the forms of skepticism, cynicism and sheer ignorance or apathy;
- ***Risk aversion*** that can take the form of accepting things as they are or only slightly modified, even if there is dissatisfaction with the current and future outcomes; this attitude is expressed as “better the devil you know;” and
- ***Vested interests*** on the part of producers and consumers that resist change as either costly or financially threatening to “a way of life.”

Recommendations for action must address the fact that these obstacles exist. Thus, inaction could be overcome by a shock event (not to be recommended, but for which preparations should be made), or by a public engagement campaign in which citizens examine the negative factors in the ***status quo*** and the positive aspects of change. By the same token, overcoming risk aversion calls for some form of publicity to clarify the extent and nature of not doing anything. Finally, overcoming the vested interest in the ***status quo*** can be addressed by regulation and incentives.

The two following resolutions elaborate the ways to overcome obstacles and grasp opportunities in the areas of nanotechnology and climate change.

Resolution #1: Identifying and Assessing High-Risk Technologies and their Application

Recent initiatives in some countries unfortunately suggest that the Kyoto Accord on climate change may not meet its goals, and therefore, new technologies must be developed that will help curb Greenhouse Gas (GHG) emissions without generating new risks. Although the G-78 agrees that all initiatives should be explored, we are concerned that policy-makers may adopt a technologically-myopic approach to issues that also deal with fundamental socio-political concerns. We are especially concerned that technologies such as nanotechnology may be imposed on society without a proper evaluation or societal debate. **Therefore, we propose that:**

1) The Government of Canada , as a matter of priority, join with civil society organizations to engage the Canadian public in a wide-ranging dialogue on the potential benefits and risks in the suite of new technologies often known as “converging technologies” (a.k.a. “technological convergence at the nano-scale” or “nanotechnology”), and that decisions related to future federal support for these technologies be dependent on the outcome of this dialogue; and

2) The Government of Canada propose that the United Nations establish an International Convention on the Evaluation of New Technologies (ICENT) with an attendant office and financial support.

Resolution #2: Climate Change

The conference noted with alarm that Greenhouse Gas (GHG) emissions are continuing to increase in Canada despite our obligations under the Kyoto Accords. North Americans produce more GHG emissions in total than any other continent, and far more are produced at the per capita level in the US and Canada than anywhere else. The high level of CO² in the atmosphere, which had until recent decades remained below 240 parts-per-million (ppm), is already 380 ppm and rising at an unprecedented rate. Furthermore, the high level of CO² in the atmosphere will cause a considerable rise in the ocean level within this century, which will continue for hundreds of years thereafter with catastrophic results for many populous and fertile coastal areas worldwide.

Changes are needed at all three levels of government in Canada and in different sectors of the economy. Nevertheless, the conference was keenly aware of the human dimension of change and rejected the notion that governments, industry and citizens can address the challenges of climate change simply via technological means. **Therefore, we propose, both immediately and post-Kyoto, that:**

1) At the Federal level, in addition to the need for the investment in research, such as CO² sequestration, a variety of immediate steps are required. There is need for a major change in the proportion of vehicles on our highways, in particular the replacement of fuel-extravagant vehicles of all types. Although the Federal government does not control vehicle production, it can nevertheless accelerate the introduction of environmentally-friendly vehicles by manufacturers. A prime example would be to give advance notice to manufacturers of strong incentive measures to move forward, coupled with tax measures and other disincentives to continuing the *status quo*.

2) At the provincial level, governments across the country should authorize and encourage municipalities to introduce traffic congestion taxes. These can be set at a level that will reduce or eliminate rush-hour bottlenecks, which are so costly in terms of fuel consumption and pollution, and the resulting revenue should be used to subsidize public transit. This could be done through the use of transponders as is the case in Singapore . Municipalities should also be authorized to tax downtown parking lots, including a differential tax on cars arriving or departing during rush hours.

3) At provincial and municipal levels, many measures could result in reduced emissions in cities and lower levels of atmospheric pollution. These include such measures as eliminating building code obstacles to the use of energy efficient technologies such as solar-powered water heaters, and even mandating the installation of solar-powered water-heaters in new housing estates and incentives for retrofitting in existing neighborhoods. For the implementation of such measures, it is important the federal government not delay any further CSA approval of renewable energy devices. Zoning regulations should also be reviewed to encourage greater housing density and reduce the use of cars. Changes should be made to allow basement apartments, as well as to allow corner grocery stores where the population density makes them economically feasible. This would make for more energy efficient cities.

4) Establish on an urgent basis a joint federal –provincial-municipal commission to develop a detailed plan and timetable for the systemic changes that are required to enable Canada to meet the 50% reduction target it faces in the post-Kyoto phase.

Common Security or Global Military Dominance: the Management of Outer Space

Resolution #1

Explanation: the aim of the first resolution is to recommend Canada 's leadership in starting a negotiation at the UN for a treaty (additional protocol) banning weapons in space and creating a regime of common security governing all military and civilian uses. The treaty would be based on the guiding principles of the 1967 Outer Space Treaty and, in effect, would “operationalize” those guiding principles. As an additional protocol, it would not “reopen” the original treaty so as to endanger it if the negotiation went badly. Note also that the procedure for establishing an Open-ended Working Group at the GA usually but not necessarily requires consensus. Based on the current voting pattern of UN member states, the overwhelming majority of states would support such a negotiation.

Resolution #1 on the Preservation of the Peaceful Use of Outer Space in the Interest of Mankind and the Establishment of an Open Ended Working Group on a “Space Weapons Ban”

Recalling Article I Para 1 of the Outer Space Treaty of 1967 which provides that Outer Space is beyond the national jurisdiction of any state, that it should be used “exclusively for peaceful purposes” and “in the interest of all states and for the benefit of mankind as a whole”,

Welcoming the emphasis of all space-faring states on the importance of cooperation in the peaceful uses of Outer space,

Recognizing on the other hand the increasing unilateral military uses of space in support of terrestrial military operations,

Expressing its gravest concern about the development, testing and imminent plans to deploy weapons in space,

Underscoring the urgent need to provide safety, rules of the road and a code of conduct for satellite traffic as well as the need for non-interference with civilian satellites, national means of verification and communication satellites,

Expressing its deep regret about the lack of multilateral measures for the protection, safety and security of the peaceful uses of outer space in the interest of humanity,

Recalling the proposals of Member States in the Conference on Disarmament for a comprehensive regime of confidence-building measures in outer space and a ban of space weapons

Further recalling the study of the UN Expert Group on Comprehensive Confidence-Building Measures in Outer Space [*](#)

Welcoming the research and numerous recommendations of the scientific community on the preservation of the peaceful use of outer space

The Group of 78 recommends that Canada work with other states at the 60th session of the UN General Assembly:

1. To establish an Open Ended Working Group (OEWG) with the mandate to negotiate a comprehensive regime of Common Security in outer space, including in particular an Additional Protocol to the

Outer Space Treaty providing for:

1. Outer Space as the “global commons” beyond national jurisdiction, recognized as the “common heritage of mankind” (CHOM),
2. An express prohibition of the development, testing and deployment of any kind of weapons in outer space and anti-satellite (ASAT) weapons;
3. Non-weaponization of space explicitly stated to refer to weapons only and not to legitimate passive military uses of space, such as “national technical means” (satellite surveillance);
4. Transparency and confidence-building measures including “rules of the road” and a Code of Conduct for satellite traffic in general and specifically for non-interference with civilian satellites, national means of verification and communication satellites;
5. A robust verification regime building for example on Canadian proposals for PAXSAT I and II (peace satellite) and comprising both multilateral and national means of verification.

Resolution # 2 on a reference to the International Court of Justice

Underscoring the urgent need to prevent the weaponization of outer space (as set out in resolution # 1 above),

Stressing the need to clarify the legal issues relating to the preservation of the peaceful use of outer space,

The Group of 78 recommends that Canada work with other states at the 60th session of the General Assembly to:

1. Request the International Court of Justice (ICJ) according to Article 96 Para . I of the UN Charter and Article 65 of the Statute of the ICJ for an Advisory Opinion on the legality of the development, testing and possible deployment of any kind of weapons in outer space.

Resolution #3 on ending the NATO/NPT contradictions

Recalling that Article II of the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treat (NPT) is unambiguous in its prohibition on NNWS acquisition of nuclear weapons under any circumstances:

Each non-nuclear-weapon State Party to the Treaty undertakes not to receive the transfer from any transferor whatsoever of nuclear weapons or other nuclear explosive devices or of control over such weapons or explosive devices directly, or indirectly; not to manufacture or otherwise acquire nuclear weapons or other nuclear explosive devices; and not to seek or receive any assistance in the manufacture of nuclear weapons or other nuclear explosive devices.

Recalling that Article I of the Treaty is equally unambiguous in its prohibitions on NWS nuclear weapons transfers:

Each nuclear-weapon State Party to the Treaty undertakes not to transfer to any recipient whatsoever nuclear weapons or other nuclear explosive devices or control over such weapons or explosive devices directly, or indirectly; and not in any way to assist, encourage, or induce any non-nuclear-weapon State to manufacture or otherwise acquire nuclear weapons or other nuclear explosive devices, or control over such weapons or explosive devices.

Recalling with grave concern that the 1999 Strategic Concept affirmed NATO's commitment to "maintain, at the minimum level consistent with the prevailing security environment, adequate sub-strategic forces based in Europe which will provide an essential link with strategic nuclear forces, reinforcing the transatlantic link" (NATO 1999, para 64). It noted that these sub-strategic weapons "need to have the necessary characteristics and appropriate flexibility and survivability, to be perceived as a credible and effective element of the Allies' strategy in preventing war. They will be maintained at the minimum level sufficient to preserve peace and stability" (NATO 1999, para 63).

Welcoming recent steps by other NATO members to rid their territory of such weapons,

Underscoring that the international community outside of NATO increasingly views NATO's nuclear doctrine and nuclear sharing arrangements as an impediment to the fulfillment of NPT obligations and a violation of the spirit and intent of the NPT,

Joining the call from Project Ploughshares, Pugwash, the British American Security Information Council (BASIS) and many others for NATO to explain how the presence of tactical nuclear weapons in European Non-Nuclear Weapons States (NNWS) parties to the NPT "for wartime use on board non-nuclear allies' dual-capable aircraft" complies with their obligation not to transfer control of nuclear weapons, and not to

receive such weapons,

Recalling the previous efforts by Canada to initiate a discussion within NATO to amend the Strategic Concept of 1999 to remove its reliance on nuclear weapons,

Welcoming the recent steps by other NATO members to rid their territory of such weapons,

Recalling the unequivocal undertakings given at the 1995 and 2000 NPT review conferences to move inexorably toward the full implementation of Article 6 (disarmament article) of the NPT including through the fulfillment of “the thirteen steps”,

Noting with alarm the increasing reliance in U.S. military doctrine on the development of tactical nuclear weapons for battlefield use, and therefore on the “early” first use of such weapons,

Underscoring the urgent need to shore up the Nuclear Non-proliferation Treaty (NPT) in light of the failure of the 2005 Review Conference to reach agreement on a Final Document,

The Group of 78 therefore recommends that:

1. Canada redouble its efforts to reopen consideration at NATO of the Strategic Concept of 1999 to ensure that it and all NATO member states are in full conformity with their obligations under the NPT; and
2. Canada take the necessary steps to ensure that its close military cooperation with the United States does not involve any participation in the use of nuclear weapons.

Resolution 4) on the NPT Article 4 commitment to facilitate the peaceful uses of nuclear technology by NNWS

Noting with grave concern past and recent diversions to military uses of nuclear technology transferred for peaceful purposes, which diversions are contrary to the obligations of NNWS under the NPT,

The Group of 78 recommends that Canada:

- Explore other means of fulfilling the spirit of article 4 of the NPT through non-nuclear “alternative” technologies.

Resolution 5) No launch on warning policy for NWS

The Group of 78 reaffirms last year's resolution that nuclear weapons states should unilaterally implement a 'no-launch on warning' policy in order to decrease the chances of accidental nuclear war.

Averting the risk of accidental or inadvertent launch of nuclear weapons

In order to reduce the risk of accidental launch of nuclear weapons, we call on the Canadian government, as a priority, to urge all states possessing nuclear weapons to adopt immediately a 'no launch on warning' policy. This is a measure that individual states can take unilaterally, while cumulatively building mutually reinforcing steps.

Resolution 6) No Canadian Association with US pre-emptive strike strategy and ICJ reference on the meaning of "self-defence" in Article 51 of the UN Charter

Recalling the express prohibition in the UN Charter on the threat or use of force unless authorized by the UN Security Council in accordance with the Charter and international law or when acting strictly in self-defence in accordance with international law,

Noting with alarm the American national security doctrine providing for the "pre-emptive use of force" in circumstances clearly not involving self-defence as defined under international law and therefore constituting a clear violation of the UN Charter prohibition on the threat or use of force,

Noting also the increasingly close military cooperation between Canada and the US, including enhanced interoperability of their respective military forces,

The Group of 78 calls on the Government of Canada:

- To take immediate steps to ensure that such close military cooperation in no way involves or associates Canada with the U.S. pre-emptive strike strategy; and
- At the 60th session of the General Assembly to work with other states to request the International Court of Justice (ICJ) according to Article 96 Para. I of the UN Charter and Article 65 of the Statute of the ICJ for an Advisory Opinion on the meaning of "self-defence" as set out in Article 51 of the UN Charter.

Democratizing International Trade and Investment

Recognizing that sustainable peace, security, and human development are all organically connected to one another;

Reaffirming the importance of Canada's existing formal commitment to the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs), and its International Policy Statement commitment to actively support private sector development in developing countries through business enterprise and civil society;

Recognizing Canada's unique position in the world to lead the international community in working towards the eradication of global poverty; and **supporting** the Canadian Governments' action in debt relief for reform-minded heavily-indebted poor countries (HIPC);

Understanding the value of the UN's Global Compact Office as a primary organization facilitating and encouraging corporate social responsibility on a global level.

The Members of the Group of 78:

- **Urge** the Canadian government to devote at least 0.7% of its GDP to Official Development Assistance (ODA) by 2010 through whatever mechanisms are necessary in order to do so, including publishing a comprehensive plan on how to achieve this target and creating means to ensure its compliance, as well as effectively implementing its proposed “whole of government” approach to promoting global peace, security and development;
- **Recommend** that the Canadian government expand market access for developing countries through the removal of all tariff and non-tariff barriers preventing developing countries' full (bilateral and multilateral) access to the Canadian market, through the encouragement of other countries to take equivalent steps to remove such barriers, and through the negotiation of international agreements that create fair access to Canada for temporary workers;
- **Recommend** that Canada avoid any subsidies on exports which compete with exports from developing countries and encourage other developed countries to do the same.
- **Stress** the importance of a revitalized and strengthened UN system, including its capacity to partner effectively with both the business sector through private sector development and with civil society, to promote the alleviation of poverty.
- **Underline** the importance of ODA in fostering good governance, namely transparency, accountability and democratic principles in less-developed countries;
- **Urge** the Canadian government to publish a detailed program for

implementing its commitment to supporting effective private sector investment in developing countries that is consistent with their national priorities and sovereign decisions, including a meaningful governance framework, as well as promoting amongst the boards of Canadian corporations the adoption of the ten principles of the UN's Global Compact Office.

* UN Study of a Group of Government Experts, “Study on the Application of Confidence-building Measures in Outer Space”, UN Doc. A/48/305, 1994