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TRUE NORTH STRONG AND FREE: A STUDY OF CANADIAN NATIONAL POWER

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Abstract

Is Canada a major power? This is a popular subject of discussion and debate among historians, political scientists and perhaps the average Canadian. Yet what is Canada's national power and what influence does it give Canada in the world? This paper examines this question and attempts to make broad conclusions and decipher specific effects of Canada's national power. Before judging Canada's power, however, the theoretical foundations of power and national power in particular are established. This is accomplished by examining the concepts of a number of intellectuals who considered and theorized the deep and nuanced aspects of power. Further, the construct for the subsequent study of Canada is established by examining the theoretical facets of national power including political, economic, military, geographic, population-based and information. With the factors of what Joseph Nye labels hard power constructed, his concept of soft power-the effects of credibility, reputation and national success-is reviewed.

Employing this theoretical construct of national power, Canada's hard and soft power is studied. By examining Canada's broad hard power capabilities, its significant strength is shown. Equally, through numerous conversations with academics, diplomats and former politicians, Canada's reputation and its international brands are postulated to include multiculturalism, a helpful fixer, a steward of an environmentally-important northern wilderness and Canadian national culture. Through this study of the numerous aspects of Canada's national power, its broad influence in the world is shown. In particular, Canada is demonstrated to possess significant assets that both gives it considerable hard power but equally wide-ranging influence in the world due to its national success. Further, this hard power and Canada's reputation and credibility-its soft power-provide it further broad influence in the world.

Introduction

Canada: True North, strong and free. These words from the Canadian national anthem boldly proclaim the country's characteristics and the strength of its people. Canadians proudly sing these lyrics confident in their truth and the power of their state in the world. Although the average Canadian likely has little knowledge of the true nature of Canada, they assuredly understand more than the people of the rest of the world whose familiarity is perhaps characterized by the infamous American gangster Al "Scarface" Capone who purportedly stated: "I don't even know what street Canada is on."[1]

Canada, however, has far greater power and influence in the world than found at a common street address. A mature, stable democracy, Canada has traditionally possessed an important, although modest, place internationally especially through its engagement in multilateral political institutions. Similarly, having participated in numerous expeditionary deployments including two world wars, peacekeeping operations and the campaign in Afghanistan, Canada has sacrificed significant military blood and treasure in the name of national interests and world peace. Further, as a member of the G7, Canada is ostensibly an important member of the economic global community. This financial status is enabled by the country's massive size, extractive resources, energy, and agricultural potential, and its small but highly educated and open, accommodating population. Finally, Canada is able to modestly broadcast its culture and national successes to the global community via radio, television, Internet and social media.

The ability to communicate national achievements and culture via these informational tools has enabled a further aspect of Canada's power. Based on its intangible reputation,

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[1] Michael Adams, *Fire and Ice: The United States, Canada and the Myth of Converging Values* (Toronto: Penguin, 2004), 1.

credibility and national successes, Canada has a certain ability to influence international actors and thus gain power. As countries and other actors seek internationally for a political, economic, environmental or moral example, Canada's broad national successes form an attractive bond which grants it influence. Unlike the more perceptible aspects of national power such as political or economic, the effect of Canada's reputation and credibility are much more difficult to ascertain but are undoubtedly present.

Yet for all these capabilities and reputation, what is the true nature of Canada's power? Does Canada possess robust political, economic, military and other tangible capabilities that give it significant influence in the world? Equally, do its reputation, credibility and national success allow it to be an example in the world and thereby attract other states to its ideal? Is Canada indeed a major power with broad national capabilities and significant influence based on its reputation and ability to act as a model for the world?

All of the above questions will be examined in this paper through a broad survey of Canada and its national power. The power of Canada's political, economic, military, and other capabilities will be examined and compared with other states to ascertain Canada's international importance. With this background understanding of tangible Canadian power and therefore its national success, there will be a study of the country's influence through its global reputation and credibility. Through this broad survey of Canada and its national capabilities, a broad judgment of Canada as a major power will be possible.

Such a wide-ranging study, however, requires an equally comprehensive methodology. For the more tangible elements of Canada's national power, an extensive survey of academic literature as well as an overview of primary and secondary sources has been employed. Nevertheless, due to the global context of Canada's power, national and international surveys

have been consulted, evaluated and employed so as to better compare Canada with other states. Although established research has been adequate for many areas of this paper, there is a paucity of material specifically relating to the effect of Canada's reputation, credibility and indeed its national success. Therefore, 18 conversations with prominent Canadians, academics and opinion makers were conducted to assist in the judgment of Canada's power-based influence in the world. Despite this primary research and a broad review of literature, the challenge of the specific assessment and quantification of Canada's national power effect remains.

Nonetheless, through a broad overview of Canada's capabilities, this paper will attempt to demonstrate that Canada is indeed a major power with broad national capabilities and significant influence due to its reputation and ability to act as a model for the world. This examination will begin with a theoretical analysis of power and national power in particular. Through this study the conceptual foundations of power and the challenge of its specific quantification will be established. Finally, the nature of national power will be studied employing Joseph Nye's construct of hard and soft power. Due to national power's broad nature, a National Power Matrix has been developed to enable the understanding of its multifaceted contributors, factors challenging their relevance and metrics. With this important background framework established, this paper will review and determine the specific nature of Canada's national power. By examining Canada's political, economic, military, geographic, population-based and information capabilities, the state's tangible hard power will be broadly determined.

Subsequently and more challengingly, there will be a review of Canada's power and influence based on its reputation, credibility and indeed hard power-based national success. In *Canada Among Nations 2008*, David Haglund suggests that knowing a country's identity is

impossible to determine in stating "… I by no means wish to suggest that Canada's (or any other state's) identity is ever knowable, in any "scientific" or "objective" sense; I simply mean to suggest that it is more than legitimate, it is essential, to take into consideration debates about postulated identity .…"[2] Nevertheless, this paper will posit a number of Canadian foreign brands and attempt to demonstrate their importance and effect on Canada's international influence. Although soft power, through influence and reputation, is very difficult to prove or measure, its examination, and the common perceptions and general consensus of academics, diplomats and former politicians will enable the establishment of certain broad trends. Through this study, it will be shown that Canada is a major power that possesses significant hard power resources and wide-ranging influence based on its international brands.

Chapter 1: National Power

States are the basic building block of the current international system. Structured around a bordered geographic region and with a central organization controlling the institutions and tools of government, these political units interact in times of peace and war. Although globalization has modified the role of states within this international system and the increased emergence of Non-Government Organizations (NGOs), global bodies and multinational corporations has created more participants, the state remains the fundamental political actor.[3]

Each state possesses pre-existing national power. This power or the state's capabilities may be based on organic possessions such as geography or population. Equally, national

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[2] David G. Haglund, "And the Beat Goes On: "Identity" and Canadian Foreign Policy," in *Canada Among Nations 2008: 100 Years of Canadian Foreign Policy*, ed. Robert Bothwell and Jean Daudelin, 343-367 (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2009).

[3] This is reflected in the assertion that "Each of the ten largest corporations in the world has a yearly turnover larger than the [Gross National Products (GNPs)] of 150 of 185 United Nations (UN) members, including such countries as Portugal, Israel, and Malaysia. More subjectively, at least 50 NGOs have more legitimacy than 50 UN member nations." Gregory F. Treverton, *Reshaping National Intelligence for an Age of Information* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 49 in Gregory F. Treverton and Seth G. Jones, "Measuring National Power," Rand National Security Research Division, last accessed 17 Oct 2013, http://www.rand.org/pubs/conf proceedings /CF215 html, 2.

institutions including a state's military, economy, information capabilities or the government and its political tools may also provide national power. Finally, and much less tangibly, a state may derive power from its influence, authority and legitimacy.[4] This collective national power holds the potential to influence other states, international bodies and global organizations and "constitute[s] the resources for the attainment of national objectives and goals."[5] Given that states remain international actors without equals, exploring and ascertaining the determinants of national–state-based–power remains a paramount exercise.

Yet what is power and by extension what therefore is national power? What are the elements of this power or the various capabilities of a state? These questions will be answered through a conceptual examination of theories of power and a discussion of the factors of national power. This review will begin with a study of the theories of power of Steven Lukes and Michel Foucault. Building upon this foundation, a definition of power will be advanced, subsequent factors that affect the application and exercise of power studied and Nye's broad framework of national power will structure an examination of the various elements of hard power including political, military, economic, geographic, population-based, information and finally the less tangible soft power. Equally, there will be a discussion of the numerous concepts which detract from the various facets of power of the state or challenge its relevance within the current and evolving international system. Although this paper intends to qualify Canada's aggregate national power, the preponderance of national power literature originates from the United States.

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[4] Kim Richard Nossal, "Power and World Politics," in *The Patterns of World Politics* (Scarborough, ON: Prentice-Hall, 1998), 89-100. Nossal simply and logically explains the theory of tangible and less tangible elements of national power.

[5] David Jablonsky, "Chapter 10 National Power," in *The U.S. Army War College Guide to National Security Issues, Volume 1: Theory of War and Strategy*, 4th ed., ed. J. Boone Bartholomees Jr., 145-161 (Carlisle: Strategic Studies Institute, 2010).

For this reason, American examples will be employed throughout to illustrate this review of power's theoretical architecture.

Theories and Definition of Power

The concept of power and national power remains a popular and important topic of discussion among political scientists and practitioners alike in the realm of international relations. If national power was straight-forward and quantifiable, it is doubtful there would be such debate and study on the subject. However, national power, its component parts and the factors that affect it defy definitive quantification. This study will ultimately employ Nye's construct of hard and soft power to establish the framework of national power with some indicators or measures, recognizing that many factors are not conducive to measurement or are not even with the reach of any government to directly employ or control. Despite Nye's contribution to this field, he does not theorize on power's origins or nature. This conceptual background is required to fully appreciate the challenge to quantifying power and to truly understand the complexities and assumptions upon which the theory of power is based. Therefore, the study of power's theoretical architecture will begin with an examination of the writings of two important authors: Lukes and Foucault.

In his 1974 book entitled *Power: A Radical View*, Steven Lukes critiques previous authors in their description and characterization of power. In his examination, Lukes structures the concept of power in three dimensions. In a one-dimensional or pluralist view, power is a straight-forward and intentional interaction between parties.[6] Conflicts occur when subjective interests and preferences overtly differ and power is exercised in defeating an opponent's penchant.[7] Lukes rejects this simplistic theory and advances a more complex, two-dimensional

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[6] Steven Lukes, *Power: A Radical View* (London: Macmillan, 1974), 14.
[7] Maximiliano Lorenzi, "Power: A Radical View by Steven Lukes," *Crossroads*, Vol. 6, No. 2 (2006): 90.

power construct. This view expands on the aforementioned interaction and further recognizes that the employers of power can control the agenda and thus prevent certain issues from reaching a dialogue and thus achieving discussion, conflict and potentially resolution.[8] By influencing structural values, political procedures and rituals, groups or individuals can create barriers to decision making and thus avoid outcomes, values and interests at odds with those of the employer of power.[9] This more nuanced use of power recognizes the ability to influence through the control and limitation of dialogue.

However, it is only in the three-dimensional or "radical" view that we truly comprehend Lukes' more complex understanding of power. In his three-dimensional model, Lukes identifies the impact of systemic or structural biases on the power system. Lukes' structural determinism obscures subjective preference with felt interests. This bias is well explained by Maximiliano Lorenzi in his critique of Lukes:

> … Lukes argues that power can be also exercised by preventing grievances – by shaping perceptions, cognitions, and preferences in such a way as to secure the acceptance of the status quo since no alternative appears to exist, or because it is seen as natural and unchangeable, or indeed beneficial.[10]

This third level of power therefore sees the existing structure shape perceptions, cognitions and preferences so that those submitting to power are doing so by willing compliance.[11] Lukes therefore recognizes in his concept of three-dimensional power that actors may exercise power "by influencing, shaping or determining" others' wants or, in short, shaping preferences.[12] This concept of a three-dimensional view of power builds an important theoretical framework for what Nye subsequently labels soft power. Lukes recognizes that certain power interactions are

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[8] Lukes, 18.
[9] Lorenzi, 91. Lukes labels these biases the 'rules of the game'.
[10] *Ibid.*, 91.
[11] Jules Townshend, "Power, A Radical View," *Contemporary Political Theory*, Volume 6, Issue 3 (August 2007): 372.
[12] Lukes, 23.

not overt or deliberate and yet nevertheless shape the perceptions, cognitions and preferences of an opponent. As will be described later in this study, soft power similarly attracts an adversary to certain actions based on intangible, yet shared values, norms and national visions.

By contrast, French social and political philosopher Michel Foucault examines power from multiple perspectives including individual, group and state. Importantly for its conceptual understanding, he explains that power is not a possession but rather an interaction

> If we accept that power is not a substance, fluid, or something that derives from a particular source, then this analysis could and would only be at most a beginning of a theory, not of a theory of what power is, but simply of power in terms of the set of mechanisms and procedures that have the role or function and theme, even when they are unsuccessful, of securing power.[13]

Foucault reiterates this theoretical facet of power more simply in stating "power can only be said to be exercised by some over others; power exists only in action …."[14] Therefore he is able to conceive that power is not a tangible possession but rather a collaborative relationship.

Foucault further builds this construct to examine the interactive nature of the power relationship. In Foucault's analysis power is embedded structurally as part of a system. Power is inherent within any network of actors; these actors may either submit to or exercise power. Therefore Foucault sees this power system as an aggregation of the exchanges within it as,

> … power must be understood in the first instance as the multiplicity of force relations immanent in the sphere in which they operate and which constitute their own organizations; as the process which, through ceaseless struggles and confrontations, transforms, strengthens, or reverses them; as the support which these force relations find in one another, thus forming a chain or a system …[15]

Richard Lynch, a critique of Foucault, describes in more detail that this power relationship is also dependent on the actors within it that interrelate:

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[13] Michel Foucault, *Security, Territory, Population: Lectures at the College de France 1977-78*, ed. Michel Senellart, trans. Graham Burchell (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), 2.
[14] Hubert L. Dreyfus and Paul Rabinow, *Michel Foucault: Un parcours philosophique* (Paris: Gallimard, 1984): 300, quoted in Michel Foucault, *Philosopher*, trans. Timothy J. Armstrong (New York: Routledge, 1992), 284.
[15] Michel Foucault, *The History of Sexuality: An Introduction: Volume 1* (New York: Vintage Books, 1990), 92.

Foucault described this exercise of power as a transmission through the altering configurations of the positions in a social field: "this power is not exercised simply as an obligation or a prohibition on those who 'do not have it'; it invests them, is transmitted by them and through them; it exerts pressure upon them."[16]

Actors and institutions are therefore not inert or consenting elements of the power network but rather an important constituent of the system through which power passes.[17]

Foucault equally examines the importance of custom within a power system. In addition to the elements described above, power networks have other important characteristics. In particular, Foucault identifies the actors' objectives, and the genesis and transformative nature of the network itself as facets of a power relationship.[18] However, not content to define a completely corporeal system, Foucault equally recognizes the presence of intangible customs of power. He believes they function as natural rules or norms and sees them as " … obscure silent disciplines that operate down below, in the shadows, and which constitute the silent basement of the great mechanics of power."[19]

This final element of Foucault's analysis of power is an important addition to the overall understanding of power systems. However, it must be recognized that Foucault's classification of power as an active network with dynamic actors is an important contribution to the concept of power. Especially, during the subsequent examination of Nye's concept of hard power, Foucault's emphasis on context in a power system is critical to its understanding and measurement. Indeed, Foucault's portrayal of the complex and diffuse nature of power systems,

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[16] Richard A. Lynch, "Is Power All There Is? Michel Foucault and the "Omnipresence" of Power Relations," *Philosophy Today*, Vol. 42, No. 1 (Spring 1998): 67. http://search.proquest.com/docview/205364469/fulltextPDF/1418A1C546D243AE573/26?accountid=9867.

[17] Michel Foucault, "14 January 1976," in *"Society Must Be Defended": Lectures at the College de France 1975-76* (New York: Picador, 1997), 23-41.

[18] Hubert L. Dreyfus and Paul Rabinow, *Michel Foucault: Beyond Structuralism and Hermeneutics*, 2nd ed. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1982), 184.

[19] Foucault, "14 January 1976,", 38.

which includes dynamic actors and complex sub-interactions, explains the difficulty in quantifying power.

Of equal importance for the understanding of the theory of national power is Foucault's description of custom within power architecture. This idea exposes another degree of complexity to the concept of hard power. More importantly for the deconstruction of soft power, Foucault's ideas, like those of Lukes, may be extrapolated to demonstrate the international power system is governed by not only a material structure but equally by less tangible, power biases or customs. It may be further inferred that these immaterial characteristics are the conceptual foundation upon which soft power and its reliance on values, influence and authority are constructed.

Building upon Lukes' and Foucault's elegant theoretical exploration of power, there must be a discussion of national power, its broad limitations and relevance in the world. To these concepts, Joseph Nye adds a parsimonious definition that "Power is the ability to affect the behavior of others to get the outcomes one wants."[20] This basic statement corresponds closely with that of many observers of international relations. As is reflected in the discussions of power from both Foucault and Lukes, power cannot be examined independently. Power is not something wielded by one actor on another based on a simplistic quantitative calculation. The nature of the actors and numerous contextual factors are important determinants of the effect of national power.

Donald Snow and Eugene Brown, in particular, recognize this in listing several criteria that act as filters to the effective use of national power. They therefore identify controllability,

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[20] Joseph S. Nye, Jr, "The Place of Soft Power in State-Based Conflict Management," in *Leashing the Dogs of War: Conflict Management in a Divided World,* ed. Chester A. Crocker, Fen Osler Hampson, and Pamela Aall, 389-400 (Washington, DC: United States Institute of Peace Press, 2007). Realist authors in particular generally and succinctly label power as the "currency of international politics."

relevance and credibility as factors that influence its employment.[21] Controllability refers to a

state's ability to truly control, restrain or manage the power it welds. This question of control is

particularly prominent when dealing with tools of power such as economics. Predominantly due

to the world's economic interconnectivity, a state may not fully govern the effects and the limits

of its economic sanctions, boycotts or indeed financial assistance. Such uncertainty will almost

unquestionably constrain a state's use of certain tools of power. This acknowledgement of the

challenge in governing power's use corresponds very closely to the aforementioned thinkers who

recognized the criticality of actors and indeed the nature of the power system itself.

     Of equal importance in determining a state's capabilities is the relevance of its power. A

country's national tools are not applicable or effective in every situation in which they may be

employed. Therefore, a state must determine the context's suitability for the exercise of specific

elements of power. John Spanier and Robert Wendzel recognize this in advocating the following

exercise prior to employing national power: "The question should always be: power over whom,

and with respect to what?"[22] Context or the situation surrounding the potential exercise of power

and the actors involved are therefore extremely important when considering the relevance of

national power.

     This challenge of relevance is exemplified by the Vietnam War. The United States

ostensibly should have been victorious due to its larger more powerful military, vastly superior

economy, bigger population and superiority in other aspects of hard power. However, the United

States withdrew without achieving its national objectives. Fundamentally misreading the

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[21] Donald M. Snow and Eugene Brown, *International Relations: The Changing Contours of Power* (New York: Longman, 2000), 50.

[22] John Spanier and Robert L. Wendzel, *Games Nations Play*, 9th ed. (Washington, DC: CQ Press, 1996), 128 quoted in David Jablonsky, "Chapter 10 National Power," in *The U.S. Army War College Guide to National Security Issues, Volume 1: Theory of War and Strategy*, 4th ed., ed. J. Boone Bartholomees Jr., 145-161 (Carlisle: Strategic Studies Institute, 2010).

conflict by fighting a limited war, America restricted its use of more relevant national power and strategic military tools. In contrast, North Vietnam pursued a total war of national reunification and mobilized all their tools of national power.[23] The mere fact that a state has extensive power is therefore not an objective judge of its ability to influence others. The international situation or the nature of the opponent may make certain facets of power inadequate, irrelevant or unimportant as an instrument of power.[24] Again, Snow and Brown's concept of relevance echoes very strongly particularly with Foucault's emphasis on the actors and the network in a power construct.

Credibility is a final criterion against which power must be measured. In this case power, or the threat of its use, must be plausible to have an effect. The history and characteristics of the states and actors involved in a potential exchange decide that power's credibility. If a state possesses both the capability and intention to employ national power, its credibility will be enhanced.[25] By contrast, a state lacking either the inherent capability or putative intention to use its power will lack credibility. Returning to the earlier examination of Lukes, a review of even the most basic manifestation of power, the one-dimensional view, illustrates the importance of credibility. The threat of employment of power to defeat an opponent's preference will be

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[23] Snow and Brown, 46. Beyond North Vietnam applying more relevantly their national power, the North Vietnamese forces and their allies employed military tactics that made the preponderant American fire power ineffective. This inapplicability of American national power in Vietnam is perhaps best illustrated by the legendary conversation between United States Colonel Harry Summers, Jr and Vietnamese Colonel Tu. Upon hearing from Colonel Summers that the North Vietnamese had never defeated the American military on the battlefield Tu responded "That may be so, but it is also irrelevant." See Harry G. Summers, Jr., *On Strategy: A Critical Analysis of the Vietnam War* (New York: Dell Publishing, 1982), 28.

[24] R. Craig Nation, "Chapter 10 National Power," in *The U.S. Army War College Guide to National Security Issues, Volume 1: Theory of War and Strategy*, 4th ed., ed. J. Boone Bartholomees Jr., 141-152 (Carlisle: Strategic Studies Institute, 2010).

[25] Daryl Press suggests credibility, and military credibility in particular, is anchored on a state's power and interest – not its history of keeping or breaking commitments. See Daryl G. Press, *Calculating Credibility: How Leaders Assess Military Threats* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2005), 3.

ineffectual if an actor is not credible. In this respect, rather than acting as a lens to focus, low credibility will obscure and weaken the application of national power.

The aforementioned discussion, although establishing some of the theoretical foundations of power, equally explains the challenge of specifically quantifying national power. As established in the theories of Lukes and Foucault, the power relationship between states is not a direct one nor is it uni-dimensional. The unique characteristics of the holders and the recipients of power will affect their power interaction. Further, the dynamic relationship or context will influence the power system. Finally, the biases and customs of a power network will have a profound impact on the power relationships and therefore the qualification of national power. For these reasons, as well as the subsequent critique found in each section, power and its calculation remain inexact and subjective. Nevertheless, it cannot be denied that an understanding of Lukes' and Foucault's theories is highly beneficial when examining the diffuse, complex and elusive concept of national power and its sub-elements via Nye's conceptual framework of hard and soft power.

Hard Power

Hard power characterizes our traditional understanding of national power. It is tangible and one need only look at a quantitative evaluation of defence expenditure, economic Gross Domestic Product (GDP), national populations or cumulative natural resources to deduce the raw power a state possesses. Craig Nation defines hard power as "the capacity to coerce including both the threat of and resort to armed force, economic pressure including fiscal and commercial sanctions, subversive techniques, and various other forms of intimidation."[26] Therefore hard power comprises political instruments, the covert and overt use of military force, economic power, the size and quality of a state's population, and its informational power. Returning to

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[26] Nation, 142.

Lukes' construct of the three-dimensional view of power, a state may employ this wide range of national power tools to defeat an opponent's interest through threat or direct use, by setting a favourable agenda or, to a lesser degree, through the establishment of a deterministic bias.

Although hard power is popularly viewed as a blatant employment of force to compel an antagonist's actions, as viewed above, the exercise of the wide ranging tools of hard national power involves numerous methods of influence. Indeed, although hard power may include traditional, overt use of naked military might or potentially a more covert or subversive use of force to impose a state's will, at the opposite end of the spectrum, quiet diplomacy remains an equally germane and legitimate form of hard power. A proper appreciation of this broad and complex form of national power will take place by reviewing and explaining the political, military, economic, geographic, population-based and information aspects of national power. Reflecting the previously identified complicated and nuanced nature of national power, each of the factors of this examination will be balanced with a review of the detracting arguments suggesting their reduced relevance and efficacy.

Political Power

Political power has two facets which contribute to overall national power. First, political power is the lens through which a state focuses, concentrates or controls its national power. David Jablonsky suggests this political control means "… the efficiency and effectiveness, of a national government in using its human and material resources in pursuit of national interests."[27] There are myriad criteria that influence a government's control and effectiveness over its multiple capabilities and its exercise of national power domestically and internationally. These factors include governmental structure, aims and ability in statecraft; education, professional development and quality of public service; national strategic culture; the political attitude of the

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[27] Jablonsky, 153.

state's population; stability and effectiveness of governing institutions; the effectiveness of think tanks; value of the governmental policy process and quality of strategic leadership; and coordination between government ministries and agencies, which aggregate, focus and direct a state's power.[28]

Logically a well-functioning government with properly focused governmental tools will strengthen a state's application of political power. Inversely, a powerful country may have its national power and influence reduced by a poorly functioning, constituted or trained government. An example of government detracting from overall political and national power is the divisiveness and perhaps, at times, dysfunction of the United States' government.[29] Some authors suggest that this government's deliberate decentralization of power and episodic hyper-

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[28] Crocker explains statecraft in stating the importance of "… the presence or absence of good old-fashioned statecraft based on the smart application of power: when wits, wallets, and muscle all pull together so that statecraft uses all of the available assets and resources of a society and assures effective coordination between all the arms of foreign policy. Statecraft uses power intelligently, providing a strategic context for it." Chester A. Crocker, "The Place of Grand Strategy, Statecraft, and Power in Conflict Management," in *Leashing the Dogs of War: Conflict Management in a Divided World,* ed. Chester A. Crocker, Fen Osler Hampson, and Pamela Aall, 355-367 (Washington, DC: United States Institute of Peace Press, 2007). Although there are multiple definitions of strategic culture, the following is one of the few that is not biased towards military strategy. Strategic culture is therefore "the 'ideational milieu that limits behavioral choices', from which 'one could derive specific predictions about choice'." Jeffrey S. Lantis and Darryl Howlett, "Strategic Culture," *Strategy in the Contemporary World,* 4th ed. ed. John Baylis, James J. Wirtz, and Colin S. Gray, 76-95 (New York: Oxford University Press, 2013). Factors influencing a country's strategic culture include geography, history, religion, ideology, culture (role of military and political institutions) and the economy. Williamson Murray and Mark Grimsley, "Introduction: On strategy," in *The Making of Strategy: Rulers, States, and War*, ed. Williamson Murray, MacGregor Know and Alvin Bernstein, 1-23 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994). Taylor Owen and Robert Muggah, "Better Think Tanks, Better Foreign Policy," OpenCanada.Org Canada's Hub for International Affairs, last modified 28 Oct 2013, http://opencanada.org/features/the-think-tank/essays/better-think-tanks-better-foreign-policy/. Owen and Muggah explain that think tanks help balance political debate and prevent political partisanship on issues but require quality universities, an educated population, a lively technology sector and a robust private sector to develop and excel. Blainey argues that power is less important than a leader's perception of power stating "it is not the actual distribution or balance of power which is vital; it is rather the way in which national leaders think that power is distributed …". A. Geoffrey Blainey, *The Causes of War* (New York, 1973): 114 quoted in Joseph S. Nye Jr., *Power in the Global Information Age: From Realism to Globalization* (London: Routledge, 2004), 17. Baylis, Wirtz and Gray, 232. This work places particular emphasis on the importance of national institutions in transforming raw power resources into refined power and influence.

[29] Jean-Philippe Immarigeon suggests the United States' constitution and Congress is to blame for this dysfunction. See Jean-Philippe Immarigeon, "Dissolve Congress," *Harper's* (February 2014): 51-52, http://harpers.org/archive/2014/02/.

partisanship reduces the strength of this superpower.[30] All of these elements influence a state's ability, through power conversion, to transform national power into influence, authority and legitimacy.[31]

The second facet of national political power reflects the numerous political tools that a state possesses and may employ to influence other countries. Foremost, states employ diplomacy as a tool and language to influence other states or international bodies. Diplomacy is defined as "a constant adjustment of relations among states pursued simultaneously through multiple, overlapping dialogues: bilateral, multilateral … special conferences and other venues."[32] Diplomatic tools include negotiation, the breaking of relations, the sending of Parliamentary committees, withdrawal of ambassadors, political reporting, diplomatic dialogue, offers of capacity building, digital diplomacy, and trade deals. [33] Diplomacy is highly intertwined with other elements of national power as negotiation, threats and agreements may function much more effectively when reinforced with other forms of national power including military and economic power. Further, as will be discussed below, the strength of diplomacy is also based on a state's credibility, its international reputation and thus its soft power. Finally, political or diplomatic power, and its effect on the other elements of national power, may be relatively qualified but is difficult to measure quantifiably.

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[30] Although for all of the United States government's contemporary problems, Jablonsky describes that between 1875 and 1940 the United States had 14 administrations, Britain 20 and France 102. Jablonsky, 153.

[31] Nye, *Power in the Global Information Age*, 54.

[32] Reed J. Fendrick, "Chapter 12 Diplomacy as an Instrument of National Power, in *The U.S. Army War College Guide to National Security Issues, Volume 1: Theory of War and Strategy*, 4th ed, ed. J. Boone Bartholomees Jr., 167-172 (Carlisle: Strategic Studies Institute, 2010). Fendrick expands to state "diplomatic maneuvering by states consist of bluffs and feints as well as subtle signals either of accommodation or willingness to risk war, a cable diplomacy can discern and characterize the meaning of a given action.

[33] For digital diplomacy in particular, some would argue the "medium is the message" when maintaining a nation's brand as a modern, intellectual, socially connected nation through rapid message distribution via Twitter, Facebook, Web Pages or local social media. See Madeline Rowland, "Who is @DFATDCanada Following?," last accessed 08 Oct 2013, http://opencanada.org/features/the-think-tank/graphic/who-is-dfatdcanada-following/.

Unlike certain facets of power that will be subsequently discussed, the power and importance of diplomacy has not ostensibly decreased despite the intensified contemporary global economic and political connectivity. Nevertheless, certain authors suggest that the diminishing role of the state equally reduces its political power and thus ability to wield political tools. Globalization; international, continental and regional multilateral political bodies; the presence of transnational actors and international progressive treaties and agreements have compressed the political freedom of manoeuvre and role of the state. [34] Thus the place of political power and diplomacy in enabling a country's role in the world has also decreased. Nation emphasizes this point in noting non-state actors' influence on such global issues as human rights and international humanitarian law, and environmental policy has diminished the role of the traditional state.[35] Therefore, although the political tools of a state remain, its decreased importance and stance on the international scene reduces the relevance and effect of this formerly monopolized national tool.

Military Power

Reflective of the concept of national power derived from a state's political power, the military represents an equally important but traditionally more muscular tool of state. Indeed, the national defence budget and military-related expenditures are a fundamental quantification of military power and a country's ultimate strength. However, the calculation of military power is far broader than easily quantifiable military expenditure. Indeed, the military's population is a critical sub-factor of military power and one that shadows a country's wider society including

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[34] Nye, *Power in the Global Information Age*, 73.
[35] Nation describes the Kyoto Protocol to the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change as an example of NGOs successfully imposing frameworks for international action. He goes on to state: "The diffusion of information through the world wide net and a proliferation of "virtual networks" tying people together across borders in what some have called a nascent "international civil society" have eroded states' capacity to dominate the dissemination of ideas and sustain control through compliance. See Nation, 149.

educational standards, physical conditioning, technological capacity, social discipline, motivation and strategic leadership.[36] Equally equipment and weaponry, intelligence capability, training and doctrine, leadership, morale, discipline, power projection capability, sustainability, readiness, the potential for rapid mobilization, arms technology and industry form important aspects of a state's coercive military power.[37]

Of these capabilities, particular importance is given to a state's expeditionary military capability. Although all the aforementioned sub-factors are essential indicators of a country's military strength, it is only through a credible expeditionary capability that a state may exercise its military power outside of its own territory. John Baylis in particular emphasizes expeditionary military capability as a key factor of military power. For although many countries have large and capable militaries within their own territories, they are unable to deliver military effects or power internationally and thus influence other states. Therefore only states that possess a component of a blue water fleet, strategic airlift and deployable air combat forces, expeditionary-capable armies and Special Operations Forces, foreign intelligence, and cyber warfare capability are able to truly contribute to national power militarily.[38]

Although military power has traditionally been an extremely important aspect of national power, this is decreasingly true. Generally, throughout human history, war or

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[36] Strategic leadership of the military is important for interaction with government and thus the maintenance of credibility, reputation and place of a state's armed forces in society. *Ibid.*, 146. Handel suggests that population is a decreasingly important factor of military power stating: "In modern conventional warfare, however, population size as a traditional indicator of military strength has declined in importance relative to technological developments." Michael I. Handel, "The evolution of Israeli strategy: The psychology of insecurity and the quest for absolute security," in *The Making of Strategy: Rulers, States, and War*, ed. Williamson Murray, MacGregor Know and Alvin Bernstein, 534-578 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994).

[37] Jablonsky, 152. Although military power is a balance of size and quality, Jablonsky paraphrases Stalin in reminding us that "quantity has a quality all its own."

[38] Baylis, Wirtz and Gray, 239. Cyber power is defined as the ability of a nation's leaders and institutions facing cybered conflict to keep the overall uncertainty across nationally cybered systems down at levels tolerable for their citizens' expectations of normal well-being. See Chris Demchak, "Cybered Conflict, Cyber Power, and Security Resilience as Strategy," in *Cyberspace and National Security: Threats, Opportunities, and Power in a Virtual World*, ed. Derek S. Reveron, 121-136 (Washington, DC: Georgetown University Press, 2012).

the use of military power has acted as the ultimate arbiter of national power and the

competition between states. However, the increased political integration of states via

multilateral organizations, the presence of nuclear weapons, the spreading of democracy

and an increasing liberal international relations system based on political and economic

freedom, and the rule of law has decreased the role and practice of war and national

military power.[39] This is noted by Nye in stating:

> While military force remains the ultimate form of power in a self-help system, the use of force has become more costly for modern great powers than it was in earlier centuries. Other instruments such as communications, organizational and institutional skills, and manipulation of interdependence have become important.[40]

And further by Nation who suggests:

> … conventional military power has indeed lost at least some of its salience as the ultima ratio of statecraft. Global interdependence and the democratic peace dynamic have arguably made conventional armed conflict between great powers less likely. Nuclear weapons have made all out war between nuclear armed states virtually unthinkable. International Law places formal constraints on the institution of war that can and do impact on states' prerogative to opt for a resort to force.[41]

Thus military power remains a useful and flexible tool of national power, it is decreasingly

relevant in the current international system.

Furthermore, in this evolution from a power-oriented to a rules-based international

framework, the use of force can erode international reputation. States illegitimately employing

their military and thus violating the rules-based norms and international treaties jeopardize their

credibility as a good international citizen. A loss of reputation and national credibility can

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[39] Steven Pinker, *The Better Angels of Our Nature: Why Violence Has Declined* (Toronto: Viking Penguin, 2011), 255-294. Pinker's fascinating chapter entitled "The Long Peace" credits nuclear weapons, democracy, Liberalism, and Kantian ethics with the contemporary diminution of war.

[40] Nye, *Power in the Global Information Age*, 71. Dewitt and Kirton echo this. See David D. Dewitt and John J. Kirton, *Canada as a Principal Power* (Toronto: John Wiley & Sons, 1983), 118.

[41] Nation, 143. Nye, however, emphasizes the national economic impact of the exercise, particularly illegitimately, of military power due to the global economic inter-connectivity. Thomas Friedman refers to this as the "electronic herd." See Thomas Friedman, *The Lexus and the Olive Tree* (New York: Anchor Books, 2000), 112.

potentially diminish a state's soft power. Nye discusses this loss of soft power by the use of hard power, entitling it hard disempowerment, and illustrates the concept by the United States' reduction in international reputation and thus diminished soft power following its invasion of Iraq in 2003.[42] Paradoxically, the employment of hard military power, even if successful in achieving political goals, potentially reduces a state's soft power and thus potentially its overall national power and international influence.[43] Thus military power, traditionally a key tool and metric of hard power, is increasingly irrelevant in the globalized, economically-linked world.

Economic Power

Although military power was traditionally the ultimate expression of national strength, increasingly in the globalized world, economic power represents a critical metric of comparative strength. Although a state's economy rests on a political foundation, without economic potency and capacity, a state would not have political, military or other forms of power. Michael Porter emphasizes the importance of the economy to national power:

> A nation's wealth is [now] principally of its own collective choosing. Location, natural resources and even military might are no longer decisive. Instead, how a nation and its citizens choose to organize and manage the economy, the institutions they put in place and the types of investments they individually and collectively choose to make will determine national prosperity.[44]

Indeed, numerous other authors describe the fundamental importance of a state's economy in determining national power as exemplified by an increase in economic growth being judged more important for aggregate national power than a military alliance.[45]

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[42] Joseph S. Nye, Jr, "The Place of Soft Power in State-Based Conflict Management," 389-400.

[43] Some authors argue that this loss of soft power with the use of hard power has encouraged the use of covert forces. See James B. Steinberg, "Force and Legitimacy in the Post-9/11 Era: What Principles Should Guide the United States?" in *Power and Superpower: Global Leadership and Exceptionalism in the 21ˢᵗ Century,* ed. Morton H. Halperin, Jeffrey Laurenti, Peter Rundlet and Spencer P. Boyer, 121-144 (New York: The Century Foundation Press, 2007).

[44] Friedman, 197.

[45] Nye, *Power in the Global Information Age*, 55.

The most basic quantifiable metrics of this critical aspect of national strength and power

is found in the GDP and per capita GDP.[46] GDP represents the annual aggregate goods and

services produced within a country and therefore is considered the preeminent measure of a

state's economic strength.[47] Indeed, this will be one economic measure employed to judge

national power, however, further economic benchmarks of power include political

modernization, economic efficiency and productivity, saving and investment, the use of the

national monetary denomination as a reserve currency, a state's Internet capability and

broadband distribution, environmental standards, per-capita expenditure on research and

development, and Intellectual Property.[48] Finally, a strong industrial base and knowledge

economy is considered a key measure and contributor to national strength as it enables the

conversion of a state's geographic strength and innovation into economic power. As suggested

by Leopold Amery: "[T]he successful powers will be those who have the greatest industrial base

. . . those people who have the industrial power and the power of invention and of science."[49]

Beyond certain specific indicators of economic strength, some sub-factors influence

economic as well as numerous other aspects of national power. Just as the size and quality of a

state's population is critical for its military power, these same people are a critical raw resource

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[46] Nation, 146.

[47] Wikipedia, "Gross domestic product," last accessed 07 Jan 2014, http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Gross_domestic_product.

[48] Broadband distribution is a key economic enabler as it links a country's economy and its citizens to an increasingly globalized and connected world. See Baylis, Wirtz and Gray, 315. For expenditure on research and development see Treverton and Jones, 5. Overall national Intellectual Property (IP) is an important measure of a country's economic creativity, however, an adequate IP policy framework that balances the rights of creators, consumers and society is critical. John Manley, "Intellectual Property: A New Kind of Arms Race, with Patents As Ammo," last accessed 08 Oct 2013, http://www.theglobeandmail.com/commentary/intellectual-property-a-new-kind-of-arms-race-with-patents-as-ammo/article555934/.

[49] Leopold Amery, "Comments on Mackinder," *Geographical Journal* 23 (1904): 439-441 quoted in John F. Morton, "Toward a Premise for Grand Strategy," in *Economic Security: Neglected Dimension of National Security?*, ed. Sheila R. Ronis, 26-61 (Washington, DC: National Defence University Press, 2011). Jablonsky, however, emphasizes the broad concept of a strong industrial base in national power stating "those nations with great industrial organizations and manufacturing infrastructures have traditionally been able to convert the potential power of natural resource into actual power." Jablonsky, 150.

for its economy. Therefore educational achievement, quality of human capital, adaptability, technological creativity, social stability and relative income equality are all key contributors to the strength of a population and thus economic power. The ubiquity of this sub-factor confirms a state must be extremely conscious of its demographics, and workforce skills and education to remain strong economically and in overall national power.

Foremost, the strength of the state economy enables a country's ability to procure political power, military assets and other forms of power. There are, however, economic tools that contribute to national economic power. These implements include foreign trade, foreign or development aid, the ability to engage in economic boycotts or trade embargoes, the strength of foreign direct investment and loans, domestic policies that affect the global economy, and research and development funding. The conception and execution of the European Recovery Plan, popularly referred to as the Marshall Plan, in post-World War Two Europe, is an important historic example of the use of economic power to influence international affairs. This program, in concert with other elements of national power, funded the reconstruction of Europe at a cost of $28 billion and thereby helped repel communism in Western Europe and bonded the region to the United States' post-war international structure.[50] Although as seen by this example, economic power functions as a potential and significant expression of national power, it generally remains more a facilitator rather than a usable power in its own right.[51]

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[50] Morton H. Halperin and Spencer P. Boyer, "Introduction: A World of Rules," in *Power and Superpower: Global Leadership and Exceptionalism in the 21st Century*, ed. Morton H. Halperin, Jeffrey Laurenti, Peter Rundlet and Spencer P. Boyer, 1-13 (New York: The Century Foundation Press, 2007). With the European Recovery Plan started in April 1948 and running for four years, the $28 billion price tag would be worth approximately $271.8 billion in 2013. See Dave Manuel.com, "Inflation Calculator," last accessed 07 Jan 2014, http://www.dave manuel.com/inflation-calculator.php. This financial assistance, along with the Bretton Woods system and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) furthered the integration of Western Europe, pushed-back the threat of Communism and potentially laid the foundation for the European Union.
[51] Treverton and Jones, 9.

Indeed, as discussed earlier, economic power remains a powerful tool for a state to employ internationally but more importantly to enable other aspects of national power. However, increased global interdependence and globalization have served to decrease and diffuse the effectiveness of state-based economic power.[52] Monetary policy, free trade agreements, and the linkages to global financial markets and economies emasculate a country's ability to employ its economy as a tool of hard power.[53] Indeed, it must be understood that in an increasingly trade agreement-bound, multinational company-dominated and economically-interconnected world, a state's attempt at applying economic coercion can have unintended repercussions throughout the global economic network.

Geographic Power

The geography of a state is a critical determinant of its power. The sheer size and geographic possessions of a country are key indicators of national power that can give it enormous advantages in natural riches, living and agricultural space for an expanding population, and indeed military strategic depth. In terms of scale and natural gifts, global location, climate, physical size, topographical shape, access to the world's oceans, serviceable harbours, control over maritime choke points and strategic lines of communication are just some of the facets that help decide a state's geographic power. More subtly than the state's aggregate size, the presence of important natural energy resources including coal, petroleum, natural gas, water and uranium are critical sources of natural richness for a state. Equally, rivers for hydroelectricity production, agricultural capacity, fresh water and internal navigation as well as arable land for forestry and agriculture may significantly contribute to an otherwise impoverished country. Finally, mineable

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[52] Nye, *Power in the Global Information Age*, 73.
[53] Jablonsky, 152.

elements including iron, nickel, potash and various elements of so-called 'rare earth' may provide a state with an organic income through resource extraction.

Beyond the greater resources, energy and agriculture that a country may extract from a vast territory, a geographically larger country potentially possesses vaster room for operational manoeuvre in times of war than a smaller one. This idea of strategic depth is an important one where a state's military may trade time for space and withdrawal into its geographic depths as it attempts to defeat an attacking enemy. Although classically viewed from a land warfare perspective, a large country equally gains warning time against air power incursion or attacks from the sea. In examining the concept of strategic depth, Russia or the Soviet Union draws a dramatic contrast with Israel. Both in the Napoleonic Wars and during World War Two, Russia withdrew in the face of a superior attacking enemy allowing 'General Mud' and 'General Winter' to attrite the Armies of Napoleon and Hitler respectively while its military strategically recovered. In juxtaposition, Israel's very small size allows for almost no loss of territory before its critically populated and industrialized regions become vulnerable.[54] Strategic depth, although not an exploitable tool of national power like vast oil reserves, provides a geographic defensive strength that heavily impacts military policy and strategic culture.

Despite this discussion of the importance of geography to national power, geographic strength must not be over-emphasized. Although the possession of a large, rich and well-placed country can be a key advantage to national power, this is less important than a state's ability to access, develop and politically control the geographic resources it requires. This is particularly true of natural resources and energy assets. Whether these resources are present domestically, purchased in a foreign market or extracted via economic penetration of a less developed country,

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[54] Handel, 537. Within Israel's original borders the distance from the Jordanian border to the Mediterranean Sea was only 16 kilometres.

possession is less relevant than access.[55] Indeed, David Dewitt and John Kirton illustrate the

key importance of energy resources for national power:

> the need to satisfy the demands of new technologies and expanding consumption has given energy a proliferating significance far beyond the requirements of subsistence. Whether for the development of domestic economic strategies, the logistics of military planning, or the "high politics" of international diplomacy, control over, or at least reasonable access to, sufficient fuel sources is now an essential aspect of the socio-economic well-being and political survival of every nation-state and a central factor in global power.[56]

Interestingly, just as a state may overcome its geographic shortfall through foreign purchase and

access, indigenous lack of technological expertise, corruption, poor political direction and

insufficient social discipline can reduce the power of plentiful geographic assets.[57] In this sense,

state capacity and good governance intersects powerfully with geography. Finally, the

abundance or deficit of strategic depth must be viewed within the aforementioned context of

military power. With the decreased relevance of military employment, strategic depth is less

critical than other national assets.[58]

Population-based Power

Population impacts on a broad number of factors of national power. The size,

distribution and skills of the citizens of a state have enormous effect on its wealth, productivity,

and its ability to mobilize manpower for defence and to project force. Therefore, a large,

educated, affluent and geographically well-distributed population provides considerable power

for a country. Inversely, a small or poorly skilled or educated population is a significant

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[55] Jablonsky, 151.
[56] Dewitt and Kirton, 136. Although a dated reference, their comment on the importance of natural resources to national power remains very relevant.
[57] Nation, 144. In this respect, state capacity intersects with geographic assets
[58] Further, increasingly important cyber warfare is unencumbered by strategic depth.

contributor to national vulnerability and a human capital deficit.[59] Despite these other sub-

factors, the importance of the size of population in particular is described by Nation:

> From the military revolution of the early modern centuries to the present,
> powerful states have required a population base sufficient to raise and sustain
> strategically competitive mass armies. Large populations also contribute to
> greater productive power and a large gross domestic product (GDP), a basic
> measure of economic strength.[60]

This sentiment, the great importance of the scale of a state's population, is further highlighted by

Irvin Studin. In his polemic against Canada's relatively low population size, he states:

> … population (population size) is perhaps the most potent of the means – the
> factors of strategic power, as it were – that can alter a country's overall impact in
> international affairs. This is because population size in many cases drives or
> informs the other major ('objective') means or factors of strategic power – in
> particular, the size of a country's economy and of its military and diplomatic
> forces.[61]

However, the power of population is dependent on far broader sub-criteria than size.

Demographic indicators including fertility and mortality rates; migration; population

distribution; social stability; widespread attainment of formal post-secondary education;

geographic and social mobility; level of innovation, acceptance of immigration and

responsiveness to change; organizational proficiency; national attitude; and historical

experiences, traditional values, and indeed sense of national unity are all important determinants

of the power of a population.[62] Finally, and more difficult to quantify than the primary

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[59] Dewitt and Kirton, 120.

[60] Nation, 144.

[61] Irvin Studin, GlobalBrief World Affairs in the 21st Century. "Canada – Population 100 Million," last accessed 10 Dec 2013, http://globalbrief.ca/blog/2010/06/14/canada-%E2%80%93-population-100-million/.

[62] Section on national will, morale, character and integration taken from Jablonsky, 153. Discussion of cultural geography or homogeneity found in Nation, 145.

population of a country, an international national diaspora may contribute to both the hard and soft power of a state.[63]

As reflected above, population has a highly pervasive influence on national power. Indeed, many other factors also rely upon the strength of a state's population to be fully exploited. Nation observes, " … it is virtually impossible to imagine a state rising into the ranks of the great world powers without a significant population base."[64] For this reason, the strength of a state's people will continue to be an element of enormous importance. This being said, population size is not completely determinative and does not monopolize the overall power derived from the people of a state. Rather, as Nation continues, "[s]ize matters, but there is no direct correlation between the size of a country's population and its underlying national strength."[65] Instead, as the scales of international power tilt away from traditional measures of national power in this increasingly globalized, interconnect and mobile world, size of population may become less critical and quality or education more so.[66]

Information Power

A final form of hard power is information. Unlike such factors as population and geography, information is not organic to a state but rather contingent on a government's decision to resource and employ this strategic tool. A state may exercise information power to influence domestic but particularly foreign populations through communicating favourable viewpoints or behaviours to a target audience. Dennis Murphy describes state information power as the

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[63] The globally widespread ethnic Chinese is a good example of diaspora power as is the affluent and politically influential Jewish diaspora in the United States. See Joseph S. Nye Jr and Wang Jisi, "Hard Decisions on Soft Power: Opportunities and Difficulties for Chinese Soft Power," *Harvard International Review* (Summer 2009): 20.

[64] Nation, 144.

[65] *Ibid.*, 144.

[66] Nye, *Power in the Global Information Age*, 75. Nye suggests this evolution in stating "Power is passing from the "capital-rich" to the "information-rich." Of course a population is important for both worlds but size is replaced with skill and education.

> use of information content and technology as strategic instruments to shape fundamental political, economic, military and cultural forces on a long-term basis to affect the global behavior of governments, supra-governmental organizations, and societies to support national security.[67]

Although states have historically employed information power assets to shape forces domestically and in foreign countries, modern technology has facilitated international communication. The sub-factors or tools of information power display the empowerment of technology and include the Internet with its social media, mobile technology, mainstream international media, and information operations including propaganda, public affairs and public diplomacy. A state's investment in and deployment of these capabilities is a key metric of its information power.

Although many states have employed information power to advance national interests, the United States in particular has historically placed great emphasis on this capability. Particularly during the Cold War with the Soviet Union, the United States practiced information power via Radio Free Europe, Radio Liberty and the Voice of America.[68] Indeed, Washington continues to employ this strategic tool more contemporaneously via Radio Sawa and Radio Farda to influence Arab and Farsi speaking populations respectively.[69] Particularly during the ideological battle of the Cold War, the United States employed information power to convince the populations of Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union of the superiority of its way of life and

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[67] Dennis M. Murphy, "Chapter 11 Strategic Communication: Wielding the Information Element of Power," in *The U.S. Army War College Guide to National Security Issues, Volume 1: Theory of War and Strategy*, 4th ed., ed. J. Boone Bartholomees Jr., 153-165 (Carlisle: Strategic Studies Institute, 2010). In many ways information power and public diplomacy are synonyms.

[68] Alan L. Heil Jr. describes the roles of Radio Free Europe (RFE), Radio Liberty (RL) and the Voice of America (VoA) in stating: "When RFE and RL were founded, it was clearly understood they would concentrate on coverage of their listeners' homelands, while VOA's role was primarily to reflect America, along with news of the US and the world." See Alan L. Heil Jr., "The Voice of America: A Brief Cold War History," in *Cold War Broadcasting: Impact on the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe: A Collection of Studies and Documents*, ed. A. Ross Johnson and R. Eugene Parta, 25-48 (Budapest: Central European University Press, 2010).

[69] Michael McFaul, "The Promise of Democracy," in *Power and Superpower: Global Leadership and Exceptionalism in the 21st Century*, ed. Morton H. Halperin, Jeffrey Laurenti, Peter Rundlet and Spencer P. Boyer, 209-234 (New York: The Century Foundation Press, 2007).

strength of its foreign policies.[70] Due to this tool's impact on state perception and reputation, the

instruments of information power may equally affect soft power and thus impact on Foucault's

intangible customs or power biases.

A further, more insidious, form of information power is electronic surveillance and cyber

capability. Through the monitoring of electronic mail, telephone conversations, electronic data

transfer and by accessing public and private computers, states are able to scrutinize vast amounts

of domestic and foreign information. Further, countries are able to conduct cyber operations to

affect the computers and the hardware to which they are linked.[71] Although these capabilities

have evolved for years, the increased sensitivity to terrorism in many countries following the

events of 11 September 2001 has resulted in a degree of monitoring that Jack Balkin labeled "the

national-surveillance state."[72] Indeed, the highly capable and pervasive breadth of state

government electronic surveillance is exemplified by the American National Security Agency

and its allied organizations.[73] Equally, states have invested heavily in cyber warfare capability

and are engaging in what some have described as a cyber-arms race.[74] This use of information

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[70] Arch Puddington in his description of sponsored foreign radio services suggests governments used this tool " …
in order to promote their own geopolitical objectives or to convince a foreign audience of the superiority of their
system." In this sense, he goes on to state Radio Free Europe in particular "was arguably the most influential
politically oriented international radio station in history." See Arch Puddington, *Broadcasting Freedom: The Cold
War Triumph of Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty* (Lexington, Kentucky: The University Press of Kentucky,
2000), ix.
[71] Ronald J. Deibert, *Black Code: Inside the Battle for Cyberspace* (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 2013), 168.
Deibert in particular explains the militarization of state cyber capability in democracies and its criminalization in
autocratic and authoritarian regimes.
[72] *Ibid*., 215. This is considered particularly true in the United States which has seen "the emergence of a vast
security bureaucracy in which at least two and a half million people hold confidential, secret, or top secret
clearances; huge expenditures on electronic monitoring, along with a reinterpretation of the law in order to sanction
it; and corporate partnerships with the government that have transformed the counterterrorism industry into a
powerful lobbying force."
[73] Elements of the capabilities of the Five Eyes community (the American National Security Agency (NSA), the
Communications Security Establishment Canada, the British Government Communications Headquarters, the
Australian Signals Directorate and the New Zealand Government Communications Security Bureau) were brought
to light by the revelations of NSA contractor Edward Snowdon.
[74] Rand Corporation, "Cyber Warfare," last accessed 14 Apr 2014, http://www.rand.org/topics/cyber-warfare.html.
Rand states cyber warfare "… involves the actions by a nation-state or international organization to attack and
attempt to damage another nation's computers or information networks through, for example, computer viruses or

power has given the state considerable capability to gather information or affect the computer systems of individuals, companies or governments globally.

However, despite a state's broad ability to communicate and monitor using information power, this tool is no longer exclusively in the hands of national governments. Although technology has enabled a degree of surveillance not previously available, its democratization has concurrently weakened a country's monopoly on information. Indeed, while the ascendancy of the Internet, new communication technologies and the rise of digital and social media has decentralized information power, it has equally opened the door for greater state direction and control.[75] Thus although greater information technology availability has given a national government some greater power, it has equally empowered individuals to both access and contribute to international news and opinion. In this sense a state no long exclusively possesses the tools of information power and therefore does not possess absolute ownership of its strategic narrative.[76] This concurrent power diffusion and concentration is a challenge for states which are both gaining and losing a tool of both hard and soft power.[77]

Soft Power

In contrast to hard power, soft power is less tangible and thus less understood and overtly employed. This reflects its origin in the deepest foundations of power as seen in Lukes' discussion on power bias or Foucault's theory of custom in power systems. Building from this conceptual heritage Nye describes soft power as " … more than just persuasion or the ability to

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denial-of-service attacks." For one example of this literature see Michael Riley and Ashlee Vance, Bloomberg Business Week Magazine, "Cyber Weapons: The New Arms Race," last modified 20 Jul 2011, http://www. businessweek.com/magazine/cyber-weapons-the-new-arms-race-07212011 html.
[75] To such applications as Facebook, Twitter and various forms of instant messaging may be added the effect of Wikileaks.
[76] Murphy, 153. As a state cannot control its own message, its strategic actions may speak louder than its information power words. With strategic communication summarized as "80% actions and 20% words."
[77] As we'll see below, soft power is heavily linked to winning hearts and minds, national-level trust and credibility – elements that information power targets.

move people by argument, though that is an important part of it. It is also the ability to attract, and attraction often leads to acquiescence. Simply put, in behavioral terms, soft power is attractive power."[78] Therefore soft power attracts other states or actors to a certain action due to their admiration of a country or organization's values, prosperity and openness. States with soft power can set the agenda and lead and attract others to a particular outcome.[79]

Although credibility and reputation are important to soft power, the non-coercive compulsion of other states or groups involves much deeper values and norms. Countries may look at another's prosperity and openness and wish to aspire to be the same. In this sense Nye explains the importance of values to soft power: "In international politics, the resources that produce soft power arise in large part from the values an organization or country expresses in its culture, in the examples it sets by its internal practices and policies, and in the way it handles its relations with others."[80] However, it is often through a state or organization's actions that values and standards are truly understood and soft power built and maintained. As Gallarotti suggests:

> … under international sources, nations must demonstrate a fundamental respect for international law, norms, regimes, and other institutions undergirding cooperation among nations. This commitment to "playing by the rules" in the service of the collective good generates an image of dependability, sensitivity, legitimacy, and a stance against violence. No more endearing posture can be contemplated in world affairs. This general orientation is the principal source of international soft power….[81]

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[78] Nye, "The Place of Soft Power in State-Based Conflict Management,", 391. Nye goes on to explain that soft power tends to effect general goals rather than specific ones, ie. it is better to attract people to democracy rather than coerce them to be democratic. For further understanding of soft power agenda setting see Giulio M. Gallarotti, *Cosmopolitan Power in International Relations: A Synthesis of Realism, Neoliberalism, and Constructivism*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 24.

[79] Joseph S. Nye, Jr, *Soft Power: The Means of Success in World Politics* (New York: Public Affairs, 2004), 5.

[80] Nye and Jisi, 19. Or equally more simply by Layne, soft power is the "attraction to shared values and to the justness and duty of contributing to the advancement of these values." Christopher Layne, "The unbearable lightness of soft power," in *Soft Power and US Foreign Policy: Theoretical, Historical and Contemporary Perspectives*, ed. Inderjeet Parmar and Michael Cox, 51-82 (London: Routledge, 2010).

[81] Gallarotti, 29.

In an era of increasingly empowered non-state actors, this means governments must earn soft power credibility not with only states but equally the news media, corporations, nongovernmental organizations, intergovernmental organizations and networks of scientific communities.[82] Therefore soft power is a reservoir of credibility and reputation which can be quickly exhausted with illegitimate, non-rules-based international activities, or in contrast, exploited to attract fellow countries or organizations to acquiesce to certain actions.[83]

Although, as will be discussed shortly, soft power may not truly be 'earned,' there are very diverse mechanisms for a state to contribute to its reservoir of soft power. In some cases, these means are beyond a state's control or regulation through direct or indirect efforts. Although values, norm-based activities and actions are key ways in which to gain or lose soft power, there are myriad diverse sub-factors that enable soft power by compelling or attracting a state's partners to define their interests commonly with it.[84] These include the degree to which a country is seen as an honourable and trustworthy member of the international community, political stability, national attractiveness, a dynamic population and society, national success, political ideology and freedom, way of life, prestige of higher educational institutions, environmental policy, scientific and technological innovation, the use of English as a national language, and cosmopolitan culture.[85] In this sense, it is through acceptance, attraction,

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[82] Nye, "The Place of Soft Power in State-Based Conflict Management", 395. Governmental political credibility is an important asset: "Politics has become a contest of competitive credibility. The world of traditional power politics is typically about whose military or economy wins. Politics in an information age "may ultimately be about whose story wins.""

[83] An example of the loss of soft power and credibility in human rights-based issues and arguments may be found in the allegations of human rights violations surrounding the detention of enemy combatants in Guantanamo Bay. The prolific Nye expands on this idea stating elegantly, "Since the shock of 9/11, the USA has been exporting fear and anger rather than our more traditional values of hope and optimism. Guantanamo has become a more powerful global icon than the Statue of Liberty." See Joseph S. Nye, Jr, "The future of soft power in US foreign policy," in *Soft Power and US Foreign Policy: Theoretical, Historical and Contemporary Perspectives*, ed. Inderjeet Parmar and Michael Cox, 4-11 (London: Routledge, 2010).

[84] Nye, *Power in the Global Information Age*, 36.

[85] Brzezinski explains well the concept of national success in stating: "In our time, comparative societal performance, as popularly judged, has become a significant component of national influence." Zbigniew

legitimacy and overall international reputation that soft power is given by others, not taken by

the acting state.[86]

The most poignant contemporary example of state-based soft power is the credibility,

reputation and attractive clout of the United States. Although this power has eroded somewhat

recently due to its wars in Afghanistan and Iraq, and financial missteps resulting in the "great

recession" and its ballooning federal debt, America possesses significant soft power. Indeed to

the German editor Josef Joffe, the United States' soft power is greater than its hard power:

> U.S. culture, low-brow or high, radiates outward with an intensity last seen in the
> days of the Roman Empire – but with a novel twist. Rome's and Soviet Russia's
> cultural sway stopped exactly at their military borders. America's soft power,
> though, rules over an empire on which the sun never sets.[87]

The reasons for the United States' soft power success are diverse. However, many intangible

factors contribute to America's credibility, reputation and global admiration. These include its

popular culture and history of innovation; liberal democratic freedoms, values and openness; the

reach and success of its cinematic, radio and television industries; the achievements of its

technological and higher learning institutions; and overarching national success and prosperity as

Brzezinski, *Strategic Vision: America and the Crises of Global Power* (New York: Basic Books, 2011), 39. Bakvis notes the impact of national environmental policy on soft and hard power as "… environmentally friendly development and a high level of environmental quality are becoming increasingly important for attracting investment and human capital." Herman Bakvis, Gerald Baier and Douglas Brown, "The Environmental Union," Chapter 12 in *Contested Federalism: Certainty and Ambiguity in the Canadian Federation*, 205-218 (Don Mills, ON: Oxford University Press, 2009). Although not immediately intuitive, technology and its advancement compellingly demonstrate a state's techno-scientific superiority. Nye sees science and technology used as a tool to "support institutions that make other states want to channel or limit their activities in ways the dominant state prefers …" See John Krige, "Technological leadership and American soft power," in *Soft Power and US Foreign Policy: Theoretical, Historical and Contemporary Perspectives*, ed. Inderjeet Parmar and Michael Cox, 121-136 (London: Routledge, 2010). Culture is a particularly interesting tool of soft power. For a fascinating description of Japanese regional soft power which balances the Japanese pop-culture *manga* (comics) and *anime* (cartoons) with its historic military abuses and contemporary territorial disputes see Peng E. Lam, "Japan's Quest for "Soft Power": Attraction and Limitation," *East Asia: An International Quarterly*, Vol. 24, Issue 4 (Dec 2007): 359.

[86] Geraldo Zahran and Leonardo Ramos, "From hegemony to soft power: Implications of a conceptual change," in *Soft Power and US Foreign Policy: Theoretical, Historical and Contemporary Perspectives*, ed. Inderjeet Parmar and Michael Cox, 12-31 (London: Routledge, 2010).

[87] Josef Joffe, "Who's Afraid of Mr. Big?," *The National Interest* (Summer 2001) quoted in Nye, *Soft Power: The Means of Success in World Politics*: 11.

the only world superpower.[88] American soft power is indeed expansive and yet difficult to

measure and harness.

Despite soft power becoming an increasingly important facet of national power due to

our progressively rules-based world, it is paradoxically difficult to build, employ or indeed

measure. As previously discussed, although the position and reputation a state ascribes to itself

and asserts internationally is critical, the acknowledged status ascribed to it by other international

actors is of greater importance in soft power.[89] Therefore although a state may attempt to

perform and conduct itself in a credible, reputable and attractive-status building manner, it is

only external bodies and countries that truly determine its corresponding attractive soft power.

Thus although soft power is a critical facet of national power, a state is challenged to engender or

indeed wielded it.

Nye in particular expands on this point, suggesting that if a state is so troubled to build

soft power, it is equally challenged to employ or control this powerful aspect of its national

power. Indeed, if as explained above, soft power is credited to a state by the international

perception of its domestic political system, exported national culture and political values

including democracy and human rights, a country will have great difficulty employing a power it

does not truly own.[90] Therefore, intangible national ideas are one reason soft power is difficult

to control; a second is the role of organizations outside a government's control in collectively

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[88] This is far from an exhaustive list of ideas, institutions and industries that contribute to America's soft power. Equally, there has been no effort to aggregate detractors of American soft power. See Nye, *Soft Power: The Means of Success in World Politics*, 10-15 and Nye, *Power in the Global Information Age*, 90-93.

[89] David D. Dewitt and John J. Kirton, "Three Theoretical Perspectives," in *Readings in Canadian Foreign Policy: Classic Debates and New Ideas,* 2nd ed., ed. Duane Bratt and Christopher J. Kukucha, 52-75 (Don Mills: Oxford University Press, 2011).

[90] Nye, "The Place of Soft Power in State-Based Conflict Management," 396. This is further displayed in the quote "Regis Debray … long ago argued that Hollywood would be a more powerful global influence for America than the Pentagon or the CIA ever hoped to be." See Treverton and Jones, 9.

granting a state's soft power.[91] Although some suggest certain characteristics may give specific

countries or international bodies greater jurisdiction over their soft power, generally the tools of

soft power are not easy to wield.[92]

Further, by extension of a national power that a state can neither build nor properly

employ, soft power is therefore difficult to measure.[93] Nevertheless, as suggested by Treverton

and Jones, there are techniques to broadly qualify soft power. However, although international

bodies and non-government organizations may be comfortable employing soft power as

genuinely their only strategic tool, states are unable to fully rely on a power they cannot build,

completely control.

Conclusion

Of the full spectrum of national power that a state possesses, undoubtedly the most

ubiquitous is population-based power. Although population gifts a country with power in itself,

it is further significant for most other aspects of a state's capabilities. Population is a critical

contributor to economic and military power. Further, the quality of a state's population,

measured through education, and cultural diversity to name but a few characteristics, has a

fundamental impact on the worth of its armed forces and in the performance of its economy.

Particularly in an era of slowing population growth in the Western world and the resultant

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[91] Nye, Joseph S. Jr., *The Paradox of American Power: Why the World's Only Superpower Can't Go It Alone,* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 11. Indeed in a subsequent work, Nye describes soft power as the only power these extra-governmental possess stating: "In terms of power resources, these new groups rarely possess much hard coercive power, but the information revolution has greatly enhanced their soft power - the power of attraction that is associated with ideas, cultures, and policies." See Nye, *Power in the Global Information Age*, 87.

[92] Nye, *The Paradox of American Power*, 69. Nye suggests these characteristics include dominant cultures that are close to prevailing global norms, access to multiple channels of information to frame issues and credibility enhanced by performance nationally and in international fora.

[93] Treverton and Jones, xi, 14 and 19. This study offers such diverse factors as university attendance by foreigners, media content analysis, tourism, emigration, alliance networks, patterns of telephone and Internet communication, the political outcome of UN votes and WTO dispute rulings as possible measures of soft power. Ultimately the rather broad question, "Where would you live if not in your own country?" is considered an important judge of a nation's ability to attract others.

competition for immigrants, the ubiquitous and critical nature of a state's inhabitants on diverse aspects of a country's national power should be a vital message for national leaders.

The importance of a country's population, however, is not limited to its hard power. A state is granted soft power via numerous intangible concepts including its international credibility, political stability, national values, prosperity and indeed its national success. However, the dynamism, cultural richness, acceptance of new citizens and their traditions, and education of a state's population impact tremendously on its credibility, reputation and indeed the national attractiveness upon which soft power is established. Therefore a country's population is a key measure of national power and thus a critical area of examination for the subsequent Canadian case study.

This look at national population is an important one as it is illustrative of the interplay between hard and soft power. Just as a state's people contribute to the material success of a country, as examined above, many of the facets of popular strength also impact on and promote national soft power. Similarly, political, economic, military, geographic and information-based powers are critical contributors to national hard power. However, these factors, and their contribution to the success of the state, its international image and brand, its credibility, and its reputation are equally important builders of national soft power. Nevertheless, although this hard-soft power interaction is critical, it must not be forgotten that soft power is not built but rather granted by the international community.

This fact is demonstrative of the multiple large-scale trends labeled globalization that both reduce state strength and corrode the importance and relevance of national power. The increased number of international treaties, supranational organizations such as the European Union, economic and free trade agreements, rules-based national conduct and the growth and

increasing strength of NGOs, transnational corporations, and transnational civil society are eroding the traditional power and action of sovereign states. Whether the use of national military tools or economic coercive power, a state finds its hands increasingly tied by global interdependence. Indeed, the steadily decreasing relevance of hard power in today's globalized world is reflected by one author in stating: "[u]nlike centuries past, when war was the great arbiter, today the most interesting types of power do not come out of the barrel of a gun."[94]

This complex interaction among global trends, and national hard and soft power proves the continued relevance of the conceptualizations of power of both Lukes and Foucault. Both authors recognized that power systems were far more than a simple mathematic equation that balanced the respective strengths of individuals, groups or states. As has been reflected above, direct comparisons of power are futile without a deep understanding of the various actors and the system within which they exist. More specifically, the potential of the robust powers of a state's economy are irrelevant without full comprehension of the country's political system and thus ability to focus this form of power. Further, should this same state possess an economic or political agreement with another country, its options could potentially be deeply constrained.

Finally, both Lukes and Foucault's conceptual ideas presage Nye's concept of soft power. Although the historiography of power theory is beyond the scope of this essay, Nye's concept of soft power seem somewhat derivative of Lukes' discussion of deterministic bias and willing compliance, and Foucault's closely echoed theory of intangible bias or silent disciplines. This highly intangible and subjective aspect of power is often quoted but much less frequently understood and will form a critical aspect of the examination of Canada's power in the world.

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[94] Nye, *Power in the Global Information Age*, 99.

Matrix of National Power

Lens of National Power				
Focuses, concentrates and controls national power Factors: governmental structure, aims, ability in statecraft, diplomatic skill, education/ linguistic abilities, professional development and quality of public service, strategic culture, population's political attitude, governing institutions' stability and effectiveness, quality of think tanks, government policy process, quality of strategic leadership, coordination between government ministries and agencies				
Filters of Power Controllability - Relevance - Credibility				
Factor	**Sub-Factor**	**Tools/Contributors**	**Factors Reducing Effect**	**Metrics**
Hard Power				
Political	Diplomacy:	Negotiation (including intermediary)/diplomatic dialogue, Parliamentary Committees, Diplomatic or Whole of Government Delegations, Special Envoys, Breaking of relations, Withdrawal of ambassador and staff, Public diplomacy (including Digital), political reporting, trade deals, assistance (development, police, borders, etc)	Globalization; international, continental and regional multilateral political bodies; the presence of transnational actors; international treaties	Number of embassies and diplomats
Military	Military Population Equipment Intelligence Training and Doctrine Power Projection Sustainability Readiness Mobilization potential Arms Technology and Industry	Educational standard, Physical conditioning, Technological capacity, Social discipline, Motivation, Strategic leadership Expeditionary Forces (Army/Air Force/Navy/SOF), Strategic Lift, Expeditionary Command and Sustainment systems, Foreign Intelligence, Cyber Warfare Reserves	Greater political integration of states via multilateral organizations, nuclear weapons, spreading of democracy, liberal international relations system based on political/economic freedom, and rule of law "hard disempowerment"	National defence budget and military-related expenditures Expeditionary Forces capability
Economic		Foreign trade, foreign or development aid, economic boycotts, trade embargoes, foreign direct investment and loans, domestic policies that affect global economy, research and development funding	International trade agreements, multinational corporations, global inter-connectivity	Gross Domestic Product (GDP) and Per Capita GDP Population size and quality
Geographic	Size + Geographic Possessions Strategic Depth	Global location, climate, physical size, topographical shape, access to oceans, serviceable harbours, control of maritime chock points and strategic lines of communication, natural resources, navigable internal rivers, hydroelectric potential, arable land, fresh water lakes	Access, development or political control of others' natural resources	Geographic size Possessions in natural resources
Population	Size Distribution Skill	Demographics (fertility/mortality/migration), homogeneity (ethnic/ religious/cultural/linguistic), social stability, education, geographic and social mobility, acceptance (innovation/ immigration/change), organizational proficiency, national attitude (will/morale/character/ integration), culture (history/values/ national unity)	Effects of globalization reduce the importance of raw population size	Population Size Education Demographic, Social and Cultural Determinants
Information	Internet International Media Information Operations	Internet (social media/ mobile technology), mainstream international media, free expression (open and competitive media), high-quality investigative journalism and public broadcasting, information operations (propaganda/ public affairs), public diplomacy	Democratization and decentralization of technology National action speaks louder than words	Investment in and deployment of information power capabilities
Soft Power				
	Credibility Reputation Authority Values National Success	Honour and trustworthiness as a member of the international community, political stability, national attractiveness, dynamic population and society, national success, political ideology/freedom, way of life, prestige of higher educational institutions, environmental policy, scientific and technological innovation, the use of English as a national language and cosmopolitan culture	Difficult to build, employ or measure soft power Soft power a better long-term, strategic tool	Ultimately the question "Where would you live if not in your own country?"

Chapter 2: Canada's Power

Canada is a very geographically large, modern and developed Western country. At times referred to as a major power, Canada has been labeled a regional power without a region.[95] Ascertaining the extent of Canada's national power is a challenging study, however. Although this northern country possesses extensive political, military, economic, geographic, population-based and information power, specifically quantifying the broad capabilities and potential of a state is no simple task. As has been learned from the review of Lukes, Foucault and indeed Nye, calculations of power are not straight-forward but rather includes many intangible factors. This is particularly true of the quantification of the reputation and credibility-based soft power.

Despite this difficulty, this section will attempt in so far as it may be possible to measure and quantify Canada's national power. More simplistically, Canada's hard power will be examined via a review of the political, military, economic, geographic, population-based and information power. More elusively, Canada's soft power will be assessed through an examination of its reputation, credibility and indeed the country's "brands". Through such review, this chapter will attempt to evaluate and deduce Canada's influence and relative strength in the world.

Choices are required in any work no matter how basic. This is particularly true when dealing with a subject as broad as national power both hard and soft. So many elements of national capability contribute to a state's power that framing their study is fraught with the hazards of including too much or too little. For this reason, a number of studies of the elements of national power will be employed along with a review of Canada's national capabilities with a view to brevity and equally synthesizing useful conclusions on Canadian national power. Finally, this research has been supplemented with conversations with prominent Canadians listed at the

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[95] Dewitt and Kirton, "Three Theoretical Perspectives,", 53.

end of the paper. These efforts have been as fulsome and exhaustive as possible to provide

quantitative measurement and enrich the understanding of Canada's power and global influence.

However, observations of Canadian soft power and culture remain anecdotal, descriptive and

impressionistic and thus subjective.

Hard Power

Canada's hard power is much more quantifiable than its soft power. Although, as stated

earlier, power is difficult to strictly judge, a country's aggregate economic output, the size of its

military and the resources it possesses are easily assessed. More challengingly, the evaluation of

quality–the abilities of public servants, the professionalism of a state's military and the strength

of a national population–is a difficult aspect of hard power to ascertain. Nevertheless, certain

surveys of national power have attempted to collectively judge national power with a focus on

hard power.

In particular, Nation Ranking's 2011 National Power Index rated Canada as the ninth

most powerful country in the world.[96] With similar results, the Chinese-based Comprehensive

National Power index ranked Canada as 10th in 2010.[97] Finally, employing a more securitized

methodology, the Composite Index of National Capabilities through the Correlates of War

Project ranked Canada as the 21st greatest state by power in 2007.[98] Obviously representing

[96] Nation Ranking – quantify the world of sovereign states, "2011 Rankings," last accessed 17 Mar 2014, http://nationranking.wordpress.com/category/national-power-index/. This is based on the factors of Economy, Military, Diplomacy, Technology and Popularity. Canada scores respectively 9th, 12th, 16th, 9th and 6th.

[97] Federation of American Scientists, "Geopolitical Power Calculations," last accessed 17 Mar 2014, http://www.fas.org/nuke/guide/china/doctrine/pills2/part08 htm. The Comprehensive National Power index employs the following factors: natural resources, economic activities capability, foreign economic activities capability, science and technology capability, social development level, military capability, government regulation and control capability, and foreign affairs capability. It equally predicts Canada will maintain its 10th place ranking to 2010.

[98] Correlates of War, "National Material Capabilities (v4.0), Composite Index of National Capability", last accessed on 5 February 2013, http://www.correlatesofwar.org/COW2%20Data/Capabilities/nmc4.htm#cinc quoted in A.J. Delhommeau, "Does Canada Punch Above Its Weight?," Joint Command and Staff Course Paper, Canadian Forces College, 2013. This index employs the factors of total population, urban population, iron and steel production, energy consumption, military personnel, and military expenditure and is very war resources focused.

various aggregates of national strategic measurements, these indices arrive at differing

conclusions. However, they do demonstrate that, although Canada is not a leading or great

power, it possesses the considerable hard power capability of a major global state. These

capabilities will subsequently be observed in greater detail to better contextualize this aspect of

Canada's power.

Political Power

As explained in Chapter One, there are two facets to political power in determining

national power. First, politics or political power acts as a lens to focus the elements of national

power. For Canada, the many determinants include strategic culture which empowers how a

state looks at itself and its place in the world. To Don Macnamara, Canada's strategic culture

displays an international nature to proactively protect its national interests:

> Canada indeed has a strategic culture of 'forward defence' of its interests, as
> reflected in the expeditionary deployment of armed forces from the Boer War to
> Afghanistan, and in both bilateral … and multilateral alliances or coalitions.
> Indeed, unlike European countries and many Asian countries, Canada, the United
> States, Australia, and the United Kingdom (except for the Blitz) have not had war
> brought to their homelands. But international political, economic, and socio-
> cultural factors have affected Canada's vital major, and humanitarian interests and
> have led to such deployments, protecting Canada's interests abroad to reduce the
> risk of having to defend them at home.[99]

Alan Bloomfield and Kim Richard Nossal agree that Canada possesses a strategic culture of

'internationalism,' however, they equally suggest a more nuanced philosophy that includes a

need to balance French and English interests, and emphasize the willingness to embrace

multilateral alliances for security.[100]

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[99] Don Macnamara, "Canada's National and International Security Interests," in *Canada's National Security in the Post-9/11 World: Strategy, Interests, and Threats*, ed. David S. McDonough, 45-56 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2011).

[100] Alan Bloomfield and Kim Richard Nossal, "Towards an Explicative Understanding of Strategic Culture: The Cases of Australia and Canada," *Contemporary Security Policy*, Vol. 28, No. 2 (Aug 2007): 286-307. Doi: 10.1080/13523260701489859. Bloomfield and Nossal describe these three factors more precisely in stating, "Canada's post-1945 strategic culture was characterized by three fundamental norms: close strategic integration with

Although the three aforementioned authors agree on the international or externally-focused nature of Canada's strategic culture, they equally putatively acknowledge another impact of Canada's geography and history on its strategic culture. As analogized by Senator Raoul Dandurand, Canada is a "… fireproof house, far from the sources of conflagration."[101] Although Canadians understood the theoretical danger of nuclear weapons during the Cold War, Canada truly has not experienced an existential threat since the War of 1812. Bloomfield and Nossal, emphasizing the post-Cold War period in particular, therefore suggest that Canada's strategic culture fundamentally reflects its geo-political safety:

> … shifts in strategic behavior, away from the traditional reliance upon close alliance relationships with the United States and NATO and toward an unashamedly principled strategic stance, were very much a reflection of the entrenchment over the post-Cold War period of a particular strategic culture in Canada. This culture tended to conceive of Canada as essentially safe, even in the post-9/11 period, a function largely of the fact that Canadians were not targeted by *jihadis* in the ways that Americans, Australians, British, and Spaniards were. It continued to conceive of Canada as a 'peacekeeper' rather than a 'war-fighter'.[102]

Therefore, Canada's sense of strategic safety has enabled the state to focus externally and form a more internationalist *Weltanschauung*.[103] Although not all authors agree that Canada's geo-political invulnerability is unequivocally beneficial, the resultant outward-political orientation amalgamates with a second aspect of strategic culture, that of multilateralism.[104]

the United States to defend the North American continent, alliance membership in NATO and commitment to defend 'the West' against Soviet threats, and internationalism, particularly being prepared to contribute to, even take the lead in, peacekeeping missions."

[101] Desmond Morton, *A Military History of Canada* (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1992), 176.

[102] Bloomfield and Nossal, 301. Bloomfield and Nossal believe a fundamental cause of this element of Canadian strategic culture is that Canada, "… never had to actively seek a 'great and powerful' friend to defend them against the possible American predations …". See *Ibid.*, 297.

[103] Perhaps exemplifying Canada's principled foreign affairs stance, Prime Minister Stephen Harper broadcasted this sense of internationalism in stating middle powers are, "willing to assume responsibilities, seek practical, doable solutions to problems and … have a voice and influence in global affairs because they lead, not by lecturing, but by example". See Lynda Hurst, "On world stage, a best supporting actor," Toronto Star, last modified 29 Sep 2007, http://www.thestar.com/ opinion/columnists/2007/09/29/on_world_stage_a_best_supporting_actor.html.

[104] Irvin Studin suggests this lack of existential threat has developed a parochial, unsophisticated strategic culture. As such, he asserts Canada has failed to form a mature, pragmatic understanding of national security and strategic

While Canada was historically a relatively weak state, it has traditionally approached and viewed its international presence through the lens of multilateralism. This principle is powerful enough that it formed a facet of Canada's historic and contemporary strategic culture. Canada therefore practices its internationalism through a multilateral political approach which is characterized as,"[The] tendency "to pursue multilateral solutions to international problems, [the] tendency to embrace compromise positions in international disputes, the tendency to embrace notions of 'good international citizenship' to guide diplomacy."[105] Denis Stairs further explains the Canadian preference for multilateralism: "The reasoning behind this preference is rooted in the rules-based nature of multilateral organizations, such as NATO and the UN. Within such a context, disparity in power tends to matter less.…"[106] Therefore, Canada's approach to international relations, its perspective on the world, is heavily influenced by the need to compromise with and leverage multilateral institutions within a rules-based system.

This Canadian push towards multilateralism reflects what an Australian Minister of Foreign Affairs referred to as "acts of good international citizenship" as they display a state's

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culture in stating, "… this strategic leisure has, over the course of nearly a century and a half of geopolitical good luck, formed and hardened a deep culture not just of political and constitutional civility - indeed, great constitutional sophistication – but also of strategic lassitude and naiveté. " See Irvin Studin, GlobalBrief World Affairs in the 21st Century, "When Canada Becomes the West's 2nd State" last accessed 27 Nov 2013, http://globalbrief.ca/blog/2013/11/11/ when-canada-becomes-the-wests-second-state/.

[105] Andrew F. Cooper, Richard A. Higgott and Kim Richard Nossal, *Relocating Middle Powers: Australia and Canada in a Changing World Order* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 1993), 19 quoted in Mollie Royds, "Middlepowerism in the Post-Cold War Era: A Critique of Axworthy's Security Policy," *Journal of Military and Strategic Studies*, Vol. 3, No. 1 (Spring 2000): 1-18.

[106] Denis Stairs, "Change in the Management of Canada-United States Relations in the Post-War Era," in *Toward a North American Community? Canada, the United States and Mexico*, ed. Donald Barry, 54 (Boulder: Westview, 1995) quoted in Mollie Royds, "Middlepowerism in the Post-Cold War Era: A Critique of Axworthy's Security Policy," *Journal of Military and Strategic Studies*, Vol. 3, No. 1 (Spring 2000): 3-4. Royds expands on Barry Buzan's concept where hard power state security issues are considered 'high politics' whereas soft power, human security issues are considered 'low politics'; she explains the increased international role of lesser powers: "With the expansion of security to include issues that were traditionally conceived of as 'low' politics, such as economic and environmental issues, many middle powers perceived that they had the ability to wield greater influence." This is reiterated more simply by Paul Heinbecker who suggests: "For a country our size, the more the rule of law governs international relations, the better off we will be." See Paul Heinbecker, *Getting Back in the Game: A Foreign Policy Playbook for Canada* (Toronto: Key Porter Books, 2010), 19.

involvement in wider global politics than would be expected from strict national interest.[107]

Therefore Canada historically has sought to gain international political power and influence by

manipulating the international, multilateral system. As Dewitt and Kirton explain:

> … Canada devotes few resources to conducting direct, comprehensive assaults on the formal framework of existing institutions. Yet, in an attempt to reinforce its new position, it seeks to forge alliances with those who have successfully manipulated the existing system and who are likely candidates for major-power status in the near future. And in an effort to register the particular contribution it can make to the management of the global system and to secure the support of emerging power who sustain its position, it forwards distinctive conceptions of what a new international order should be.[108]

Canada therefore operationalizes its international perspective with a deliberate policy of

multilateralism that increases its international power and influence. Although multilateral

relationships require compromise and thus moderate the presence of Canadian national values

and interests, they equally enable the country to have a far greater voice on the international

scene than would otherwise be possible.

A further contributing factor to the lens of Canada's national power is its think tanks.

Think tanks are a valuable contributor to a country's political perspective which provides

research, non-ideological options and non-government assessment on domestic and international

issues.[109] Despite this importance, Canada possesses a somewhat limited think tank culture in

terms of both quantity and quality. From a quantitative perspective, Canada possesses 96 think

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[107] Kim Richard Nossal, "'Middlepowerhood' and 'Middlepowermanship' in Canadian Foreign Policy," in *Canada's Foreign and Security Policy: Soft and Hard Strategies of a Middle Power*, ed. Nik Hynek and David Bosold, 20-34 (Don Mills: Oxford University Press, 2010).

[108] Dewitt and Kirton, "Three Theoretical Perspectives,", 63.

[109] Although not providing a specific definition, Taylor Owen and Robert Muggah describe think tanks as non-government institutions that contribute to domestic and international debate on security, development and the environment. See Taylor Owen and Robert Muggah, OpenCanada.Org Canada's Hub for International Affairs, "Building a Better Think Tank," last modified 10 Oct 2013, http://opencanada.org/features/blogs/roundtable/building -a- better-think-tank/ and Owen and Muggah, "Better Think Tanks, Better Foreign Policy,".

tanks ranking it 10th in the world.[110] However, quantitatively the *2013 Global Go To Think Tank*

Index Report assessment of 150 think tanks includes just two Canadian institutions–the Fraser

Institute and the Centre for International Governance Innovation–that were ranked 22 and 43

respectively.[111] Similarly, Canada's think tanks possess relatively less capacity when compared

to those in the United States.[112] This somewhat limited capacity and capability of Canada's think

tanks is important as their strategic insight have the potential to help form the policy lens that

focuses Canada's national power or obscures it and are thus a key medium through which

national power transits.

 Despite this somewhat inconsistent *Weltanschauung* and lens to national power, Canada

possesses significant capability in the second facet of political power: diplomacy. With an

international presence in 150 countries around the world, Canada has 260 embassies, consulates

or commissions.[113] Further, there are 108 honorary consuls in 97 countries accredited to 192

states representing Canada globally.[114] Moreover, Canada maintains a permanent political

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[110] James G. McGann, University of Pennsylvania, "2013 Global Go To Think Tank Index Report," last modified 22 Jan 2014, http://gotothinktank.com/dev1/wp-content/uploads/2014/01/GoToReport2013.pdf, 21. Quantitatively the top ten countries for number of think tanks are (number of think tanks in brackets): United States (1828), China (426), United Kingdom (287), India (268), Germany (194), France (177), Argentina (137), Russia (122), Japan (108) and finally Canada (96).

[111] *Ibid*., 30. However, notably the North-South Institute ranks as the ninth best think tank with an operating budget less than $5 million USD. See *Ibid*., 104. Ranking criteria in the Index include quality and commitment of the think tank's leadership, the quality and reputation of staff, the quality and reputation of the research and analysis produced, the ability to recruit and retain elite scholars and analysts, academic performance and reputation, reputation with policy makers, etc. For complete list of criteria see *Ibid*., 12-14. Other major Canadian think tanks include the C.D. Howe Institute, the Conference Board of Canada, the Canada West Foundation and the Centre for Policy Alternatives. See G. Bruce Doern, Allan M. Maslove and Michael J. Prince, "Canadian Budgetary Institutions: Power, Politics, and Contending Ideas," in *Canadian Public Budgeting in an Age of Crisis: Shifting Budget Domains and Temporal Budgeting* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2013), 85-116.

[112] Only the Conference Board of Canada has over 100 staff with the Fraser Institute and the C.D. Howe Institute the next largest at 64 and 21 respectively. See Doug Saunders, The Globe and Mail, "What would a Canada of 100 million feel like? More comfortable, better served, better defended," last accessed 10 Dec 2013, http://www.theglobeandmail.com/news/national/time-to-lead/what-would-a-canada-of-100-million-feel-like-more-comfortable-better-served-better-defended/article4186906/?page=all.

[113] Foreign Affairs, Trade and Development Canada, "Canadian Government Offices Abroad," last accessed 20 Jan 2014, http://www.international.gc.ca/cip-pic/description_bureaux-offices.aspx.

[114] Jozef Batora, "The Diplomacy of a Middle Power: Innovation and Its Limits," in *Canada's Foreign and Security Policy: Soft and Hard Strategies of a Middle Power*, ed. Nik Hynek and David Bosold, 101-120 (Don Mills: Oxford

involvement in virtually all regions, sectors, and forums of world politics as registered in the

high volume of interactions that Canada exchanges with a large number of actors abroad.[115]

Equally, Canada's political power and influence in the world is increased through public

diplomacy. The Department of Foreign Affairs, Trade and Development (DFATD) has

historically employed public diplomacy "… to improve the image of Canada abroad and thereby

enhance its soft power …"[116] By communicating internationally to inform and influence foreign

populations, Canadian public diplomacy broadcast its brand and identity and, to Paul

Heinbecker, helps complement the "Mounties, mountains, and molsons" images that foreigners

possess of Canada.[117] Further, Canada employs digital diplomacy as a means to distribute the

Canadian narrative through social media and its website.[118] Also, by building relationships and

enabling democratization movements abroad, Canada is able to demonstrate its technological

capability and support to democratic values.[119] Although public diplomacy in Canada has been

reduced in the last decade with the budget limited to a modest $22 million, recent

University Press, 2010). This compares with the United Kingdom which has 145 embassies, high commissions and consulates in 101 countries, France which has 204 embassies and consulates in 159 countries, Spain which has 147 embassies and consulates in 112 countries, India which has 172 embassies, high commissions and consulates in 115 countries and Australia which has 168 embassies, high commissions and consulates in 123 countries (note Canadian embassies provide consular services for Australians in 19 of these countries). For United Kingdom see GoAbroad.com, "British Embassies and Consulates," last accessed 11 Apr 2014, http://embassy.goabroad.com/embassies-of/united-kingdom, for France see Learn4Good, "France Visa-French Embassy Information," last accessed 11 Apr 2014, http://www.learn4good.com/travel/ france_embassies htm, for Spain see Learn4Good, "Spain Visa-Spanish Embassy Information, last accessed 11 Apr 2014, http://www.learn4good.com/travel/spain_embassies.htm, for India see Immihelp, "Indian embassies and consulates worldwide," last accessed 11 Apr 2014, http://www.immihelp.com/directory/indianconsulates.html and for Australia see Australian Government, "Websites of Australia's embassies, high commissions, consulates, multilateral missions and representative offices," last accessed 11 Apr 2014, http://www.dfat.gov.au /missions/.

[115] Dewitt and Kirton, *Canada as a Principal Power*, 41.

[116] Batora, 108.

[117] Heinbecker, *Getting Back in the Game*, 228.

[118] Canada's foreign affairs social media footprint may be seen at Foreign Affairs, Trade and Development Canada, "Stay Connected," last accessed 14 Apr 2014, http://www.international.gc.ca/department-ministere/social-media medias-sociaux.aspx#twitter. Equally see the new Canadian Ambassador to Venezuela, Ben Rowswell, who Tweets in three languages. See Twitter, "Ben Rowswell," last accessed 14 Apr 2014, https://twitter.com/benrowswell.

[119] This enabling of citizen movements with social media tools occurred during the Arab Spring where Canadian digital diplomacy did not shape the message but rather enable its delivery. Mr. Rowswell further identifies the communication with and enabling of citizen movements as a facet of Canadian international reputation building. Conversation with Ben Rowswell, DFATD, former Representative of Canada in Kandahar (RoCK) and Canadian Ambassador to Venezuela, 21 Feb 2014.

announcements by the Minister of Foreign Affairs on the diplomatic use of social media suggests an increased Canadian voice in the world.[120]

Although the quantitative aspect of Canada's political or diplomatic power is important, the greater perspective of the Canadian diplomatic message is critical. Canada's political power or diplomacy functions in the wider context of Canada's geography, historic legacy and reputation. First, as one of the few global powers, Canada is a member of a vast number of diverse multilateral organizations.[121] Located in North America, geographic placement, trans-Atlantic values, and regional and hemispheric interests includes Canada in such diverse multilateral organizations as the Arctic Council, the Organization of American States, the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) and the Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation organization.[122] Additionally, Canada's national heritage grants it access to *L'organization international de la Francophonie* which includes 57 member states and governments, and the Commonwealth which has 53 members.[123] Moreover, as a leading global financial power and

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[120] Heinbecker, *Getting Back in the Game*, 229. This compares poorly with the U.S., Britain, Germany and France which all have public diplomacy budgets above $1 billion. This being said, the sharing of Canada's identity globally need not be prohibitively expensive. John Ralston Saul describes a relatively inexpensive Canadian public diplomacy event and its celebration of Canadian immigration, citizenship and federalism while accompanying the Governor-General. See John Ralston Saul, *John W. Holmes memorial lecture: Projecting a Middle Power into an Imperial World* (Toronto: Canadian Institute of International Affairs, 2004), 33. For changing rules on digital diplomacy see Maclean's, "Baird seeks Google, Twitter help to unleash Canadian diplomats on social media," last modified 07 Feb 2014, http:macleans.ca/2014/02/07/baird-seeks-google-twitter-help-to-unleash-canadian-dipolmats-on-social-media/. For a discussion of Canada's digital diplomacy policy development and an illustration of Canada's efforts in China see Julian Dierkes and Gregoire-Francois Legault, Canadian International Council, "Time for a Blueprint for Canadian Digital Diplomacy," last modified 17 Apr 2014, http://opencanada.org/features/the-think-tank/comments/time-for-a-blueprint-for-canadian-digital-dipolmacy/.

[121] Conversation with Ms. Jill Sinclair, Department of National Defence Assistant Deputy Minister (Policy), 11 Mar 2014.

[122] To this Robert Greenhill would add that due to Canada's position next to the United States, it has very effectively built and leveraged a strong relationship with the super power that others see as a bridge. Robert Greenhill, *Making a Difference: External Views on Canada's International Impact* (Canadian Institute of International Affairs, 2005), 4, 9 and 33.

[123] L'organization international de la Francophonie, "77 états et gouvernements," last accessed 11 Apr 2014, http://www.francophonie.org/-77-Etats-et-gouvernements-.html. *La Francophonie* also includes 20 observer states and gives Canada extensive multilateral access to Africa. The Commonwealth, "About Us," last accessed 11 Apr 2014, http://thecommonwealth.org/about-us. Greenhill expands this point to suggest that beyond *La Francophonie* and the Commonwealth, Canada enjoys a relationship with its "mother countries" of France and the United Kingdom giving

international trading partner, Canada is a member the G7 states, the Organization for Economic

Development and Cooperation, the World Trade Organization and numerous regional

development and bank organizations.[124] Finally, beyond Canada's commitment to regional and

global multilateral organizations, its pursuit of rules-based international conduct has seen its

lengthy inclusion in the United Nations and its numerous sub-agencies.[125] Put simply, Canada is

an international joiner and multinational participant.

   The performance of Canadian diplomats in this and other multilateral institutions

contributes to further Canadian political power. Canada and its diplomats have shown historic

strength in the United Nations, *inter alia*, and are viewed as constructive enablers, respectful of

international laws and norms, yet still willing to lead on issues that do not directly affect

Canadians.[126] Moreover, with Canada's national interests more limited than the great powers,

Canadian diplomats are able to lead on issues without national bias.[127] Indeed, as suggested by

Amal Henein and Francoise Morissette in their study of Canadian leadership, "[Canadians] do

not have an imperialist past and never set out to rule the world; therefore, we are not viewed as

conquerors."[128] This advantage is reinforced when they further identify that Canada's history

and reputation, "… enables [Canadians] to get along with small and large powers, developed and

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Canada unique influence with two powerful countries and permanent members of the United Nations Security Council. See Greenhill, 5.

[124] This includes such diverse organizations as the African Development Bank Group, the Asian Development Bank, the Inter-American Development Bank, the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development, the Caribbean Development Bank, the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund.

[125] For a fairly complete list of multilateral organizations to which Canada belongs see The Canada Page, "Canadian Foreign Policy II," last accessed 11 Apr 2014, http://www.thecanadapage.org/IntOrg.htm.

[126] Bob Lawson would add that Canadian diplomats themselves are very talented and speak English (the language of diplomacy) therefore adding to Canada's power. Conversation with Bob Lawson, DFATD, 03 Mar 2014. LGen (retd) Sutherland suggests Canada has strength on leading issues to forge a solution via 'catalytic leadership'. Conversation with LGen (retd) Fred Sutherland, former CAF Vice Chief of Defence Staff, 16 Jan 2014.

[127] Conversation with David Malone, former Canadian Ambassador to the United Nations, High Commissioner to India and current Rector of the United Nations University, 20 Feb 2014. Malone suggests Canada is able to be useful but not sentimental.

[128] Amal Henein and Francoise Morissette, *Made in Canada Leadership: Wisdom from the Nation's Best and Brightest on Leadership Practice and Development* (Mississauga, ON: John Wiley & Sons Canada, 2007), 221.

developing countries, without being suspected of ulterior motives.[129] Finally, Henein and

Morissette identify unique Canadian leadership brands such as inclusion, process skills,

principle, professionalism possibility, diversity and peace that "are prized on the international

scene."[130] Finally, Canada's national material and cultural success, its soft power, contribute to

international respect that enables diplomats to receiving a hearing from any international actor.[131]

Thus the quality of its diplomatic skills, the quality of Canadian leadership, is a further

determinant and contributor to Canadian political power.

Canada's strength in international fora is likely further enhanced by the diversity of its

population. Canada's immigrant-heavy population ostensibly enables its global diplomatic and

political power. With over 20.6 per cent of Canada's population foreign-born and originating

from more than 200 different ethnic origins, Canada ostensibly possesses an extensive national

diaspora from the countries with which it dialogues.[132] The influence on political power of

national diasporas is particularly pronounced among the 10 ethnicities that have over a million

people in Canada.[133]

Although the various contributors to Canada's political power challenge broad

conclusions, generally speaking they are indicative of significant capability. Canada possesses

an international, multilateral institution-oriented strategic culture enabled by its historic safety

from existential threat. This embracement and practice of international multilateralism has given

the country a disproportionate political influence relative to its population size particularly due to

[129] *Ibid.*, 221.

[130] *Ibid.*, 297-299.

[131] Conversation with Paul Heinbecker, former Ambassador to Germany and the United Nations, 14 Feb 2014.

[132] Statistics Canada, "Immigration and Ethnocultural Diversity in Canada," last accessed 11 Apr 2014, http://www12.statcan.gc.ca/nhs-enm/2011/as-sa/99-010-x/99-010-x2011001-eng.cfm. This is the highest in the G8 with German next at 13 per cent. Australia is higher at 26.8 per cent foreign born.

[133] *Ibid.* The top 10 ethnic origins in Canada with over a million members was Canadian (10 563 800), English (6 509 500), French (5 065 700), Scottish (4 715 000), Irish (4 544 900), German (3 203 300), Italian, Chinese, First Nation (1 369 100), Ukrainian, East Indian, Dutch and Polish.

the staggeringly broad number of institutions in which it is involved. Possessing a capable lens of political power, Canada's diplomatic assets and culture are arguably also that of a major power. This is further enabled by a heritage and reputation that enables international political engagement. Thus Canada wields considerable political power potentially enhanced by and linked to less tangible soft power assets.

Military Power

As the most overtly quantifiable measurement, the Canadian defence budget is a critical metric of Canada's military power. However, military capability, like in any large institution, requires years of development and consistent, predictable funding to build and sustain competent, capable forces. Therefore an isolated examination of a single year's military budget is not an adequate or an accurate manner to judge Canada's military capability. For this reason multiple years of military funding and capability will be examined to better understand Canadian national military power.

From 2005 until 2010 the Canadian Armed Forces (CAF) enjoyed substantial increases in its budget. Thus the Department of National Defence's (DND) budget progressed from $16.1 billion in 2005 to nearly $22 billion in 2010 representing an increase from 1.1 per cent of Canadian GDP to 1.4 per cent.[134] However, due to the 2008 global economic crisis, the Canadian Government began constraining defence resources. Thus commencing in 2010 DND saw its budget begin to shrink with a projected reduction to approximately $17.9 billion by 2015.[135] These financial resources, although varying based on the national financial situation,

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[134] Stockholm Institute for Peace Research, "SIPRI Military Expenditure Database," last accessed 24 Jan 2014, http://milexdata.sipri.org/files/?file=SIPRI+milex+data+1988-2012+v2.xlsx. David Perry draws the greater context citing spending on DND representing between 6-8% of overall federal expenditures with 2009/2010 representing 7.6% of the federal budget. See David Perry, *Doing Less with Less: Canadian Defence Transformation and Renewal* (Ottawa: Conference of Defence Associations Institute, 2014), 4.
[135] *Ibid.*, 12.

represent the 15th largest national military expenditure in the world by size or 83rd largest

financial outlay by per centage of GDP.[136]

These financial resources deliver a relatively robust Canadian military operational output.

The Canadian Regular Force consists of 68 250 personnel while the Reserve or part-time military

includes approximately 51 000 personnel.[137] Within the various armed services the Canadian

Army fields three mechanized brigades with other enablers, the Royal Canadian Navy possesses

15 major surface combatants, four submarines, and 12 patrol vehicles, and the Royal Canadian

Air Force possesses 425 aircraft and 156 helicopters.[138] The CAF also possesses relatively

modestly sized, but highly capable Special Operations Forces. Of great importance for military

power, the CAF has a demonstrated recent expeditionary capability having successfully operated

in Afghanistan, Libya, Mali and indeed Canada's own Arctic.[139]

Although the quantity and equipment of the Canadian military is an important metric of

its overall, strategic capability, the quality of its personnel is a further important measure. The

Canadian military is viewed as a reputable and capable force with very well educated personnel

effective in both conventional and non-traditional forms of warfare.[140] Norman Hillmer and Jack

Granatstein's statement on the CAF's attractiveness for United Nations operations is reflective of

the quality of its personnel. They suggested that:

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[136] For expenditure by country see GFP, "Defence Spending by Country," last accessed 24 Feb 2014, http://www.global firepower.com/defense-spending-budget.asp. For expenditure as a per centage of GDP see CIA World Fact Book, "Military Expenditure," last accessed 24 Feb 2014, https://www.cia.gov/library /publications/the-world-factbook/rankorder/2034rank html?countryname=Canada&countrycode=ca &regionCode=noa&rank=83#ca.
[137] GFP, "Canada Military Strength," last accessed 24 Feb 2014, http://www.globalfirepower .com/country-military-strength-detail.asp?country_id=Canada. The Reserve strength includes both Primary and Supplemental Reserve.
[138] *Ibid.*
[139] As John Ferris explains, "Rich states have armies with longer range but less weight. Their strength is best measured by the combat troops ready for expeditionary service: Germany, Canada, and Australia might deploy 2,000 each …" See John Ferris, "Conventional Power and Contemporary Warfare," in *Strategy in the Contemporary World,* 4th ed, ed. John Baylis, James J. Wirtz, and Colin S. Gray, 230-246 (New York: Oxford University Press, 2013).
[140] Saul, *John W. Holmes memorial lecture*, 13. Of note, Canada is conceptually ranked as 16th most capable force of 106 rated countries. See GFP, "Canada Military Strength,".

> The United Nations has always been glad to use Canadian personnel on peacekeeping. As a Western power and a NATO member that had always thought in terms of fighting war overseas, Canada had capacities in logistics, communication, and air transport that other small nations did not, and its personnel were well-trained professionals.[141]

These same military personnel have shown their general purpose capability in being equally effective in more demanding conflicts. Indeed, Desmond Morton and other authors argue that the Canadian military's professionalism contributed strongly to its historical war fighting experience both during the Cold War and in the 1991 Gulf War.[142] Finally, the Canadian military's quality, reputation and success were equally recognized in subsequent operations in Bosnia, Kosovo and Afghanistan.[143]

A final element of Canadian military power is found in the state's limited but important Defence Industrial Base (DIB). The Canadian DIB is a niche economic market in Canada that cannot be sustained by the CAF's needs and represents less than one per cent of Canada's GDP, employment and exports.[144] Despite the ostensive negligible size of the Canadian DIB, defence industry spending and resulting employment impacts 177 Canadian federal ridings and possesses

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[141] Norman Hillmer and J.L. Granatstein, *Empire to Umpire: Canada and the World to the 1990s* (Toronto: Copp Clark Longman, 1994), 321.

[142] Andrew Cohen quotes of the Canadian brigade in West Germany during the Cold War: "British officers in NATO declared the [Canadian] brigade group there the best professional force in the world – and it may even have been true." See Andrew Cohen, *While Canada Slept: How We Lost Our Place in the World* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 2003), 45. Similarly Desmond Morton states of the Canadian forces in the Gulf War: "Professional experience made even Canada's outdated warships highly effective in the blockage role. The "Desert Cats" squadron flew 2700 sorties without losing an aircraft. The 2400 Canadians came home from the war without a significant casualty." See Morton, *A Military History of Canada*, 270.

[143] Bill Graham speaks to the quality and success of the Canadian military in Bosnia, Kosovo and Afghanistan. Conversation with Bill Graham, Academic and former Minister of Foreign Affairs and International Trade, and Defence, 16 Apr 2014.   Further although with some dissenting views, Greenfield notes Canada's military leadership role in Kabul from 2003-2005 where it was seen as "having done successfully in Kabul what the Americas failed to do in Baghdad." Greenfield, 18. Finally, Patrick James suggests the Canadian military's performance in southern Afghanistan has changed its perception in Canada: "As a result of the outstanding performance of the CF, most notably in Kandahar, things began to change in Canadian society regarding the place of the military. Patrick James, *Canada and Conflict* (Don Mills, Ont: Oxford University Press, 2012), 121.

[144] John Treddenick, "The Economic Significance of the Canadian Defence Industrial Base," in *Canada's Defence Industrial Base: The Political Economy of Preparedness and Procurement*, ed. David Haglund (Kingston: Ronald P. Frye & Company, 1988) quoted in Craig Stone, "Defence Procurement and the Need for Discipline Capital Investment," in *The Public Management of Defence in Canada*, ed. Craig Stone, 93-109 (Toronto: Breakout Educational Network, 2009).

a not insignificant political importance.[145] Thus although the arms industry is relatively small,

Canada nevertheless is ranked the world's 14th largest arms exporting country with one per cent

of the global market.[146]

Reflecting the difficulty of quantifying the factors of national power, Canada's military

power is more complex than the size, strength and capability of its equipment and personnel.

Although the Canadian military participated in World War One, World War Two and the Korean

War, much of the Cold War saw the CAF employed in peacekeeping, peace support, and stability

operations as a tool of Canada's multilateral, international engagement. The importance of the

CAF's global engagement for Canada's national influence is indicated by Evan Potter in

assessing " … perhaps the most compelling public diplomacy is performed by Canada's military

in some of the most unsettled regions in the world, such as Afghanistan and Haiti."[147] Therefore,

although quantitatively Canada possesses relatively small but capable military power, its

discretionary employment internationally has proven a significant contributor to the country's

influence and national power.

Indeed, beyond contemporary Canadian military deployments to multinational stability

operations and war fighting, the CAF has a vast legacy of participation in peacekeeping.

Although at the time of writing Canada's contribution to United Nations peacekeeping

operations is limited to 115 soldiers, historically Canada's contribution has been much more

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[145] Canadian Association of Defence and Security Industries, "CADSI Elects Five New Members to its Board of Directors," last accessed 25 Feb 2014, https://www. defenceandsecurity.ca/index.php?action=news.article&id=112. There are 109 000 Canadians employed in Canadian security and defence industries. See Canadian Association of Defence and Security Industries, "CADSI / KPMG report bolsters case for Defence Industrial Strategy for Canada," last accessed 25 Feb 2014, https://www.defenceandsecurity.ca/index.php?action =news.article&id=196&t=c. This is minor in comparison to the world aggregate employment in the defence industry of almost 7.5 million people in 2003. See Keith Hartley, "The Arms Industry, Procurement and Industrial Polices," in *Handbook of Defense Economics, Volume 2: Defense in a Globalized World*, ed. Keith Hartley and Todd Sandler, 1139-1176 (Amsterdam and New York: Elsevier Science BV, 2007).

[146] Stockholm Institute for Peace Research, "The Top 20 Arms Exporters, 2008-2012," last accessed 25 Feb 2014, http://www.sipri.org/googlemaps / 2013 _of _at _top _20 _exp _map.html.

[147] Evan H. Potter, *Branding Canada: Projecting Canada's Soft Power through Public Diplomacy* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2009), 70.

substantial.[148] Between 1956 and the present over 125 000 Canadian soldiers, sailors and airmen/women have deployed to almost 50 UN peacekeeping operations.[149] Indeed, as will be seen, this long-standing support to international peace is a historic point of pride for Canadians and indeed has ingrained itself in the domestic national culture and arguably Canada's international brand.

Canada's military power is significant. Although relatively small in size, these forces have both a quality and expeditionary capability that belies their modest capacity. Of even greater importance for Canada's cumulative national power, the Canadian military has been traditionally employed as a positive force internationally with robust participation in peacekeeping operations largely under the guise of the United Nations. Although this national commitment has more recently lapsed, these hard power exploits have apparently contributed to Canada's soft power reservoir.[150]

Economic Power

Not dissimilar to military power, the standardized quantification of Canada's economy is relatively easy. However, understanding Canada's economic national power is much more difficult. As a foremost measure of economic power, Canada's GDP in 2012 was $1.819 trillion broadly demonstrating it to be the 11th largest economy in the world.[151] This compares to its

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[148] United Nations, "Contributors to United Nations peacekeeping operations," last modified 31 Jan 2014, http://www.un.org/en/peacekeeping/contributors/2014/jan14_1.pdf.

[149] Permanent Mission of Canada to the United Nations, "Peacekeeping and Peacebuilding Operations," last accessed 24 Feb 2014, http://www.canadainternational.gc.ca/prmny-mponu/canada_un-canada_onu/positions-orientations/peace-paix/peace-operations-paix.aspx?lang=eng.

[150] The CAF have nevertheless been extensively deployed even since 2001. For international deployments see Parliament of Canada, "International Deployment of Forces: Parliament's Role – Appendix 2," last accessed 14 Apr 2014, http://www.parl.gc.ca/content/lop/researchpublications/prb0006-e htm.   At the time of writing, the Canadian military is deployed on 12 international operations in addition to preparations for domestic operations and international disaster relief. See Government of Canada, "National Defence and the Canadian Armed Forces," last accessed 14 Apr 2014, http://www.forces.gc.ca/en/operations-abroad-current/index.page.

[151] This is in Canadian dollars. See CIA World Fact Book, "Canada," last accessed 26 Nov 2013, https://www.cia.gov/library/ publications/the-world-factbook/geos/ca html. As a point of comparison, Australia's GDP was

GDP in 2000 which was $1.098 trillion and $680.7 trillion in 1990.[152] Further, Canada's per

capita GDP was $42 533 in 2012 ranking the country 15th internationally.[153] Historically,

Canada's per capita GDP was $19 992 in 1990 and $29 081 in 2000.[154] Of contemporary

importance, Canada emerged very favourably from the Great Recession beginning in 2008

showing particular strength in its relatively more regulated banking sector.[155] Since this time, the

Canadian economy grew 1.75 per cent in 2013 with an expectation that this will rise to 2.25 per

cent in 2014.[156] Although the Canadian Government possesses a small budgetary deficit, its debt

to GDP ratio is the best among G8 states at approximately 33 per cent.[157]

 Other diverse economic factors assist in an overall evaluation of Canadian national

economic power. From an Intellectual Property (IP) perspective, Canada has one of the largest

IP deficits in the developed world paying $4.5 billion more to license foreign property than

collect from others.[158] This IP deficit demonstrates a certain economic weakness as Canadian

companies are forced to purchase licenses to produce certain materials rather than employ their

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$1.521 trillion (Australian dollars) in 2012 and Italy's GDP was $1.567 trillion (Euro). OECD, "Gross Domestic Product (GDP)," last accessed 22 Apr 2014, http://stats.oecd.org/Index.aspx?Dataset Code=SNA_TABLE1#.
[152] OECD, "Gross Domestic Product (GDP)," The OECD lists Canada's GDP for 2013 at $1.879 trillion.
[153] This statistic is measured in Purchasing Power Parity (PPP) and is taken from Knoema, "GDP per Capita Ranking 2012 | Data and Charts," last accessed 24 Apr 2014, http://knoema.com/sijweyg/gdp-per-capita-ranking-2012-data-and-charts. However, this statistic varies slightly. In comparison the World Bank lists Canada's 2012 per capita GDP at $41 298 again in PPP. See The World Bank, "Per Capita GDP – PPP (Current international$)", last accessed 14 Apr 2014, http://data.worldbank.org/indicator/ NY.GDP.PCAP.PP.CD. Finally, the OECD states the number $42 144. See OECD, "Gross Domestic Product (GDP): GDP per head, US $, current prices, current PPPs," last accessed 22 Apr 2014, http://stats.oecd .org/Index.aspx?DatasetCode=SNA_TABLE1. As a point of comparison, Australia's GDP per capita in 2012 was $44 407 and Italy's (a fellow G7 member) was $34 141. *Ibid*.
[154] *Ibid*.
[155] Joe Clark, *How We Lead: Canada in a Century of Change* (Toronto: Random House Canada, 2013), 21.
[156] International Monetary Fund, "IMF Executive Board Concludes 2013 Article IV Consultation with Canada," last accessed 10 Jan 2014, http://www.imf.org/external/np/sec/pr/2014/ pr1439.htm.
[157] Department of Finance Canada, "Annual Financial Report of the Government of Canada Fiscal Year 2012–2013," last accessed 25 Feb 2014, https://www.fin.gc.ca/afr-rfa/2013/report-rapport-eng.asp. This being said, taking into account provincial debt raises Canadian national debt considerably.
[158] Barrie McKenna, "Don't Expect Blackberry's Patents to Stay in Canada," last accessed 08 Oct 2013, http://www.theglobeandmail.com/report-on-business/dont-expect-blackberrys-patents-to-stay-in-canada/article14594494/. IP is an important demonstration of national innovation and represents the money Canadian companies must pay other companies to employ their IP.

proprietary IP.[159] By contrast, Canada shows some economic strength as it has a significant

economic presence in the world with $711 billion in 2012 in Foreign Direct Investment.[160] Of

further economic importance, the Canadian dollar is considered a principal and dependable

world reserve currency with Canada's monetary unit the fifth most employed behind that of the

United States, China, the European Union and United Kingdom. Indeed, the International

Monetary Fund noted that national central banks held $108.9 billion as of the second half of

2013.[161]

Focusing on domestic measures of economic power, it is again possible to show indices

of Canadian economic power. First, Canada's banking system has been rated strongest in the

world by the World Economic Forum for six consecutive years.[162] With this national financial

success a source of pride to Canada, it is equally a point of attractiveness and credibility to foreign

investors.[163] As a further factor of Canadian economic power, the state spent $24.3 billion on

research and development (R&D) in 2011 representing 1.8 per cent of GDP by Purchasing

Power Parity (PPP) and therefore placing Canada ninth in the world in R&D investment.[164]

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[159] It is suggested Canada's IP deficit is due to R&D investments translating poorly into commercial applications. Contributing factors include poor university-commercial partnerships, the state of the Canadian start-up community and the tax policy strategy. See Just Biotech, "Thinking Inside the Box: Promoting Homegrown Innovation," last accessed 14 Apr 2014, http://www.justbiotech.ca/tag/patent-box/.

[160] David Hornsby, "Turning Perception into Reality: Canada in Africa," Open Canada.Org Canada's Hub for International Affairs, last modified 07 Nov 2013, http://opencanada. org/features/the-think-tank/essays/turning-perception-into-reality-canada-in-africa/. Hornsby notes that Canadian Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) is concentrated in the United States (41%), Europe and Central Asia (27%), Latin America (20%) and East Asia (8%). Nevertheless Canada is ranked 10th among 16 comparator states for Outward FDI. See Conference Board of Canada, "Outward Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) Performance Index," last accessed 14 Apr 2014, http://www.conferenceboard.ca/hcp/details/economy/outward-fdi-performance.aspx.

[161] Michael Babad, "Canadian Dollar Now World's Fifth-Largest Reserve Currency," last accessed 08 Oct 2013, http://www.theglobeandmail.com/report-on-business/top-business-stories/canadian-dollar-now-worlds-fifth-largest-reserve-currency/article14643284/.

[162] Clark, 21. This is further demonstrated by no Canadian banks were financially bailed-out or in danger of failing during the 2008 world banking crisis. See Canadian Bankers Association, "Global Banking Regulations and Banks in Canada," last modified 11 Sep 2013, http://www.cba.ca/en/media-room/50-backgrounders-on-banking-issues/667-global-banking-regulations-and-banks-in-canada.

[163] Conversation with the Kevin Lynch, Former Clerk of the Privy Council, 07 Mar 2014.

[164] Wikipedia, "List of Countries by Research and Development Spending," last accessed 04 Dec 2013, http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/List_of_countries_by_research_and_development_spending.

This, however, balances poorly with Canadian companies R&D spending which was ranked 26th of 144 rated countries.[165] Equally, Canada placed ninth in the world with broadband Internet penetration at 72.2 per cent of households having access.[166]

Despite these positive aspects of economic power, some domestic indicators detract from Canada's overall economic strength and health. In 2013 Canada's competitiveness ranking dropped to 14th place on the World Economic Forum Global Competitiveness Index.[167] Mature economies such as Canada's achieve growth and development primarily through innovation and "Too often, Canada fails to commercialize its good ideas into marketable products and services or capture the value from growth."[168] Basic requirements for innovation and competitiveness include institutions, infrastructure, macroeconomic environment, and health and primary education. However, Canada's current competitive advantage is based on the abundance and availability of its natural resources rather than Canadian value-added products, processes, or services.[169] As a final measure of economic strength, one study ranks Canada 28 of 30 OECD

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[165] The Conference Board of Canada, "Who Dimmed the Lights? Canada's Declining Global Competitiveness Ranking," last accessed 10 Feb 2014, http://www.conferenceboard.ca /temp/a2703573-afbb-4d82-b327-1f2673e1b1c0/13-120_whodimmedthelights.pdf.

[166] Huffington Post, "15 Countries with the Highest Broadband Internet Penetration Rate", last updated 02 Aug 2012, http://www.huffingtonpost.ca/2012/08/02/broadband-internet-penetration-oecd-n-173033 html. National broadband Internet penetration demonstrates citizens' access to the Internet and therefore contributes to economic growth, productivity gains, employment, consumer surplus (cost savings for consumers) and business efficiency. See International Telecommunications Union, "The Impact of Broadband on the Economy: Research to Date and Policy Issues," last modified April 2012, http://www.itu.int/ITU-D/treg/broadband/ITU-BB-Reports_Impact-of-Broadband-on-the-Economy.pdf.

[167] The Conference Board of Canada, "Who Dimmed the Lights?" Canada had been 12th place in 2011 and 10th place in 2010. It is worthwhile to quote from the Global Competitiveness Index at length to understand the diverse factors aggregated and Canada's ranking: "[Canada] continues to benefit from highly efficient markets (with its goods, labor, and financial markets are ranked 17th, 7th, and 12th, respectively), well-functioning and transparent institutions (14th), and excellent infrastructure (12th). Canada is also successfully nurturing its human resources compared with other advanced economies (ranking 7th for health and primary education and 16th for higher education and training), providing the workforce with the skills needed to succeed in a competitive economy. Canada's competitiveness would be further enhanced by improvements in its innovation ecosystem such as increased company-level spending on R&D and government procurement of advanced research products." See World Economic Forum, "The Global Competitiveness Index 2013–2014: Country Profile Highlights," last accessed 14 Apr 2014, http://www3.weforum.org/docs/GCR2013-14/GCR_CountryHighlights_2013-2014.pdf.

[168] *Ibid.*

[169] *Ibid.* Indeed, Canada's productivity is 70% of the United States.

countries for environmental performance.[170] Although environmental performance is a difficult

and debated economic metric, from a perception and reputation standpoint, Canada's current and

historic achievements are troubling.[171]

It is a challenge to summarize the aforementioned numbers and statistics into a broad

judgment of Canadian economic power. However, two key economic measurements are

demonstrative of Canada's relative strength. A member of the G7, Canada has the 11th largest

global economy by GDP. Comparatively, however, Canada's GDP standing has dropped from

8th position in 1980 due to the rise of Brazil, Russia and India.[172] Similarly, Canada's per capita

GDP is 15th in the world. Again, Canada's ranking has decreased from 1980 when it was 10th.[173]

Thus although Canada's economy has grown and remained strong for decades, it has not grown

as fast as some emerging economies.

Nevertheless, Canada possesses numerous economic strengths beyond the raw numbers.

With a strong growth record, wide-spread access to numerous markets, strong foreign investment

and its record as a great place to invest, work and live, Canada is a highly competitive world

economy.[174] Further, as summarized by the former head of the Bank of Canada in 2013, Mark

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[170] Thomas Gunton and K.S. Calbick, David Suzuki Foundation, "The Maple Leaf in the OECD: Canada's Environmental Performance," last modified Jun 2010, http://davidsuzuki.org/publications/downloads/2010 /OECD_Report_Final.pdf. Broad criteria for economic performance include Efficiency and Clean Energy, Waste and Pollution, Protecting and Conserving Water, Producing Healthy Food, Conserving and Protecting Nature and Promoting Global Sustainability.

[171] Jane S. Shaw and Richard L. Stroup, CATO Institute, "Do Environmental Regulations Increase Economic Efficiency?," last accessed 12 Mar 2014, http://object.cato.org/sites/cato.org/files/serials/files/regulation/2000 /4/shaw.pdf. Shaw and Stroup reflect this debate in discussing the cost of environmental regulation versus the benefit of forcing innovation.

[172] Knoema, "World GDP Ranking 2014 | Data and Charts," last accessed 24 Apr 2014, http://knoema.com /nwnfkne/world-gdp-ranking-2014-data-and-charts.   Brazil, Russia and India, important members of the so-called BRIC countries, are 7th, 9th and 10th respectively.

[173] Knoema, "GDP per Capita Ranking 2012 | Data and Charts,". Canada's per capita GDP has varied between 1980 and 2012. Thus Canada fluctuated as follows: 1980 (10th), 1990 (9th), 2000 (15th) and 2010 (18th). Canada has been generally passed by smaller European, Persian Gulf and south-east Asian countries.

[174] The Canadian Trade Commissioner Service, "Why Invest in Canada?," last accessed 15 Apr 2014, http://www.international.gc.ca/investors-investisseurs/advantage-avantage/advantage-avantage.aspx?lang=eng. This site further notes that, according to both Forbes and Bloomberg, Canada is the best country in the G-20 to do business, Canada led all G-7 countries in economic growth over the past decade (2003–2012) according to the

Carney, the Canadian economy possesses considerable advantages due to its sound monetary and fiscal policy, its interprovincial trade, federal transfer payments and labour flexibility.[175] This does not disguise certain weaknesses in competitiveness, IP deficit and environmental performance Canada possesses compared with its peers.[176] However, within the overall context of national power, Canada's economic capability is a strong point for the state.

Geographic Power

It is in geographic power where Canada's tremendous national power is most obvious. Stretching from the Pacific, to the Arctic, to the Atlantic Ocean and finally to the border with the United States, Canada spans a truly massive area. Therefore, as the second largest country in the world, Canada possesses vast potential in natural resources, hydro-electric energy, agriculture, and numerous other areas. Although Canada's geographic power is reduced by the remoteness and challenge of operating in its north and Arctic, the effects of global warming are making this region increasingly accessible to economic exploitation.[177] Finally, Canada is geo-strategically fortunate to ally with and border the world's only superpower and currently the largest economy

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World Bank, that once the Canada-EU Comprehensive Economic Trade Agreement (CETA) comes into force, foreign investors in Canada will have assured preferential access to both NAFTA and the EU - a vibrant market with a combined GDP of US$35 trillion, or nearly one-half of the world's output of goods and services, Canada's workforce is the most highly educated among members of the OECD, with half of its working-age population having a tertiary level education, Canada's overall marginal effective tax rate is by far the lowest in the G-7 - about 17 per centage points lower than that of the United States, Canada's R&D-intensive sectors enjoy the lowest costs in the G-7, with a cost advantage that is 10.7 per cent lower than that in the U.S., For the sixth consecutive year, the World Economic Forum has declared Canada's banking system to be the soundest in the world, and according to the World Bank Canada is one of the globally most multicultural countries with world-class universities, a universal health care system and clean and friendly cities in addition to having the second highest standard of living in the G-20, as measured by GDP per capita.

[175] Konrad Yakabuski, The Globe and Mail, "Departing Carney reminds us why 'Canada works'," last modified 23 May 2013, http://www.theglobeandmail.com/globe-debate/departing-carney-reminds-us-why-canada-works/article12074289/.

[176] OECD, "OECD Economic Surveys Canada June 2012 Overview," last accessed 23 Apr 2014, http://www.oecd.org/eco/50543310.pdf.

[177] Of note although Canada's massive size and northern remoteness give it extensive natural resources and geographic power, it equally makes the country a very challenge place in which to travel and live. Approximately 30% of Canada's energy use goes into transportation and 40% into heating. See Centre for Energy, "Canadian Leadership in Energy," last accessed 15 Apr 2014, http://www.centreforenergy.com/AboutEnergy/Canadian Energy/.

in the world. This results in the United States' northern neighbor not being directly threatened

by another country and economically benefiting from its proximity to one of the largest markets

in the world.

As a most basic measure of geographic power, Canada is 9 984 670 square kilometres in

area and therefore second only to Russia. Further, with the world's longest coastline at 202 080

kilometres and a 200 nautical mile economic exclusive zone, Canada's massive maritime region

possesses considerable potential.[178] Additionally, with thousands of freshwater lakes, Canada's

2902 cubic kilometres of fresh water is the world's largest such resource.[179] Due to these

extensive oceanic and fresh water resources, Canada's fishery industry contributes

approximately two billion dollars a year to the Canadian economy making it the eighth-largest

exporter of fish and seafood products in the world.[180]

Beyond the resources harvested from Canada's extensive fresh water lakes and rivers,

these bodies of water further provide the country with excellent hydroelectric potential and

production.[181] Indeed, Canada generates approximately 59 per cent of its electricity from

hydroelectricity and is therefore the third largest producer in the world.[182] Canada produces the

remainder of its electricity from petroleum fired, natural gas fired, coal fired, nuclear, wind, tidal

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[178] CIA World Fact Book, "Canada".

[179] *Ibid.* This resource may become increasingly critical in the future as fresh water becomes more in demand. See GlobalBrief World Affairs in the 21st Century, "2020: La ressource clé sera …," last accessed 27 Nov 2013, http://globalbrief.ca/blog/2010/10/13/%c2%abdici-2020-la-ressource-naturelle-la-plus-importante-sur-le-plan-strategique%c2%a0sera/.

[180] Fisheries and Oceans Canada, "Canadian Fishing Industry Overview," last modified in Mar 2011, http://www.apcfnc.ca/en/fisheries/resources/Aboriginal%2520Fisheries%2520in%2520Canada%2520Market%Trends%2520-%2520David%2520Millette.pdf.

[181] Natural Resources Canada, "Energy," last accessed 05 Mar 2014, https://www nrcan.gc.ca?mining-materials/exploration8294. Canada has 632 large dams (between 10-15 and 150 metres in height), six major dams (150 metres or more in height) and 479 hydroelectric generating stations.

[182] Natural Resources Canada, "About Renewable Energy," last accessed 06 Mar 2014, https://www.nrcan.gc.ca /energy/renewable-electricity/7295. Indeed, Canada has an installed hydro-electric capacity of 70,173.5 MegaWatts (MW). See Centre for Energy, "Canada Statistics," last accessed 15 Apr 2014, http://www.centreforenergy.com /FactsStats /Statistics.asp?Template=5,0 .

and biomass plants.[183] This creates a total installed electricity capacity in 2010 of 126 612.1

Mega Watts which is sixth highest in the world.[184]

Despite this extensive land mass and water resources, only 7.3 per cent of Canada's

territory is employed for agriculture due to its northern climate.[185] Nevertheless, with agriculture

representing 1.7 per cent of Canadian GDP, wheat, hay and canola are Canada's top produced

crops.[186] To this may be added that Canada, with over 387.3 million hectares of forest, possesses

10 per cent of the world's forests and is the second largest producer of forest products.[187] Of

this, approximately 38 per cent or 147.9 million hectares of forests were certified as of December

2012 as being sustainably managed.[188]

Although Canada's climate limits its agricultural production, the natural and petroleum

resources of the country are truly a strategic asset. Foremost in strategic natural resources,

Canada produced 3.2 million barrels a day of oil in 2012.[189] This represents approximately 3.9

per cent of world oil production making Canada the sixth largest producer in the world.[190]

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[183]These plants possess the following installed electricity production capacity: petroleum fired (5,667.1 MW), natural gas fired (17 040.5 MW), coal fired (13 898.0 MW), nuclear (14 211 MW), wind (4 968.1 MW), tidal (20 MW) and biomass (1 012.2 MW). *Ibid.*

[184] Natural Resources Canada, "Additional Statistics on Energy," last accessed 15 Apr 2014, http://www.nrcan.gc.ca /publications/statistics-facts/1239.

[185] Statistics Canada, "Snapshot of Canadian agriculture," last accessed 06 Mar 2014, http://www.statcan.gc.ca/ca-ra2006/articles/snapshot-portrait-eng htm.

[186] For GDP see Index mundi, "Canada GDP – composition by sector," last accessed 06 Mar 2014, http://www. indexmundi.com/canada/gdp_composition_by_sector html. For top crops see Statistics Canada, "Snapshot of Canadian agriculture,".

[187] Natural Resources Canada, "Forests," last accessed 05 Mar 2014, http://www.nrcan.gc.ca/publications/statistics-facts/1241.

[188] Natural Resources Canada, "Key Facts," last accessed 15 Apr 2014, http://www nrcan.gc.ca/forests/canada /13169. A sustainable forest is "a forest that is carefully managed so that as trees are felled they are replaced with seedlings that eventually grow into mature trees." See TechnologyStudent, "What is a Sustainable Forest," last accessed 15 Apr 2014, http://www.technologystudent.com/prddes1/susenv1.html.

[189] Canadian Association of Petroleum Producers, "Crude Oil: Forecast, Markets and Transportation," last accessed 22 Jan 2014, http://www.capp.ca/getdoc.aspx? DocId=227308&DT=NTV. The Centre for Energy lists Canada's total Crude Oil and Equivalent Production as 3,211,935 barrels per day. See Centre for Energy, "Canada Statistics,".

[190] Wikipedia, "List of Countries by Oil Production," last accessed 22 Jan 2014, http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/List_of _countries_by_oil_production. Both Natural Resources Canada and Canadian Association of Petroleum Producers statistics corroborate this ranking. See Natural Resources Canada, "Energy," and Canadian Association of Petroleum

However, this oil production output is expected to rise to 6.7 million barrels a day by 2030–largely as a result of increases in oil sands output.[191] Further, with estimated recoverable oil reserves of approximately 175 billion barrels, Canada possesses the world's third largest oil reserves after Saudi Arabia and Venezuela.[192] Equally of increasing importance, Canada produces 141.3 billion cubic metres of natural gas a year from a total natural gas reserve of 58 trillion cubic feet; this makes Canada the world's third biggest producer of natural gas.[193]

Beyond petroleum products, Canada also possesses vast natural resource deposits. These include iron ore, nickel, zinc, copper, gold, lead, rare earth elements, molybdenum, potash, diamonds and silver. Further, in 2009 Canada produced an estimated 11.0 million carats of rough cut diamonds at a value of $1.7 billion making it the world's second largest producer by value after Russia.[194] Natural resource mining remains a significant source of revenue to the country; in 2010 mining and mineral-processing industries added 2.8 per cent or $34.7 billion to Canada's GDP.[195] Further, Canada has exploited its considerable knowledge and capacity in extractive industries in developing foreign markets. This is exemplified in Africa where Canada

Producers, "Basic Statistics," last accessed 16 Apr 2014, http://www.capp.ca/library/statistics/basic/Pages/default.aspx.

[191] *Ibid*.

[192] For estimated Canadian oil reserves see Daniel Yergin, *The Quest: Energy, Security, and the Remaking of the Modern World* (New York: Penguin Books, 2012), 259. For Canada's ranking in petroleum reserves see CIA World Fact Book, "Canada,". Natural Resources Canada is not as optimistic in judging Canada's total oil reserves as recovery is based on the ability of current technology in the oil sands. Canada's recoverable oil reserves are therefore listed as more than 50 billion cubic metres. See Natural Resources Canada, "Additional Statistics on Energy," last accessed 15 Apr 2014, http://www.nrcan.gc.ca /publications/statistics-facts/1239.

[193] *Ibid*. For natural gas reserves see Natural Resources Canada, "Energy,". Canadian Association of Petroleum Producers corroborates this ranking. See Canadian Association of Petroleum Producers, "Basic Statistics,".

[194] Natural Resources Canada, "ARCHIVED - Diamonds," last accessed 15 Apr 2014, https://www.nrcan.gc.ca /mining-materials/markets/canadian-minerals-yearbook/2009/8464.

[195] Natural Resources Canada, "Publications and Reports @ NRCan – Additional Statistics – Minerals and Metals," last accessed 06 Mar 2014, http://www.nrcan.gc.ca/publications/statistics-facts/1245. Important Canadian produced minerals include Uranium (Canada is the second largest producer by volume), Nickel (4th), Zinc (5th), Gold (9th), Copper (9th), Potash (1st), Diamonds (5th by volume compared to 2nd by value above), Salt (5th) and Gypsum (9th).

has employed its non-imperialist reputation to become 'Africa's mining superpower' for investments in the mining sector which reached \$21 billion in 2010.[196]

Geographic power is truly a highlight in Canada's overall national power. As the second largest country in the world with the biggest maritime region, Canada's geographic potential is massive. Although Canada's northern climate and sheer geographic scale in some ways limit its agricultural and natural resource exploitation, their combined assets exemplify Canada's tremendous geographic power but equally its extensive potential, especially as an energy super power. Canada is in many respects a geographic major power, however, it has yet to fully develop its potential particularly in natural resources including petroleum products.

Population-based Power

Despite Canada's very large geographic size, the country has a relatively small population. Indeed, as of July 2013 there were 35 158 304 people that called Canada home making it the 37th largest country in the world by population.[197] Although Canada is relatively undersized, it has great strength in the quality of its people. This is illustrated by a single powerful statistic: Canada is second in the world with per centage of population that has graduated from a university or college.[198] There are many other facets in which the Canadian population will be rated, however, education is a key indicator of a skilled labour force.

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[196] Edward Ansah Akuffo, *Canadian Foreign Policy in Africa: Regional Approaches to Peace, Security, and Development* (Farnham, England: Ashgate, 2012), 217.

[197] Government of Canada, "Statistics Canada," last accessed 26 Nov 2013, http://www.statcan .gc.ca/start-debut-eng.html. Canada's population as a per centage of the world's see Wikipedia, "List of Countries by Population," last accessed 22 Jan 2014, http://en.wikipedia .org/wiki/List_of_countries_by_population. Therefore, one half of a per cent of the world's people is Canadian.

[198] Heinbecker, *Getting Back in the Game*, 23-24. This being said, Canada graduates the second lowest number of PhD students among 16 peer countries. See Conference Board of Canada, "PhD Graduates," last accessed 16 Apr 2014, http://www.conferenceboard.ca/hcp/details/education/phd-graduates.aspx. Further, Canada has four universities in the top 100 in the world. They include the University of Toronto (28th), the University of British Columbia (40th), McGill University (58th) and McMaster University (92nd). See Academic Ranking of World Universities, "Academic Ranking of World Universities 2013," last accessed 16 Apr 2014, http://www .shanghairanking.com/ARWU2013 html.

As Canada is highly dependent on immigration for its population growth, the national attitude towards immigration to the country in particular is an important indicator of the strength of Canadian citizens. The most basic assessment sees 60 per cent of Canadians in favour of immigration.[199] Indeed Keith Banting suggests that immigrant acceptance and multiculturalism is so ingrained that particularly younger Canadians have a tendency "… unusual in comparison with the pattern in many countries, for those with the strongest sense of Canadian identity to be more, not less, sympathetic to immigrants."[200] Further, in 2006 some 75 per cent of Canadians believed that immigration was an overall positive influence on the country against only 20 per cent that felt the opposite.[201] Holistically, many Canadians believe other cultures have a lot to teach them, are enriching, and make Canada better and more interesting over time.[202]

In turn, new immigrants feel welcomed in Canada and value its freedom, democracy, multiculturalism and peaceful nature.[203] Indeed multiculturalism in particular, as will be expanded upon subsequently in this paper, "… provides a link by which immigrants come to identify with, and feel pride in, Canada."[204] This is critically important, as immigration has accounted for between 64 and 69 per cent of Canadian population growth since 2001. Indeed

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[199] Darrell Bricker and John Ibbitson, *The Big Shift: The Seismic Change in Canadian Politics, Business and Culture and What It Means for Our Future* (Toronto: HarperCollins, 2013), 121.

[200] Richard Johnston, Keith Banting, Will Kymlicka, and Stuart Soroka, "National identity and support for the welfare state," *Canadian Journal of Political Science*, Vol. 43, No. 2 (2010): 349-377 quoted in Keith Banting, "Transatlantic convergence? The archaeology of immigrant integration in Canada and Europe," *International Journal*, Vol. 69, No.1 (March 2014): 73.

[201] Michael Adams and Amy Langstaff, *Unlikely Utopia: The Surprising Triumph of Canadian Pluralism* (Toronto: Viking Canada, 2007), 13-15. Adams and Langstaff label this a net positive attitude of 55 per cent which is 40 per cent higher than the next country.

[202] *Ibid.*, 38.

[203] *Ibid.*, 95-96. Indeed, when Canadian Muslims are asked what they least like about Canada the top response is the weather. Further, the Migration Integration Policy Index (MIPEX) III judged Canada's integration of immigrants as third best in the world behind Sweden and Portugal. The index's factors included labour market mobility (5th), family reunion (2nd), education (2nd), political participation (18th), long term residence (13th), access to nationality (3rd) and anti-discrimination (1st). See Maytree, "Migration Integration Policy Index (MIPEX) III," last accessed 16 Apr 2014, http://apps.maytree.com/files/MIPEX%20III_Abridged_Canada-en.pdf.

[204] Keith Banting and Will Kymlicka, "Canadian Multiculturalism: Global Anxieties and Local Debates," *British Journal of Canadian Studies*, Vol. 23, No.1 (Jan 2010): 43-72.

without immigration-based population growth Canada population size will end its increase and ultimately decline.[205] These intangible attitudes are critical as foreign skilled workers are not competing for a job in Canada but rather Canada is contending for these people with other developed countries.[206]

Further, as of 2006 approximately 2.8 million Canadians, or eight per cent of the population, live outside of Canada.[207] Of this Canadian diaspora, approximately 57 per cent live in the United States, Greater China, the United Kingdom or Australia.[208] This is not an insignificant factor as, "… Canadians living abroad are significant global asset and are an important part of the Canadian landscape."[209] Meanwhile, personal remittances by immigrants to Canada are important for Canada's influence in the world. These remittances dwarf Canada's foreign aid budget and demonstrate the economic power of new Canadians.[210] Equally with a considerable amount of Canada's population foreign-born or with strong attachments to their

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[205] Frank Trovato, *Canada's Population in a Global Context: An Introduction to Social Demography* (Don Mills, ON: Oxford University Press, 2009), 530-531. Indeed, without immigration Travato's population model sees Canada's population peaking at 33.1 million and beginning to decline. This is based on the 2009 annual immigration of approximately 250 000 people.

[206]   Bricker and Ibbitson, 144.

[207] Asia Pacific Foundation of Canada, "Canadians Abroad: Canada's Global Asset," last accessed 25 Nov 2013, http://www.asiapacific.ca/research-report/canadians-abroad-canadas-global-asset-capstone-report. Equally see Don DeVoretz, "Canada's Secret Province: 2.8 Million Canadians Abroad," *Canadians Abroad Project Paper Series*, Vol. 9, No. 5 (October 2009): 1.

[208] *Ibid.,* 2. Indeed, with only four Canadian provinces having a greater population than Canadians abroad, DeVoretz labels this group as the "secret" or "missing" province. Over one million Canadians live in the United States in particular.

[209] Asia Pacific Foundation of Canada, "Canadians Abroad: Canada's Global Asset."

[210] Luin Goldring, Susan J. Henders and Peter Vandergeest, "The Politics of Transnational Ties: Implications for Policy, Research, and Communities," YCAR-CERLAC Workshop Report (Toronto: York University, 2003) quoted in Natalie Brender, "Toward Diaspora Engagement in Foreign Policymaking: An Overview of Current Thought and Practice," in *Tapping Our Potential: Diaspora Communities and Canadian Foreign* (Ottawa: The Mosaic Institute/The Walter and Duncan Gordon Foundation, 2011). http://gordonfoundation.ca/publication/433. In 2008, remittances sent to other countries from Canada were estimated to value between $5-15 billion annually; by comparison Canada's foreign development assistance (FDA) was $3.6 billion. The Canadian International Development Platform states the value of remittances from Canada in 2010-11 was $14.7 billion with the top outflows going to China ($4 billion) and India ($3 billion). Equally, however, the value of remittances was greater than FDA to some of Canada's largest recipients including Pakistan, Bangladesh, Colombia, Peru, Kenya, Nigeria and Vietnam. See Canadian International Development Platform, "Aid vs. Remittances from Canada to Select Countries," last accessed 16 Apr 2014, http://cidpnsi.ca/blog/portfolio/aid-and-remittances-from-canada/.

country of origin, "the Canadian diaspora holds enormous soft power that could be exercised to the government's advantage through the social and professional networks we establish."[211]

An additional aspect of Canadian population power is found in Canada's heavy urbanization. Urban centres are important as approximately one third of Canadians live in Vancouver, Toronto or Montreal.[212] Further, 80 per cent of the Canadian population lives on just two per cent of the land reflecting substantial urbanization outside of Canada's primary cities. With urban centres representing focal points of human creativity, Canada's heavy urbanization form significant economic engines and hubs of invention for their state.[213] This is reflected in Richard Florida's Creative Index that measures Technology, Talent and Tolerance within cities.[214] In this index a number of Canadian cities rate very highly including Ottawa, Toronto, and Vancouver.[215] Further, this index suggests that Canada possesses numerous urban areas where its population concentrates to form vibrant, prosperous and strong economically performing communities. Further, Canada is seen to possess relative income equality when evaluated globally although it is in the lower half of the 17 richest countries in the world.[216]

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[211] David Hornsby, "Turning Perception into Reality: Canada in Africa,". The top countries of origin for foreign-born Canadians is, in descending order, China, India, the United Kingdom, the Philippines, the United States, Italy, Vietnam, Pakistan, Germany and Poland. See The OpenCanada.org, "Foreign Lands," last modified 25 Feb 2014, http://opencanada.org/ category/features/the-think-tank/graphic/. Michael Bell, however, possesses a dissenting view stating certain diaspora in Canada negatively affect foreign policy. Conversation with Michael Bell, former Canadian Ambassador to Jordan, Egypt and Israel, 28 Feb 2014.

[212] Adams, *Fire and Ice…,* 117-118.

[213] The Huffington Post, "Canada's Most Creative Cities," last accessed 25 Nov 2013, http://www.huffingtonpost.ca /richard-florida/canadas-most-creative-cit_b_1608460 html.

[214] Further factors of the Creative Index include the Creative Class, High Tech, Innovation and Diversity. See Richard Florida, *The Rise of the Creative Class … and How It's Transforming Work, Leisure, Community, and Everyday Live* (New York: Perseus Books, 2002), 244-247.

[215] Martin Prosperity Insights, "Leaders and Laggards of Ontario: How Our Metro Regions Stack Up," last accessed 25 Nov 2013, http://martinprosperity.org/images/stories/jmc/cache /mpi-leaders-and-laggards-of-ontario-how-our-metro-regions-stack-up.pdf.

[216] Indeed, Canada scored 12 of 17 peer countries on income equality or the GINI Coefficient. See Conference Board of Canada, "Income Equality," last accessed 16 Apr 2014, http://www.conferenceboard.ca/hcp/details/ society/income-inequality.aspx. The Gini index measures the extent to which the distribution of income or consumption expenditure among individuals or households within an economy deviates from a perfectly equal distribution. Thus a Gini index of 0 represents perfect equality, while an index of 100 implies perfect inequality.

Canada's population story, however, is not a universally positive one. The Canadian people, like the citizens of many Western countries, are aging. The median age of Canadian citizens in 2006 was 39.5 and it is expected to climb to 46.9 by 2056.[217] This will not change without a large increase in immigration.[218] Additionally, despite Canada's extremely educated and capable population, numerous authors identify the relatively small numbers compared to Canada's geographic vastness as a critical shortcoming. Indeed, as related by Doug Saunders,

> Today we need to recognize the fact that … Canada remains a victim of underpopulation. We do not have enough people, given our dispersed geography, to form the cultural, educational and political institutions, the consumer markets, the technological, administrative and political talent pool, the infrastructure-building tax base, the creative and artistic mass necessary to have a leading role in the world.[219]

Saunders expands on this population shortfall by explaining Canada's capaciousness compared to other countries. Indeed, if the 100 kilometres along the Canada-United States border had the same population density as the Netherlands, Canada would contain approximately 400 million people.[220] Therefore although the Canadian people are well-educated and critically have a positive attitude towards population growth via immigration and possesses relative income equality, the small size of the country's population impacts upon overall growth and national vitality.

See The World Bank, "GINI Index," last accessed 16 Apr 2014, http://data.worldbank.org/indicator/SI.POV.GINI /countries?display=map.

[217] For 2006 median age see Trovato, 73. For median age in Canada's population in 2056 see Statistics Canada, "Some facts about the demographic and ethnocultural composition of the population," last accessed 22 Apr 2014, http://www.statcan.gc.ca/pub/91-003-x/2007001/4129904-eng htm. In 2056 Canada's population will be approximately 43 million.

[218] Trovato, 551 and 553. Trovato explains even an immigration increase from 250 000 to 450 000 would not significantly change Canada's population aging trend. For further depth on Canada's demographic trends see Canada, Office of the Parliamentary Budget Officer, *Fiscal Sustainability Report 2011* (Ottawa: Canada Communications Group, 2011).

[219] Saunders, "What would a Canada of 100 million feel like?..." This concept is equally advocated by Irvin Studin. See Studin, "When Canada Becomes the West's 2nd State," and Irvin Studin, GlobalBrief World Affairs in the 21st Century, "Canada – Population 100 Million," last accessed 10 Dec 2013, http://globalbrief.ca/blog/2010/06/14/ canada-%E2%80%93-population-100-million/.

[220] Doug Saunders, "Why Canada Needs 100 Million People," last accessed 10 Dec 2013, http://dougsaunders. tumblr.com/post/23279673258/why-canada-needs-100-million-people.

Information Power

Canada does not possess robust tools of information power compared to some countries. Nevertheless, there exist a number of Canadian communications institutions which transmit information as well as Canada's national culture and distinct identity. These entities include the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (CBC), Radio Canada International (RCI), the Canada Council for the Arts, the National Film Board, as well as other cultural, and science and technology agencies.[221] Further, the Canadian Radio-Television and Telecommunications Commission (CRTC) regulates and supervises broadcasting and telecommunications in Canada and has influence on Canadian cultural content.[222] These institutions have a key role in communicating Canadian culture, information and brands internationally and thus, although tools of hard power, have an impact on Canada's soft power.

Of the various instruments of communications power, Canada's international broadcasting arm–RCI–is traditionally the most well-known distributer of Canadian information and culture. However, with a weekly audience of only six million listeners in nine different languages, its presence is relatively minimal.[223] By contrast, Canada contributes funding and programing to the international French television broadcaster TV5 with an audience of 65 million people across five continents.[224] Finally, Canada's DFATD has been somewhat of a

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[221] Potter, *Branding Canada*, xii. The CBC's budget is just under one billion dollars to provide radio, television and Internet services. Carys Mills, James Adams and Kate Taylor, The Globe and Mail, "CBC sees government funding slashed by $115 million," last modified 30 Mar 2012, http://www.theglobeandmail.com/news/politics/budget/cbc-sees-government-funding-slashed-by-115-million/article4096. The National Film Board has produced over 13 000 documentaries, won 12 Academy Awards and 5000 other awards. See Wikipedia, "National Film Board of Canada," last accessed 16 Apr 2014, http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/National_Film_Board_of_Canada.
[222] CRTC, "Frequently Asked Questions," last accessed 19 Mar 2014, http://www.crtc.gc.ca/eng/faqs.htm.
[223] Potter, *Branding Canada*, 161. Languages include English, French, Russian, Ukrainian, Spanish, Arabic, Mandarin, Cantonese and Portuguese.
[224] *Ibid.*, 163. This station is financed by the lead members of la *Francophonie* (Canada, Québec, France, *La Communauté francaise de Belgique et Suisse*) although Canada and Québec make the second highest contribution and has 15% Canadian content in Europe, 13% in Asia, 12% in Africa and 28% in the United States and Latin America.

pioneer on information technology and management, and Internet use for strategic communication.[225]

Although nowhere near the omnipotent distributer of culture and content as the United States, these national communications tools result in Canada being a small but not insignificant world player in broadcasting and the spreading of national brands. This is exemplified by Canada being the world's second largest exporter of children's programming through co-production agreements.[226] Additionally, Canadian film festivals are world recognized for their significance. This is particular true of the Toronto International Film Festival which in 2013 attracted some 4743 film industry delegates from 2588 companies representing 80 countries.[227] Indeed, the late film critic Roger Ebert commented that "although Cannes is still larger, Toronto is more useful and more important."[228] Finally, the CRTC is a world model for cultural sovereignty as "Many public broadcasters around the world look to Canada's own television regulatory standards and experience as an inspiration for their own efforts to ensure cultural diversity in response to the volume of American programming."[229]

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[225] *Ibid.,* 165-167. Indeed, Potter suggests the initiatives of using the Internet to form a national citizen dialogue on foreign policy (*A Dialogue on Foreign Policy*) and creating the International Policy eDiscussion as a transparent and accountable method to engage the pubic in foreign policy debate were pioneering.

[226] *Ibid.*, 120. The distribution of Canadian cultural content and values is further displayed in the distribution of *Little Mosque on the Prairie* which was syndicated to numerous countries including France, Switzerland, Israel, Gaza, West Bank, Finland, the UAE, Turkey and the US. See Wikipedia, "Little Mosque on the Prairie," last accessed 16 Apr 2014, http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Little_Mosque_on_the_Prairie. The program further won awards in eight different countries. See Westwind Pictures, "Little Mosque," last accessed 16 Apr 2014, http://www.westwindpictures.com/site/our-work/scripted/little-mosque-on-the-prarie/.

[227] TIFF, "Stellar U.S. and International Sales Continue to Thrive at 2013 Toronto International Film Festival," last modified 15 Sep 2013, http://s3.amazonaws.com/tiff-prod/press_releases/242/FESTIVAL%20SALES%202013_original.pdf?1379266885. This resulted in the sale of 32 films including 21 to major U.S. film distributors and eight to Canadian as well as representation from India, China, Japan and South Korea. TIFF generates an annual economic impact of $189 million. Further see Lynn Fenske, AXS Entertainment Movies, "TIFF'13: Industry attendance and film sales measure festival's success," last accessed 16 Apr 2014, http://www.examiner.com/article/tiff-13-industry-attendance-and-film-sales-measure-festival-s-success.

[228] Ebert, "Why is Festival So Big," quoted in Potter, *Branding Canada*, 120. There are other important Canadian film festivals including the Vancouver International Film Festival (140 000 attendees and 386 films viewed in 2012 and among the five largest film festivals in North America). See VIFF, "About," last accessed 16 Apr 2014, http://www.viff.org/_about.

[229] Potter, *Branding Canada*, 120.

These isolated although important accomplishments are representative of Canada's relatively modest budget to broadcast Canadian interests and culture. [230] Indeed, as suggested by Potter, "For Canada, it appears that its international broadcasting services are presently too small to have a global presence – or perhaps even a niche presence – thought the service and programs themselves have a high degree of credibility."[231] Although this tool of national power could be employed to target emerging regional powers with Canadian cultural content and messaging, its contemporary use has been criticized for its economic focus. This is reflected by Pierre Pahlavi who states, "In recent years, the approach adopted by Canadian mass diplomats consisted of a niche strategy that prioritizes the "economic pillars" of comparative advantage, efficiency, and maximum impact in the national interest rather than broader popular targets."[232] Therefore information as a tool of Canadian national power and a contributor to Canada's brand and soft power is quite limited.

Canada's Soft Power

Canada possesses extensive soft power based on its international reputation, credibility and its national success manifested by its hard power. This finding is reinforced by multiple international studies and surveys which list Canada as among the most reputable, credible and successful countries in the world. In particular, the 2007 GlobeScan survey conducted in 27

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[230] *Ibid.*, 160. Radio Canada International and TV5's collective budget was $21 million in 2004-5 compared to the United States' in excess of $600 million (Canadian dollars or CAD), the United Kingdom's $500 million CAD for BBC World Service, $400 million CAD for Germany's Deutsche Welle, over $200 million CAD for Radio France International exclusively and similarly hundreds of millions for Japan. However, Potter recognizes numerous other departments and agencies of the Canadian government communicate internationally. See *Ibid.*, 17 and Evan H. Potter, "Canada and the new public diplomacy," *International Journal*, Vol. 58, No. 2 (Spring 2003): 52. Indeed, Potter suggests "… that Canada's international broadcasting has been largely neglected and underfunded for decades …"

[231] Potter, *Branding Canada*, 169.

[232] Heather Smith, "Niche Diplomacy in Canadian Human Rights Policy: Ethics or Economics?" in *Ethics and Security in Canadian Foreign Policy*, ed. Rosalind Irwin (Vancouver: UBC, 2002) quoted in Pierre Cyril Cyrus Teymour Pahlavi, "Mass Diplomacy: Foreign Policy in the Global Information Age" (doctoral Thesis, McGill University, 2004), 159.

countries found that overall Canada was the most highly regarded state in the world.[233]

Similarly, the Anholt-Gfk Nation Brank Index 2013 rated Canada as the second most attractive

country for immigration and investment and the fifth country in overall ranking.[234] Equally, the

Reputation Institute rated Canada as having the world's best reputation in 2013 based on the

trust, esteem, admiration and respect shown for the country.[235] Somewhat less favourably

Monacle placed Canada ninth in the world for soft power.[236] In a similar fashion the United

Nations Development Programme 2013 Human Development Index ranks Canada 11th

globally.[237] Finally, FutureBrand's 2011-2012 Country Brand Index named Canada's brand

number one in the world stating "Canada has a stable political system, economy and market; an

open and tolerant society; and policies that encourage immigration."[238] In summary, numerous

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[233] GlobeScan, "Israel and Iran Share Most Negative Ratings in Global Poll," last accessed 06 Mar 2007 quoted in Adams and Langstaff, 3.

[234] Gfk, "Nation Brand Index 2013: Latest Findings," last assessed 13 Jan 2014, http://www. gfk.com/news-and-events/press-room/press-releases/pages/nation-brand-index-2013-latest-findings.aspx. Gfk bases the Immigration and Investment ranking on: "The power to attract people to live, work or study in each country and how people perceive a country's quality of life and business environment. Gfk conducted 20 445 interviews in 20 developed and developing states to measure 50 country brands. Canada in overall brand rankings finished behind the United States, Germany, the United Kingdom and France.

[235] Reputation Institute, "Canada has the world's best reputation according to reputation institute's 2013 country Reptrak™ study," last accessed 13 Jan 2014, http://www reputationinstitute.com/frames/events/2013_Country_RepTrak_Press_Release_Final.pdf. This survey ranked 50 countries based on 16 attributes (government, economy, the environment, food, sports, entertainment, high-quality products and services, branded products, natural beauty, attractive lifestyle, safety and business environment among others) and broadly based it on four questions: whether they have a "good feeling" about the country, whether they "admire" the country, whether they "trust" the country and whether they "respect" the country. Canada's strength was based on effective government, advanced economy and appealing environment. Canada finished ahead of Sweden, Switzerland, Australia, Norway and Denmark. The Reputation Institute is critiqued for limiting its respondents to the mostly Western countries of the G8. See John Thomas Didymus, Digital Journal, "The Reputation Institute: Canada World's Most Reputable Country," last modified 29 Jun 2013, http://digitaljournal.com/article /353373.

[236] Monocle, "Soft Power Survey – 2013," last accessed 19 Mar 2014, http://monocle.com/film /affairs/soft-power-survey-2013. Non-quantified factors in this ranking included culture, sport, cuisine, design and diplomacy. Canada is noted for its transportation product's presence, and actors and singers in Hollywood although a certain lack of soft power confidence. Of the top 30 states rated the top ten were (from ten to one): Italy, Canada, Switzerland, Australia, Sweden, Japan, France, the United States, the United Kingdom and Germany.

[237] This index is based on Health, Education, Income, Inequality, Poverty, Gender, Sustainability, Demography, non-income composite indices, Innovation and Technology, Trade, Economy and Income. The states above Canada are listed as Norway, Australia, the USA, the Netherland, Germany, New Zealand, Sweden (7), Ireland (7), Switzerland and Japan. See United Nations Development Programme, "International Human Development Indicators," last accessed 18 Apr 2014, http://hdr.undp.org/en/countries.

[238] FutureBrand, "Country Brand Index 2011-12," last accessed 14 Jan 2013, http://www.futurebrand. com/images /uploads/studies/cbi/2011-2012_FutureBrand_CBI_ENG.pdf. This brand is based on awareness, familiarity,

states and citizens throughout the world globally judged Canada as a good place to live giving

the country a huge advantage in the competitive world market.[239]

Canada's soft power is the aggregate of its international influence based on its

aforementioned reputation, national credibility and its collective actions. Soft power is built on

Canada's foreign brands–the manner or characterizations around which Canada is imagined

internationally.[240] Despite Canada's obvious success in creating soft power and its efforts at

shaping its own identity internationally, the brands Canada possesses are granted to it by other

countries and international actors–not by Canada itself.[241]   Therefore, the Canadian foreign

brands named below reflect how the world perceives and identifies it. Further, these brands take

decades to form and equally years to change reflecting Heinbecker's sentiment that, "National

reputations are created cumulatively over time."[242] This generates the potential for 'brand

inertia' where a state's international image potentially lags behind its current actions.

Although, as quoted at the beginning of this paper, David Haglund asserts that a

country's identity may not truly be ascertained, by reviewing relevant literature and through

conversations with Canadian academics, diplomats and former politicians, definite Canadian soft

power brands are evident and may be examined. Based on this analysis, Canada possesses four

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associations, preference, consideration, decision/visitation, and advocacy. FutureBrand's methodology includes collecting information from 3500 frequent business and leisure travelers, and opinion-formers in 14 countries; interviews with experts in tourism, export, investment and public policy in 16 international cities; and on-line data sourcing. This survey arguably has a tourism bias.

[239] Bricker and Ibbitson, 121.

[240] FutureBrand suggests more exactly that a "Brand is an asset that represents the sum total of the associations that influence preference … Brands are, in a word, a collection of perceptions." See FutureBrand, "Country Brand Index 2011-12,". Terry O'Reilly and Mike Tennant label a brand somewhat more simply "… the emotional impression or idea that surrounds something …" or very concisely: "recognition shorthand". See Terry O'Reilly and Mike Tennant, *The Age of Persuasion: How Marketing Ate Our Culture* (Toronto: Vintage Canada, 2009), 50.

[241] Heinbecker is a dissenting view citing post-World War Two Sweden as a country that successfully rebranded itself. However, he believes Canada is too complex with such varying characteristics as bilingualism, petroleum resources, high technology industry and liberal immigration policies to control its own brand. Conversation with Heinbecker, 14 Feb 2014. Branding and advertising experts would agree with this phenomena; O'Reilly and Tennant state in their discussion of brands: "It doesn't matter whether or not these images are real because brands aren't about what you know; they're about what you feel." O'Reilly and Tennant, 187.

[242] Heinbecker, *Getting Back in the Game*, 32.

foreign brands. First, Canada is viewed as multicultural state demonstrating strong openness,

fairness, diversity and cultural accommodation. Second, Canada is a "helpful fixer" that has

employed peacekeeping, compromise and rules-based conduct to assist the international system.

Canada's third foreign brand labels the country as a northern land that is a strong steward of its

natural wilderness and environment. Finally, Canada is identified by certain aspects of Canadian

national culture including politeness, self-deprecation, the Maple Leaf, ice hockey and other,

more tangible, elements. Particularly this last factor is strongly advocated by John Ralston Saul

who explains,

> Canada's profile abroad is, for the most part, its culture. That is our image. That
> is what Canada becomes in people's imaginations around the world. When the
> time comes for non-Canadians to buy, to negotiate, to travel, Canada's chance or
> the attitude towards Canada will already have been determined to a surprising
> extent by the projection of our culture abroad.[243]

Each of these aspects of Canada's overall national brand will be explained and reviewed in turn

with a view to qualifying Canada's influence based on its soft power.

Multiculturalism

Canada is a country of diversity, a land of immigrants. With the founding nations

including aboriginals, the French, and the English, even before it was a country Canada

understood welcoming foreign peoples to its shores and diversity.[244] It is perhaps in the origins

of the state and the bringing together of disparate national groups that the culture of

accommodation and compromise was first realized.[245] Particularly in the post-World War Two

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[243] Saul, *John W. Holmes memorial lecture*, 19.

[244] Clark suggests Canada's law, language, land, and culture created the tradition of diversity. However, he equally recognizes there have been failures in this culture including the Chinese head tax, and the turning away of Jewish refugees and the internment of Japanese Canadians before the Second World War. See Clark, 134-135.

[245] Henein and Morissette, 223. Henein and Morissette suggest this culture originates from Canada's space, history, immigration, legislation, and political leadership. However, some suggest that it was only with the creation of the territory of Nunavut, which has Inuktitut as its official language, did Canada truly recognize its third founding nation, the aboriginal peoples. See Tunngavik, "Tukisittiarniqsaujumaviit? A Plain Language Guide to the Nunavut

period, Canada truly embraced policies allowing extensive immigration and multiculturalism. This second factor in particular–multiculturalism–saw the realization of this accommodation as newcomers were welcomed to their new country and yet allowed to continue to practice their language, culture, and customs.

Yet this cultural accommodation of the diverse peoples in Canada is far more complex than acceptance and embracing of newcomers to the country. Although the founding nations of Canada sought and received a degree of collective political, cultural, and linguistic sovereignty, new Canadians were allowed to maintain their native cultures, customs and languages while concurrently expected to respect the larger Canadian culture. This federal policy of multiculturalism proved a highly successful model for social integration,

> While the Canadian approach includes elements of autonomy and self-government for national minorities, it has not done so for immigrants. The Canadian regime has sought to recognize and support diversity, but has also promoted the engagement of newcomers in the economic, social, and political mainstream.[246]

This sense of acceptance and accommodation was also demonstrated in Canada's history and relationship with its indigenous peoples. Although the history of aboriginal peoples in Canada is not one uniquely of honour and veneration, Canada has been more successful than many states in respecting its indigenous population. Indeed, Canada's aspirations to culturally cooperate with the first inhabitants of the country are a recognized element of Canada's culture of multiculturalism and acceptance.[247] This is reflected in the observation by John Ralston Saul that, "Treaty promises were part of the foundation of Canada, and keeping those promises is a

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Land Claims Agreement," last accessed 05 May 2013, http://www.tunngavik.com/documents/publications/2004-00-00-A-Plain-Language-Guide-to-the-Nunavut-Land-Claims-Agreement-English.pdf.

[246] Banting, "Transatlantic convergence?", 70.

[247] The rights of Canadian aboriginal peoples are codified in the Canadian Constitution, Section 35. See Canada. Department of Justice, *The Constitution Acts 1867 to 1982* (Ottawa: Public Works and Government Services Canada, 2012), Part I Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms, 63.

challenge to the honour and legitimacy of Canada."[248] Even where Canada has failed its

aboriginal peoples, significant efforts have been made in terms of negotiating self-government

and redressing past injustices. The Nisga'a Treaty, the Truth and Reconciliation Commission

and the establishment of Nunavut are examples of these efforts.[249]

This policy of multiculturalism and the welcoming, openness to and embracing of diverse

peoples and their cultures is enabled by the Canadian culture itself. This Canadian spirit of

accommodation combines with an approach that does not exclude new immigrants and enables

them to embrace what it means to be Canadian.[250] To Ralston Saul, this may be attributed to

Canada being a post-modern nation that possesses a non-monolithic culture.[251] As a public

intellectual and keen observer of Canada's history of accommodation, he identifies that, "In the

practical terms of everyday life, culture is not about agreement, but about questioning. In other

words, culture is not about solidarity, but about discussion and disagreements."[252]

This federal policy of multiculturalism, based on cultural compromise, has resulted in the

acceptance and indeed embracing of newcomers to Canada.[253] In this manner cultural diversity

has become a source of pride and national identity within the country. According to Michael

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[248] John Ralston Saul, *A Fair Country: Telling Truths About Canada* (Toronto: Viking Canada, 2008), 25.
[249] For Nisga'a Treaty see Aboriginal Affairs and Northern Development Canada, "Fact Sheet: The Nisga'a Treaty," last accessed 05 May 2014, http://www.aadnc-aandc.gc.ca/eng/1100100016428/1100100016429. For the Truth and Reconciliation Commission see Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, "Home," last accessed 05 May 2014, http://www.trc.ca/websites/trcinstitution/index.php?p=3. For Nunavut see Tunngavik, "Tukisittiarniqsaujumaviit?..."
[250] Adams and Langstaff, 35. Banting reflects this in stating rather simply "there are fewer cultural barriers to a sense of belonging." Banting, "Transatlantic convergence?", 78.
[251] Saul, *John W. Holmes memorial lecture*, 34. Peter Newman seemingly reflects this sense of neutral Canadian culture in his discussion of Canadian post-nationalism. See Peter C. Newman, *The Canadian Revolution: From Deference to Defiance* (Toronto: Penguin, 1995), 112-113.
[252] John Ralston Saul, *Reflections of a Siamese Twin: Canada at the End of the Twentieth Century* (Toronto: Penguin Books, 1997), 299. Adams and Langstaff expand upon Saul's observations suggesting Canadian multiculturalism is not the actualization of Canadian's tolerance, rather it is an aspiration. See Adams and Langstaff, 41.
[253] Lynch summarizes this succinctly in suggesting immigrants to Canada are part of society not in the society. Conversation with Kevin Lynch, 07 Mar 2014. Similarly, English suggests Canada and its immigration policy is 'colour blind'. Conversation with John English, academic and former Member of Parliament, 24 Feb 2014.

Adams, "In Canada, we pride ourselves on our mindfulness of the diversity in our society and on

our efforts to create a level playing field for all citizens, regardless of ethnicity or cultural

heritage."[254] Further, rather than immigrants being identified for their dissimilarities and

pressured to fit-in, they are embraced for their diversity and what it brings to the state. As

observed by Nancy Karetak-Lindell, a Member of Parliament from Nunavut, "When people

immigrate to Canada, we believe that they enrich our nation. We see diversity as a positive force

and believe in its richness."[255] This cultural of acceptance, combined with policies that enable

new Canadians has resulted in a highly successful model where, "… immigrants to Canada

[move] quickly into the economic mainstream, with poverty rates among newcomers typically

falling below the rate for the population as a whole within a decade or so."[256]

So successful is the Canadian approach on immigration and multiculturalism that this

later policy has become ingrained in the Canadian national identity. To Will Kymlicka, a scholar

on Canadian immigration and multiculturalism, Canada's success in this field has enabled its

inculcation into the Canadian culture as he believes, "… there is strong evidence that these

policies [of multiculturalism] have indeed been more successful in Canada than most other

western democracies, and have therefore taken deeper root."[257] Indeed as Kymlicka suggests,

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[254] Michael Adams, *Better Happy Than Rich? Canadians, Money and the Meaning of Life* (Toronto: Penguin, 2000), 154-155.

[255] Henein and Morissette, 225.

[256] Banting and Kymlicka, 43-72. Beyond multiculturalism's codification in the Canadian constitution, supporting policies and legal decisions have been made to support immigrants' acceptance and protection within society. These include the Employment Equity Act, the 1977 Human Rights Act, the 1988 Multiculturalism Act and Canadian case-law (the Keegstra Case, Canada (Human Rights Commission) *v* Taylor and the Big M Drug Mart Case). However, the author argues these legal decisions in particular were not in support of multiculturalism but rather anti-discrimination. See Harald Christian Scheu, "The Legal Aspects of Multiculturalism in Canada," *Common Law Review*, Vol. 3 (2002): 32-36.

[257] Will Kymlicka, "Marketing Canadian Pluralism in the International Arena," *International Journal*, Vol. 59, No. 4 (Fall 2004): 829-852. Kymlicka suggests that multiculturalism has been inculcated into Canadian national culture due to the policy's success because of its historically established basis (accommodating Quebec and white ethnic Canadians) and thus generational acceptance, the lack of demand for illiberal practices among non-European immigrants and Canada's geography (surrounded by three oceans and the United States, Canada receives no illegal immigrants). He goes on to say by the repatriation of the Canadian constitution in 1982 "an entire generation of

"Canadians are distinctive in the way that they have incorporated Canada's policy of accommodating diversity into their sense of national identity."[258] Therefore multiculturalism, codified in Section 27 of the *Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms*, is recognized as a central element in both the Canadian national identity and indeed narratives of Canada.[259]

Clearly defining multiculturalism as a foreign brand for Canada is more challenging than identifying it as a central element of Canadian life. However, certain international surveys and my conversations with academics, diplomats and former politicians confirm that Canada is viewed internationally as an ethnically and culturally diverse country that has been particularly successful in accepting immigrants.[260] Indeed, to some foreigners Canada's multiculturalism is an important facet of the country as a role model. Robert Greenhill in his survey of Canada's international impact alludes to this in stating:

> A number of interviewees from Europe and the developing world said that Canada made a difference by providing a successful, distinct socio-economic model….Canada is also an increasingly important example of a successful multi-ethnic society…. These interviewees see Canada as making a difference by showing others what is possible.[261]

Canadians had grown up with this idea, become comfortable with it, and viewed it as an important part of the Canadian identity. Further, Sarah Wayland suggests immigration has been viewed as a demographic and economic necessity in Canada. See Sarah V. Wayland, "Immigration, Multiculturalism and National Identity in Canada," *International Journal on Group Rights*, Vol. 5 (1997): 33-58.

[258] Will Kymlicka, "Canadian Multiculturalism in Historical and Comparative Perspective: Is Canada Unique", *Constitutional Forum*, Vol. 13, No. 1 (2003): 1-8.

[259] Banting and Kymlicka, 43-72. This is found in section 27 which states that the Charter of Rights and Freedoms will be "interpreted in a manner consistent with the preservation and enhancement of the multicultural heritage of Canadians." Indeed *The Economist* examined Canadian domestic brands rating them as follows: "English-speaking Canadians see multiculturalism as central to their national identity, ranking below universal health care and the Canadian flag … but above ice hockey, the Mounties and the Queen." See The Economist, "Canadian Multiculturalism: The more the Merrier," last accessed 20 Jan 2014, http://www.economist.com/news/americas /21594328-debates-over-immigration-are-often-toxic-not-canada-more-merrier.

[260] Openness, tolerance and immigration are named as elements of Canada's soft power by FutureBrand. See FutureBrand, "Country Brand Index 2011-12,". Further, via numerous conversations, academics and diplomats concurred that multiculturalism was an internationally recognized brand of Canada.

[261] Greenhill, 8.

Further, in a characteristic critical for soft power, Canada is thus generally viewed as a good and favourable place to live.[262] Although determining multiculturalism's contribution to Canada's soft power is difficult, there are greater indications that this brand has a direct impact on Canada's hard power by making Canada attractive to new and skilled immigrants to Canada. Kymlicka alludes to this in stating, "In a globalized world where Canada is competing with many other countries for tourists, skilled immigrants, and foreign investors, the reputation for multicultural tolerance can give us a competitive advantage."[263] If not bestowing international influence based on its multicultural character, the country's multiculturalism at-least allows citizens around the world to recognize themselves in Canada. Indeed, as suggested by Daryl Copeland, Canada is the "globalization nation … if you holdup a mirror to Canada, you will see your face reflected."[264]

Helpful Fixer

A second Canadian foreign brand is its past identification as a helpful fixer.[265] This aspect of soft power is an aggregation of Canada's aforementioned need for multilateralism and its national character of altruism. Individually, Canadians view themselves as "shaped by such values as tolerance, compromise, and acceptance of ambiguity and by such political skills as

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[262] Conversation with Michael Bell, 28 Feb 2014. Bell expands on this to suggest multiculturalism assists Canada's international influence but is not a determinant.

[263] Kymlicka, "Marketing Canadian Pluralism in the International Arena," 829-852.

[264] Daryl Copeland, personal interview with Evan Potter, 03 Aug 2006, Ottawa, quoted in Potter, *Branding Canada*, 270.

[265] Admittedly, "helpful fixer" originated as a negative term from the then Minister of Justice, Pierre Elliot Trudeau. As he prepared to run for the leadership of the Liberal Party he stated "No more helpful fixers" thus criticizing Canada's misguided devotion to multilateral institutions and its reputation as an international busybody. See Robert Bothwell, *Alliance and Illusion: Canada and the World, 1945-1984* (Vancouver, UBC Press, 2007), 278.

cross-cultural communication, negotiation, and brokerage ....”[266] Collectively therefore, this

aspect of Canada's domestic identity impacts its place and perception in the world,

> To many Canadians, Canada has a moral obligation to help solve the problems of
> the world. Our culture, our character, our geographic location, our prosperity –
> all these and other factors have been thought to combine to endow us with a
> special role in helping to bring peace and sanity to the world.[267]

Although this collective identity could be dismissed as vain Canadian idealism, to foreigners

these characteristics brand Canada as a helpful fixer. National reputation is not only an

important enabler for Canadian diplomats but also for business people, academics and others

resulting in an international acknowledgement of Canada and its world role. Edward Ansah

Akuffo in particular recognizes this in discussing Africa's perception of Canada's international

character,

> Canada is perceived as committed, non-belligerent, reliable and friendly partner
> of Africa. The moral overtones of these descriptions about Canada are rooted in
> the fact that Canada has never been a colonial power in Africa, and despite the
> flaws in its aid policy, the government has been consistent in promoting value-
> orientated objectives such a as human rights, poverty reduction, and human
> security in Africa.[268]

Canada earns its altruistic label and the international brand of helpful fixer based on two

tangible activities. First, in international political, business and academic circles, Canada takes

certain constructive stands, chairs meetings, facilitates ideas and enables other countries in

international fora.[269] Generally Canada's ideas and labours are conducted via quiet, backroom

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[266] Joseph T. Jockel, *Canada and International Peacekeeping* (Washington, DC: The Centre for Strategic and International Studies, 1994), 20. English would add to this Canadians education, linguistics skills and reputation as a fair broker. Conversation with John English, 24 Feb 2014.

[267] Janice Gross Stein and Colin Robertson, ed., *Diplomacy in the Digital Age: Essays in Honour of Ambassador Allan Gotlieb* (Toronto: McClelland and Steward, 2011), 22. Indeed, 86 per cent of Canadians believe Canada has a moral obligation to be a global leader while 77 per cent of Canadians believe their country to be an "overall force for good in the world." See Bricker and Ibbitson, 125.

[268] Akuffo, 216.

[269] Malone emphasizes the importance of Canadian engagement in international fora by providing very capable chairs and national contingents. Further, he highlights Canadians particular astuteness in providing or embracing others' helpful ideas. Conversation with David Malone, 20 Feb 2014.

diplomacy, business negotiation and academic discussion and receive limited public attention.[270]

However, at times the fruits of these efforts gain collective international acknowledgement. This

is evidenced by Canadian diplomacy enabling soft power triumphs including the 1997 Anti-

Personnel Mine Ban Convention, the 1998 creation of the International Criminal Court and the

2005 United Nations adoption of Responsibility to Protect.[271] Particularly through such

diplomatic means but also via academic, scientific and business activities, Canadians build a

reservoir of credibility.

The second international outlet for Canada as the bespoke helpful fixer is realized in

Canada's role in peacekeeping. Canada's embracing of United Nations peacekeeping meshed its

role as a helpful fixer with Canadians' desire to be good international citizens.[272] With this goal,

the CAF participated in numerous peacekeeping operations throughout the Cold War:

> … the Canadian military participated in 19 multilateral peacekeeping operations
> between 1947 and 1986, Ottawa contributed soldiers and equipment at a cost of
> about $175 million annually to 18 missions in the five years from 1988 to 1993
> alone. With more than 4,000 Canadians on UN duty in 1992, the world's 100th-
> largest army provided ten percent of all peacekeepers – a commitment clearly
> exceeding that of all other UN members.[273]

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[270] English notes Canada is over-represented compared to its population at international academic conferences. Conversation with John English, 24 Feb 2014.

[271]   Bricker and Ibbitson, 198. Dewitt and Kirton further emphasize the importance of Canada's role and subsequent international credibility in advocating and securing the Responsibility to Protect that goes against UN Charter, Article 2(7) and indeed the nation-state focused Westphalian system. See Dewitt and Kirton, "Three Theoretical Perspectives," 74. Akuffo in particular suggests Canada's mid-nineties human security agenda reinforced the second element of Canada's helpful-fixer brand: peacekeeping, by stating, "The Canadian government's freedom [from] fear perspective reinforced Canada's peacekeeping reputation and moral identity in the global arena." Akuffo, 213. The Anti-Personnel Mine Ban Treaty or Ottawa Treaty is officially known as the Convention on the Prohibition of the Use, Stockpiling, Production and Transfer of Anti-Personnel Mines and on their Destruction.

[272] Jockel examines the centrality of peacekeeping to the Canadian character and states, "Why did peacekeeping become so important to Canada? It is not at all starry-eyed to conclude that Canadians and their government have been motivated in substantial part by altruism or simple international voluntarism. In other words, they often are self-prompted to go out and do good in the world." See Jockel, 13. Similarly, John English and Norman Hillmer suggest that Canada's contribution and investment in the U.N. originates in Canada being "born allied", acculturated multilaterally, and geopolitically and historically being in-between peacekeepers. John English and Norman Hillmer, ed., *Making a Difference: Canada's Foreign Policy in a Changing World Order* (Toronto: Lester Publishing Limited, 1992), 194.

[273] Karsten Jung, *Of Peace and Power: Promoting Interests through Peacekeeping* (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 2009), 69-70.

Beginning with Lester B. Pearson receiving the Nobel Peace Prize for his efforts in resolving the

Suez Crisis in 1956, Canada put extensive efforts, resources and sacrificed its citizens in the

name of peacekeeping.[274]

Indeed Canadians have so completely embraced their self-perception as a peaceful

country–a nation of peacekeepers–that it has formed a key element of Canadian national

identity.[275] With Canada's heavy involvement in this very visible military operation,

peacekeeping also formed an international Canadian brand. [276] Although the foreign perception

and soft power drawn from peacekeeping is more difficult to ascertain, literature is replete with

the Canadian national character's embracement of peacekeeping,

> Canadians are particularly proud of that peacekeeping and humanitarian tradition.
> It is not unreasonable to state that it is an integral part of our cultural identity
> which, through leading by example and in the interests of international peace and
> stability, we hope others find attractive enough to follow. Such operations are, in
> turn, a way in which Canada helps to set and sustain the agenda of institutions
> such as the United Nations.[277]

A keen observer and commentator on Canadian peacekeeping, Joseph Jockel reinforces this

stating, "Canadians are not only intensely aware and enormously proud of their unparalleled

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[274] James labels Pearson's winning of the Nobel Prize for his diplomacy during the Suez Crisis as "the signature event in constructing Canadian identity. See James, 129.

[275] English and Hillmer, 223. English and Hillmer suggest the origins of peacekeeping in Canada originate in the missionary traditions of Canadian Protestantism and Roman Catholicism which subsequently became the *sine qua non* of Canadian nationalism. They further assert that peacekeeping was embraced by as a form of anti-Americanism as it made Canadians different and better than our American neighbours. Jockel echoes this point in stating peacekeeping allowed Canadians to differentiate themselves from Americans. See Jockel, 17.

[276] Conversation with Lieutenant-General (retired) Fred Sutherland, 16 Jan 2014. Notably the myth, relevance of peacekeeping in the post-9/11 era and its importance to Canadian identity has been intensely debated by the CAF and its observers. See Lane Anker, "Peacekeeping and Public Opinion," *Canadian Military Journal.* Vol. 6, No. 2 (Summer 2005): 23-25; A. Walter Dorn, "Peacekeeping Then, Now and Always," *Canadian Military Journal,* Vol. 6, No. 4 (Winter 2005-2006): 105-106; Eric Wagner, "The Peaceable Kingdom? The National Myth of Canadian Peacekeeping and the Cold War," *Canadian Military Journal,* Vol. 6, No. 4 (Winter 2006-2007): 45-54 and Sean Maloney, "Why Keep the Myth Alive?," *Canadian Military Journal,* Vol. 8, No. 1 (Spring 2007): 100-102.

[277] Brooke A. Smith-Windsor, "Hard Power, Soft Power Reconsidered," *Canadian Military Journal* (Autumn 2000): 53.

record in peacekeeping, but have come to see it as an important element contributing to their national identity."[278]

Although Canadian national identity and Canada's foreign brand are attached to peacekeeping, there are significant shortfalls between Canada's contemporary participation in these United Nations operations and the lingering Canadian and international traditions. While numerous authors and diplomats have recognized this dichotomy, it is perhaps a foreign observer, Joseph Nunez, who most directly challenges this international brand: "Canadians see themselves as global peacekeepers, and this is reinforced in the Canadian press, vividly displayed on their currency, and echoed in conversations on the street. But the reality is different from the perception."[279] This sentiment is mirrored by Heinbecker in observing, "Our self-image as a UN peacekeeping nation is a couple of generations out of date; the peacekeeping monument we build in Ottawa is a tribute to a receding past."[280]

In Western countries in particular, the importance of the soft power–peacekeeping–brand has been replaced by a renewed emphasis on hard power. To some, this new mindset is a direct consequence of the deployments of the 1990s and the strategic sea-change brought about by the terrorist attacks against the United States on 11 September 2001. Therefore countries such as Canada increasingly abandoned peacekeeping in the post-9/11 Era. Nunez again reflects on the dissonance of emphasizing soft power in an era requiring predominantly hard power,

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[278] Jockel, 18. Jockel suggests peacekeeping has achieved myth-like qualities in Canada although admits Canada's influence based on its peacekeeping activities is difficult to measure and varies based on domestic or international viewpoints.

[279] Joseph R. Nunez, "Canada's Global Role: A Strategic Assessment of Its Military Power," *Parameters*, Vol. 34, No. 3 (Autumn 2004): 76.

[280] Heinbecker, *Getting Back in the Game*, 18. This is further reinforced by the small number of Canadian military personnel deployed on contemporary United Nations operations. See the difference between the historic and current Canadian United Nations operational involvement United Nations, "Contributors to United Nations peacekeeping operations," and Permanent Mission of Canada to the United Nations, "Peacekeeping and Peacebuilding Operations,"

> Even before 2001, Canada was out of synch in its global vision. Ottawa's peacekeeping orientation was no match for failed states and terrorism. While soft power may be an effective foreign policy approach in this millennium, it is largely ineffective without hard power to back it up.[281]

This de-emphasis of peacekeeping in Canada has been most vividly demonstrated in Canada's more than decade-long campaign in Afghanistan. Although this primarily military campaign would seemingly nullify particularly the peacekeeping aspect of Canada's helpful fixer brand, this is not actually true.[282] There remains a disconnect between popular perceptions of Canada's peacekeeping activities and its actual military operations.

Steward of a Northern Environmental Wilderness

Canada has traditionally been viewed as a leader and protector of the environment. As the globe's second largest country and the home to a huge, untouched natural and Arctic wilderness, the world branded Canada as a model of environmental stewardship. Former Prime Minister Joe Clark advocates this view in stating, "In the 1980s and 1990s, Canada was regarded as a leader on international environmental issues."[283] Bakvis *et al* equally recognize the centrality of Canada's ownership and protection of a vast environmentally important temperate and Arctic habitat as central to Canada's national identity and brand: "At home and abroad, the image of Canadians as stewards of a vast, untouched northern wilderness has been central to the national identity."[284] Thus such activities as the 1970 *Arctic Waters Pollution Prevention Act* and Canada's role in stopping the depletion of the ozone layer via the 1987 signing of the Montreal Protocol enhanced the country's image as it practiced its so-called middle-power

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[281] Nunez, 89-90.
[282] Conversation with Dan Livermore, former ambassador to Guatemala and El Salvador, 15 Jan 2014. Indeed for countries with which Canada conducts regular military operations, Canada's credibility rose due to its campaign in Afghanistan. Conversation with Elinor Sloan, Professor Carleton University, 24 Feb 2014.
[283] Clark, 28.
[284] Bakvis, Baier and Brown, 205.

activism.[285] Finally, Canada's role in the formation and governance of the Arctic Council and

the Arctic University exemplify and reinforce this northern, environmentally conscious brand.[286]

This sense of national identity that also resonates internationally has corroded more

recently due to both Canada's rhetoric and actions. Foremost, Canada's withdrawal from the

Kyoto Protocol on climate change represents a significant stain on the country's environmental

brand. Further, however, Canada became the only member of the United Nations to withdrawal

from the international agreement to fight drought.[287] Additional blemishes on Canada's

international environmental reputation include past practices such as clear-cut logging and the

annual seal hunt.[288] Indeed, the damage to Canada's international environmental image is

perhaps exemplified by what one commentator described as Canadians' "spectacularly – almost

proudly – cavalier" attitude towards global warming.[289]

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[285] David Bosold, "Canada as a Middle, Model, or Civilian Power: What's in a Name?," in *Canada's Foreign and Security Policy: Soft and Hard Strategies of a Middle Power*, ed. Nik Hynek and David Bosold, 35-55 (Don Mills: Oxford University Press, 2010). For the Canadian Arctic Waters Pollution Prevention Act, which asserted regulatory control for 100 miles around Arctic Islands see Parliament of Canada, "Canadian Arctic Sovereignty," last accessed 18 Apr 2014, http://www.parl.gc.ca/Content/LOP/researchpublications/prb0561-e htm. Further examples of Canada being a champion of the environment include the Federal Government challenging Crown Zellerback at the Supreme Court of Canada based on the Peace, Order and Good Government (Section 91) of the Canadian Constitution. This court case established the constitutional basis for environmental protection within Canada. See F.L. Morton, "The Constitutional Division of Powers with Respect to the Environment in Canada," in *Federalism and the Environment: Environmental Policymaking in Australia, Canada, and the United States*, ed. Kenneth M. Holland, Frederick Lee Morton, Brian Galligan, 37-54 (Westport, CT: Greenwood Publishing Group, 1996).

[286] Saul, *John W. Holmes memorial lecture*, 37.

[287] Clark, 28. Clark emphasizes that Canada had previously supported and promoted this protocol.

[288] An example of the clear cut logging narrative may be seen at Renee Lewis, Aljazeera America, "Canadian First Nations Group Threatened by Clear-Cutting," last accessed 18 Apr 2014, http://america.aljazeera.com/articles/2014 /3/21/on-internationaldayofforestsfirstnationthreatenedbyclearcutting.html. By contrast, Canada leads the world in third-party certification, with more land certified to voluntary, market-based forest programs than any other country. See Sustainable Forest Management in Canada, "Canada Embracing Third-Party Certification," last accessed 05 May 2014, http://www.sfmcanada.org/en/sustainable-forest-management/embracing-third-party-certification. For the Canadian seal hunt narrative see Sea Shepherd Conservation Society, "Seal Hunt Facts," last accessed 18 Apr 2014, http://www.seashepherd.org/seals/ seal-hunt-facts.html. Again, by contrast the Canadian Veterinary Journal found that 98 per cent of seals were killed humanely and baby seals have not been harvested since 1987. See CBC News, "FAQs: The Atlantic Seal Hunt," last accessed 05 May 2014, http://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/faqs-the-atlantic-seal-hunt-1.803159.

[289] Saul, *A Fair Country*, 86.

If Canada's national policy and rhetoric has affected its international image of environmental stewardship and protection, the country's pursuit of certain environment-damaging natural resource extraction has further corroded its Northern brand and soft power. In particular, Canada's increased petroleum export from oil sands and continued trade of asbestos has tarnished its international image as a champion of the environment and Canada's natural heritage.[290] Indeed, the country's economic emphasis on becoming a key source of safe and secure energy is at odds with international environmental concerns, a narrative that Andrew Baldwin and Simon Dalby describe as "…[the] divergence of rhetoric and reality in Canadian environmental policy ..."[291] Further, as Canada is the world's seventh largest producer of greenhouse gas emissions, its brand as an environmental champion and home to a vast northern wilderness is at risk.[292]

Although Canada's more recent emphasis on environmental protection has been reduced, it is incorrect to suggest the country has abandoned its tradition of stewardship. Equally the challenges of balancing the needs of a very large, modern and extractive-industries dependent economy with environmental sustainability must be recognized. Indeed, as stated by the Conference Board of Canada of the United States, Australia and Canada:

> It is difficult to target a single cause of their poor environmental performance. But resource extraction and processing industries often use a lot of water and may

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[290] English makes the particularly interesting observation that neither petro-states nor "big-oil" is popular internationally. Canada's pursuit of greater oil sands capacity therefore jeopardizes Canada's environmental steward brand and soft power. Conversation with John English, 24 Feb 2014. For an illustration of the impact of oil sands on the anti-Canadian environmental narrative see Greenpeace, "Tar Sands," last accessed 18 Apr 2014, http://www.greenpeace.org/canada/en/campaigns/Energy/tarsands/.

[291] Andrew Baldwin and Simon Dalby, "Canadian Middle-Power Identity, Environmental Biopolitics, and Human Insecurity," in *Canada's Foreign and Security Policy: Soft and Hard Strategies of a Middle Power*, ed. Nik Hynek and David Bosold, 35-55 (Don Mills: Oxford University Press, 2010). Mark McLaughlin identifies the challenge of exploiting Canada's tremendous natural resources, protecting its environment and being a partner for safe and secure energy. Conversation with Mr. Mark McLaughlin, DFATD, 27 Feb 2014.

[292] Heinbecker, *Getting Back in the Game*, 282. This being said, Lynch provides an interesting perspective that Canada's environmental steward brand remains very solid in hyper-polluted China. As soft power is fomented by a country possessing what others want, China's great concern for environmental challenges is a potential tool for Canada. Conversation with Kevin Lynch, 07 Mar 2014.

contribute to greater stresses on local air quality. Further, greater distances mean
that greater amounts of energy are required to transport people and to move goods
to where they will be consumed, leading to greater [Green House Gas]
emissions.[293]

Despite these disadvantages, Canada has shown above average environmental performance in

use of forest resources, low-emitting electricity production, Water Quality, threatened species

and particulate matter concentration.[294] Further, Canada's strong legislative protection of its

environment and efforts at land settlement with its aboriginal people has helped protect the

Canadian environment.[295]

Nonetheless, cumulatively Canada's reduced emphasis on protecting the environment and

its vast natural and Arctic wilderness has been recognized. As suggested by Clark,

Earlier Canadian governments had been praised for environmental leadership - at
Rio de Janeiro in 1994 and Montreal in 2005. Now, at consecutive climate
change conferences, international environmental organizations regularly name
Canada "Fossil of the Day," designating "countries that do the most or undermine
UN climate talks."[296]

Beyond a degree of international opprobrium and contribution to environmental degradation, the

impact of Canada's reduced reputation and credibility *is* tangible. Indeed, Bakvis *et al* in

particular suggest that the importance of a strong environmental brand manifests itself in a state's

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[293] Conference Board of Canada, "How Canada Performs: Environment," last accessed 18 Apr 2014,
http://www.conferenceboard.ca/hcp/details/environment.aspx. Canada's per capita emissions are much greater than
Sweden (a smaller but northern country) but lower than Australia or the United States. See The World Bank, "CO2
Emission (Metric Tons per Capita)," last accessed 18 Apr 2014, http://data.worldbank.org/indicator/EN.ATM.
CO2E.PC.
[294] *Ibid*. By contrast, Canada remains below average in the Conference Board of Canada study in forest cover
change, nitrogen oxides emissions, sulfur oxides emissions, Marine Trophic Index, greenhouse gas (GHG)
emissions, water withdrawals, volatile organic compound (VOC) emissions, municipal waste generation and energy
intensity.
[295] See Environment Canada, "Regulations and Other Instruments," last accessed 18 Apr 2014,
https://www.ec.gc.ca/lcpe-cepa/eng/regulations/?n=54FE5535-1. Canada's stance towards its aboriginal people is
exemplified by such actions as the British Columbia government's June 2010 renaming of the Queen Charlotte
Islands to the *Haida Gwaii* thereby honouring the aboriginal rights and history in these islands. Wikipedia, "Haida
Gwaii," last accessed 18 Apr 2014, http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Haida_Gwaii. Further, this and other legal
decisions to protect the environment and aboriginal traditions and heritage are reflective of Canada's rules-based,
normative culture. For an impressive list see Council of the Haida Nation, "Legal," last accessed 18 Apr 2014,
http://www.haidanation.ca/Pages/legal/legal.html#consultation.
[296] Clark, 28.

attraction of human capital, "… environmentally friendly development and a high level of environmental quality are becoming increasingly important for attracting investment and human capital."[297] In this respect, soft power has a direct impact on hard power.

Canadian National Culture

If judging or measuring Canada's brands is difficult, than determining discrete features of Canadian culture from a foreign perspective is deeply challenging.[298] This being said, there is evidence that Canadians are seen internationally as nice, polite, and self-deprecating people. This sense of Canadian national culture is perhaps best related by former Prime Minister Joe Clark who notes,

> Traditionally, we Canadians have been citizens of an understated country, proud enough of our accomplishments, but quiet about them, often diffident, remarkably unassertive. When we describe Canada's qualities or identity, we tie ourselves in "nots" – we are not Americans, not British, not French, not aggressive, not a superpower, not a problem.[299]

The Economist agrees with Clark's assessment of the subdued Canadian culture stating some see, "Canada as having "a passion for bronze … the ability always put in the middling performance apparently appropriate to a middle-sized power," it must also be acknowledge that Canada has been reluctant to recognize success even when it "does something rather well.""[300] This traditional view of the Canadian, unassuming culture may seem unimportant from a national power perspective. However, modest Canadians possessing a neutral national culture represent their country throughout the world whether as artists, tourists, business people, athletes,

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[297] Bakvis, Baier and Brown, 208.

[298] Although the definition has continued to evolve, Gabriel Almond and Sidney Verba defined political culture as "the distribution of patterns of orientation to political action." See Stephen Chilton, "Defining Political Culture," *The Western Political Quarterly*, Vol. 41, No. 3 (Sep 1988): 419-445, http://users.polisci.wisc.edu/schatzberg/ps657/Chilton1988.pdf.

[299] Clark, 112.

[300] "Born to lose, Survey Canada," The Economist, 29 June 1991, 14-15 quoted in John English and Norman Hillmer, ed., *Making a Difference: Canada's Foreign Policy in a Changing World Order* (Toronto: Lester Publishing Limited, 1992), 215-216.

diplomats, academics or soldiers.[301]   It is therefore in this self-effacing and non-threatening

fashion Canadians are internationally judged.

However, Canada's culture has arguably transformed or perhaps matured in recent

decades. While Canada was once a quiet colonial backwater with a corresponding unassuming

national character, the state and its people have begun to display greater confidence.[302]

Potentially due to the gradual increase of its hard power, Canada's social and cultural maturity

resulted in *The Economist* labeling Canada as "cool" in 2003.[303] One example of Canada's

external recognition was Canada's confident celebration of inclusive Canadian nationalism that

emerged during the 2010 Vancouver Olympics.[304] Whether this new-found self-assurance or

perhaps over-confidence changes the international culture viewed by the rest of the world is to be

seen.[305]

Beyond national culture, there are other Canadian symbols that represent Canada

internationally. Foremost, it has been suggested that the Canadian Flag, with the Red Maple

Leaf prominently displayed, is the world's most recognizable national brand due to its

ubiquity.[306] Another powerful Canadian symbol is ice hockey, a sport that characterizes a

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[301] Malone places particular importance of the spreading of the Canadian brand and culture via the arts including authors, music and comedians. He suggests Canadian art is distributed via the United States to the world. Conversation with David Malone, 20 Feb 2014.

[302] Studin illustrates this colonial attitude in quoting Canada's first Prime Minister, Sir John A. Macdonald, in describing Canadians as 'secondary peoples' of the world. See Irvin Studin, The National Post, "Why do Canadians Shun Greatness?," last accessed 04 October 2013, http://fullcomment.nationalpost.com/2011/10/30/irvin-studin-why-do-canadians-shun-greatness/. By contrast, Peter C. Newman documents Canadians' cultural rise from deference to defiance. See Newman, xx.

[303] "Canada's New Spirit," *The Economist*, last modified 25 September 2003, http://www.economist.com/node/2085200.

[304] This contrasts with the Ben Johnson doping scandal at the Seoul Olympics in 1988, the boycott of the 1980 Moscow Olympics and the poor showing of Canadian athletes at the 1970 Montreal Olympics subtracted from Canada's national confidence and image. See Potter, *Branding Canada*, 92.

[305] English as an observer of Canada's culture suggests that there is a hunger for a prouder Canadian nationalism, however, Canadians are uncomfortable with the degree of national showmanship and pressure on athletes during the Olympic Games. Further, the overt planting of Canadian flags in the north as a demonstration of sovereignty is 'un-Canadian'. Conversation with John English, 24 Feb 2014.

[306] Jordan Rane, "10 things Canada does better than anywhere," CNN.com, last accessed 16 Dec 2013, http://www.cnn.com/2013/12/15/travel/things-canada-does-better/.   Although not a scholarly work, this is not an

country and its people, "Canada is associated with hockey: the image of a rugged, scrappy, northern people …"[307] Finally, there are kitschier elements of Canadian culture that resonate outside of Canada as a representation of the country. Beyond the aforementioned Mounties, mountains and molsons, these include such tangible items as maple syrup and Tim Hortons coffee.

These elements of Canada's national brand do not fully represent how the rest of the world views Canada. However, this cursory examination of Canada's brands of multiculturalism, its role as a helpful fixer and environmental steward as well as Canada's distinctive national culture, provide a potential lens with which to view Canada's international influence. As a number of authors recognize, Canada is not unique in these particular characteristics nor is its strength in certain measures of hard power. However, Canada has particular potency and national power for their unique combination. As summarized by Clark, Canada is viewed in the world,

> … as a complex and successful society that respects and celebrates diversity, a developed country still trusted in the developing world, a strong economy rich in human and physical resources, a free society, an innovative and accomplished population, an example for other to consider. Clearly, Canada is not the only country with some of those assets, but our combination of capacity and reputation sets us apart from most other nations.[308]

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uncommon theme as suggested by Banting who states "Undoubtedly, the most dramatic symbol of [multiculturalism's recognition of immigrants as an integral part of Canadian society] was the adoption of a new flag, which, unlike its predecessor, is devoid of historic symbols of the British and French components of the country." He equally suggests Canadians embrace a number of national symbols, "Canadians … continue to rank the Charter of Rights, the flag, and multiculturalism as important symbols of national identity." See Banting, , "Transatlantic convergence?", 73 and 78.

[307] Potter, *Branding Canada*, 53. Potter further suggests Canada's participation in sports is an illustration of other aspects of Canada's brand and international reputation stating "In addition, sport can send a powerful message to the world: for example, Canada's willingness to allow Quebec and New Brunswick athletes to compete under their own flags in the *Jeux de la Francophonie* … offers the world a vivid demonstration of Canada's commitment to its core values of tolerance and diversity."

[308] Clark, 113.

A state of such brands, resources and capacity should have a considerable amount of influence in the international system.

Canada's Influence

As is reflected in the works of Lukes, Foucault and Nye, power and by extension soft power are difficult to assess and measure. Nonetheless, in research in disciplines such as history, foreign policy, law, business, media and cultural studies as well as conversations with academic, diplomatic and political observers of Canada, some conclusions on its influence in the world may be drawn. Foremost, despite the extensive discussion on soft power, a key element in Canada's measurable influence in the world remains significant hard power. This follows Nye's theory that hard power or national success, as seen from political, economic or other results, contributes to soft power. To many observers influence from soft power is highly transactional. Therefore states respond to Canada's achievements in a *quid pro quo* fashion by granting the appropriate influence to Canada for its apparent accomplishments and bilateral or multilateral contribution. This suggests a degree of fungability between Canadian hard power and soft power.

A number of examples are evident of Canada's influence based on hard power success. A contemporary economic illustration may be found in Canada's avoidance of the severe financial impacts of the 2008 Great Recession. This success was a huge boost for the reputation of Canadian banks and indeed Canadian national credibility.[309] With this proven national economic and financial success, states listened more readily to Canadian ideas and to follow the Canadian model.[310] Militarily, Canada has enjoyed a similar boost in reputation and increased influence. The CAF took part in operations in Afghanistan for approximately 12 years demonstrating some tactical success and strategic determination despite very demanding

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[309] Bricker and Ibbitson, 128.
[310] Lynch refers to considerable trust of Canadian banks in China and the Middle East due to their success. Conversation with Kevin Lynch, 07 Mar 2014.

conditions. Although Canada's military efforts seemingly made it susceptible to the aforementioned hard disempowerment, this is not ostensibly so. Rather, participating in what some commentators have viewed as the 'right war', Canada did some of the necessary 'heavy lifting' and conducted itself as a mature, capable country.[311] These Canadian successes or efforts manifested in greater influence among the states hit hard by the 2008 global financial crisis and looking for a financial model or which admired or benefited from Canada's efforts in Afghanistan.

Even this transactional power relationship does not guarantee specific favourable outcomes for Canada. Although the establishment of opportunity structures, agenda setting and just showing up gained considerable influence, ultimately Canada's wishes needed to complete with others' national interests. Nevertheless, Canada's traditional emphasis on being the helpful fixer: a constructive, unbiased, honest broker and purveyor of good ideas that was prepared to enable dialogue and crisis resolution ostensibly got the country invited to multilateral fora.[312] By being present, Canada's voice was heard and its reputation and brands subsequently opened doors for further conversation and potentially created an initial sense of trust based on Canadian

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[311] Conversation with Dan Livermore, 15 Jan 2014 and Elinor Sloan, 24 Feb 2014. Also see Janice Gross Stein and Eugene Lang, *The Unexpected War: Canada in Kandahar* (Toronto: Viking Canada, 2007), 284-304. The post-Afghanistan positive view of Canada seems particularly prevalent in post-9/11 United States. This is further suggested by Andrew Cooper who states: "Yet the positive virtue of going big in Afghanistan may not in fact be the re-invigoration of the Canadian military but the opening up of more potential space in other areas of foreign policy. After taking on the risk of Afghanistan, Canada will be free of complaints about being a free rider in the security domain. With an enhanced reputation because of its onerous obligations in Afghanistan, for the first time since 9/11, Canada will have some more discretionary room to do what it wants in some select-and more diverse-areas of foreign policy. See Andrew L. Cooper, "Refining the Core Ingredients of Canadian Foreign Policy: Afghanistan as the Main Game," in *Canadian Politics*, 5th ed., ed. James Bickerton and Alain Gagnon, 359-371 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2009). However, to other countries it seems more likely that the CAF's participation in natural disaster relief via its Disaster Assistance Response Team (DART) has greater positive impact on Canada's brand internationally. See Richard Wike, Pew Research Global Attitudes Project, "Does Humanitarian Aid Improve America's Image?" last accessed 27 Nov 2013, http://www.pewglobal .org/2012/03/06/ does- humanitarian-aid-improve-americas-image/ for a summary of the improvement of American image in the countries in which they provide disaster assistance.
[312] Conversation with the A. Anne McLellan, the University of Alberta, former Minister of Natural Resources, Justice, Public Safety and Emergency Preparedness, and Deputy Prime Minister of Canada, 11 Mar 2014.

brands.[313] As related in multiple conversations with Canadian academics, diplomats and former politicians, Canada's diplomatic successes in the mid-nineties is the clearest example of exploiting this accumulated soft power and influencing states and NGOs.

Under then Foreign Minister Lloyd Axworthy, Canada successfully promoted a human security agenda, harnessing its considerable reputation to help achieve international agreement on the Ottawa Anti-Personnel Mines Bane Convention and the International Criminal Court. Although at times this achievement is lost in debates over soft power, Canada's accomplishments were in many ways based on its accumulated credibility and national reputation.[314] More regionally, some believe Canada's relationship with the United States and particularly the achievement of the North American Auto Pact, the North American Free Trade Agreement and Canada's admission into the G7 cannot be strictly justified based on national interests. Rather, the personal relationships of Canadian politicians and soft power had an influence on Canada's much larger American neighbour. [315]

In addition to the above examples of Canada's soft power giving Canada perceptible influence, this study enables the highlighting of other important aspects of Canada's national

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[313] Conversation with Evan Potter, DFATD, 05 Mar 2014.

[314] Numerous academics and diplomats identified these achievements as well as diplomatic work on conflict or blood diamonds and Canada's leading role on the United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea as examples where Canada's soft power made a difference. For the discussion of conflict diamonds see Kimberly Process, "Kimberly Process (KP)," last accessed 19 Apr 2014, http://www.kimberleyprocess.com/. Bob Lawson acts as a dissenting view and sees these successes as an alignment of national interests. Conversation with Bob Lawson, 03 Mar 2014. The debate over Canada's use of soft power and the human security agenda is well described in Adam Chapnick, "The Canadian Middle Power Myth, *International Journal*, Vol. 55, No. 2 (Spring 2000): 188-206. Significant volleys in this intellectual battle include Lloyd Axworthy, "Canada and human security: the need for leadership," *International Journal*, Vol. 52, No. 2 (Spring 1997): 183-196; Lloyd Axworthy and Sarah Taylor, "A Ban for all seasons: The landmines convention and its implications for Canadian diplomacy," *International Journal*, Vol. 53, No. 2 (Spring 1998): 189-203; Kim Richard Nossal, "Foreign Policy for Wimps," *Ottawa Citizen*, 23 April 1998, A19; Lloyd Axworthy, "Why "soft-power" is the right policy for Canada," *Ottawa Citizen*, 25 April 1998, B6; Fen Osler Hampson and Dean F. Oliver, "Pulpit diplomacy: a critical assessment of the Axworthy doctrine," *International Journal*, Vol. 53, No. 3 (Summer 1998): 379-406 and Kim Richard Nossal, "Pinch Penny Diplomacy: The Decline of 'Good International Citizenship'," *International Journal*, Vol. 54, No. 1 (Winter 1998-1999): 88-105.

[315] Conversation with Michael Manulak, University of Waterloo, 04 Mar 2014 and Bill Graham, 16 Apr 2014. Bill Graham observed the relationship between American President Reagan and Prime Minister Mulroney was very influential on the United States' policies towards Canada.

power. First, soft power requires extensive periods of time to be established based on the formulation of world opinion, national myths and symbols. Indeed, some believe world opinion requires a century to form and 25 years to change.[316] Although these timelines cannot be specifically proven, it is widely agreed that national reputation and therefore soft power has a considerable lifespan.[317] This reinforces the concept of brand inertia where reputation remains extant far beyond what is logically justifiable.[318] This is particularly true of Canada's peacekeeping image. As a sub-set of its helpful fixer brand, this image remains affixed in Canadian national culture and as an international characterization despite Canada's putative reduced emphasis on the United Nations and its peacekeeping operations for over a decade. Although this brand may provide residual access and immediate goodwill for Canada in diverse activities, and indeed provide some self-congratulation to Canadians, it is increasingly anachronistic. In this area, Canada's brand is fluid and subject to change.

A further interesting characteristic of Canadian soft power is its thematic applicability. With Canada possessing such a broad reputation based on varying brand attachments, it is possible to differentiate their resonance on distinct audiences. As such, judgment on national credibility, reputation and success is in the eye of the beholder. Canada's soft power, based on its multiculturalism, diversity, compromise and accommodation, is more influential on states with multi-ethnic populations and potentially historic national, intra-state conflict. Countries

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[316] Heinbecker expresses this opinion while Potter advocates the power of branding myths. Conversation with Paul Heinbecker, 14 Feb 2014 and conversation with Evan Potter, 05 Mar 2014.

[317] Numerous academics and diplomats broadly agree with the considerable soft power half-life.

[318] From an advertising perspective, this could be an element of so-called 'brand loyalty' which is defined as "When consumers become committed to your brand and make repeat purchases over time. Brand loyalty is a result of consumer behavior and is affected by a person's preferences. Loyal customers will consistently purchase products from their preferred brands, regardless of convenience or price." See Investopedia, "Brand Loyalty," last accessed 19 Apr 2014, http://www.investopedia.com/terms/b/brand-loyalty.asp. Also O'Reilly and Tennant, 251. The strength of this loyalty is based on brand equity which includes tangible and intangible values similar to power and influence. See Susan Gunelius, Ask Your Target Market, "Brand Equity Basics – Part 1: What is Brand Equity?," last accessed 19 Apr 2014, http://aytm.com/blog/research-junction/brand-equity-basics-1/.

which are ethnically homogeneous or that restrict immigration do not view Canada's

multicultural policies as enviable or an objective.[319] Indeed Nye himself acknowledges Canada's

strength in this specific area of soft power stating,

> … many more countries turned to Canada than to the United States as an example
> for constitution building in the aftermath of the Cold War, Canadian views of how
> to deal with hate crimes were more congenial to South Africa and the countries of
> Eastern Europe than were American First Amendment practices.[320]

By contrast, Lynch identifies that, although democracy and multiculturalism hold no soft power

over China, the strength and reputability of Canada's institutions and individual rights have

much greater attraction.[321] As soft power is heavily contextual, the importance of tailored

advocacy in exploiting Canada's reputation and brands is demonstrable.[322]

Conclusion

It is not an exaggeration to label Canada a major power. Foremost, Canada possesses

substantial elements of hard power. With a very competent political system, a modern military,

robust economy, substantial geographic potential, an educated and immigration-supportive

population and small but credible national information tools, the country is one of the more

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[319] Multiple conversations highlighted this point including that with Lynch, Malone and Lawson. Conversation with Kevin Lynch, 07 Mar 2014, Conversation with Bob Lawson, 03 Mar 2014 and Conversation with David Malone, 20 Feb 2014.

[320] Frederick Schauer, "The Politics and Incentives of Legal Transplantation," in Nye, Joseph S. Jr., *The Paradox of American Power: Why the World's Only Superpower Can't Go It Alone,* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 97. This soft power is further reflected by Canada's rule-based, legal strength as exemplified by Justice Louise Arbour while Chief Prosecutor for the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda and the Former Yugoslavia. See Carol Off, The Lion, The Fox and The Eagle (Toronto: Random House Canada, 2000).

[321] Lynch goes on to state Canadian institutions, including banks, have considerable reputation in the Middle East and China. The Chinese in particular were impressed that the Canadian financial system could be so integrated with that of the United States and yet weather so effectively the financial storm. Conversation with Kevin Lynch, 07 Mar 2014. Indeed Zbigniew Brzezinski expands on this noting racial, ethnic and religious sentiments resonate more strongly with contemporary youth bulges than the abstract ideas of democracy, rule of law or religious tolerance. See Brzezinski, 36.

[322] Conversation with Mark McLaughlin, DFATD, 27 Feb 2014. An interesting example of this may be found in the contemporary relationship between South Korea and Canada.   Particularly with the rise of China, Canada is viewed as an example by South Korea for its effective management of the neighbouring great power, the United States. In "Canadian Foreign Policy," *CBC Radio One: The Sunday Edition with Michael Enright*, 16 February 2014, http://www.cbc.ca/thesundayedition/shows/2014/02/14/paying-for-organs---michaels-essay-fighting-anxiety-the-two-worlds-of-cassidy-little---documentary-a/.

powerful in the world. This power, however, is magnified by Canada's strategic culture. Lacking an existential threat, Canada has been able to focus its considerable hard power internationally. Indeed, based on its historic origins and geographic reality, Canada's *Weltanschauung* allows it to emphasize its power through multilateral engagement where rules-based activities and multilateral fora give it greater power than would be otherwise possible. By contrast, Canada is weakened by its small population compared to its vast geographic space and power. This is a significant shortcoming due to the ubiquity of population's impact on other elements of hard and soft power. Although Canada's continued immigration-based growth is a positive and empowering trend for the state, this population-shortfall will continue to hamper Canada's hard power without extensive increases or improvements.

Canada's soft power is significant. Based on the brands of multiculturalism, being a helpful fixer, environmental stewardship of its vast wilderness and Canadian national culture, Canada enjoys considerable international credibility and reputation. Although measurement is very subjective, it would appear this extensive soft power has resulted in not inconsiderable foreign influence. With some specific, marked examples of Canada achieving concrete results due to this soft power, clearly this reputation and credibility implicates the state in meetings from which it would otherwise be excluded, opens doors normally closed and establishes an initial rapport of trust based on Canadian brands.

There is, however, a factor potentially detracting from Canada's impressive soft power assets. The current Canadian government places less emphasis on Canada's soft power and some of its traditional brands and more on the expansion of hard power. This is particularly true, although not exclusively so, of Canada's helpful fixer brand. This aspect of soft power was traditionally realized diplomatically via Canada's participation in the United Nations.

Contemporaneously, this multilateral institution receives less attention from Canada's leadership due to its emphasis on the economy and trade-based national interests and potentially due to greater emphasis on other multilateral organizations. Although some would see this refutation of the United Nations as breaking with the country's diplomatic traditions, ostensibly Canada is simply working in other, more effective, rules-based multilateral institutions. Unfortunately for Canada's soft power, the United Nations is the prominent institution for global discussion and administration and where considerable, lower-key global governance takes place. Canada's reduced emphasis on the United Nations has seemingly reduced the state's soft power, damaged its helpful fixer brand and corroded its wider international reputation.

Canada's failure to receive a temporary seat in the United Nations Security Council in 2010 is the canary in the mine for this reduced soft power. The reason for Canada's disappointment is impossible to ascertain, however, and could include Canada's reduced hard power compared to other rising states such as Brazil, Russia and India. If this is the case, than the current emphasis on enlarging Canada's hard power via increased economic power and trade is a very wise one. If this is not true than Canada's soft power will continue to slip without renewed emphasis on the United Nations and much time, resources and political capital.[323] This is unfortunate as the government's emphasis on greater hard power does not have to come at the expense of soft power via multilateral institutions. Policy choices can reverse this effect.

A further indication of Canada's loss of soft power in its quest for enhanced hard power is the corrosion of its brand as a steward of a vast environmental wilderness. Although Canada's neglect of the environment is not as stark as the international narrative would suggest, its putative prioritization of oil exploration and other hard power-enhancing initiatives is at the

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[323] Indeed, Denis Stairs suggests that it takes longer to build a national reputation than it does to tear it down. Conversation with Denis Stairs, Dalhousie University, 13 Mar 2014.

expense of one of its external brands. This being said, as a massive northern country, Canada is disadvantaged in a number of environmental areas that its smaller, more southerly peers are not. Nonetheless, Canada has recently chosen not to fight for this brand by stressing its environmental success or its efforts at embracing its role as a steward of a vast northern wilderness. This is regrettable as with a well-conceptualized, nuanced extractive industries approach, with attentiveness to appropriate environmental regulation, there is no reason Canada could not continue to strengthen its economic hard power while concurrently improving its environmental conservancy and rhetoric. Unfortunately this economy versus environment debate and the greater dispute over emphasis on hard power or soft power has unnecessarily become politicized along polar, Conservative-Liberal lines.

Although this change in national power emphasis from soft power to that of hard, may trouble some observers as un-Canadian, it equally demonstrates Canada's distinct and perhaps unique national power advantage. As explained by Heinbecker, the country possesses relatively deep but very broad national power:

> The world really does respect us for our prosperous, bilingual, multi-ethnic, law-abiding, cultivated, and compassionate society. The world sees that Canada values diversity and integrates foreigners into national life and purpose – not perfectly, but as well or better than anyone else. We are known as a country that tries, and mostly succeeds, to respect human rights and to protect minorities … a country worthy of emulation, albeit one that ought to do better by its aboriginal population. We are recognized for a culture that generates remarkable excellence in literature, the arts, and science, and for an economy that delivers an enviable quality of life and a very high standard of living. Internationally, we are respected for our constructive, capable, compassionate, and – prior to the Harper government, at least – fair-minded approach to global affairs. We are considered to be capable and constructive in the conduct of our international relations, especially in multilateral diplomacy, and in our contribution to international security – or we were. Canada is regarded as having the capacity and, sometimes, the will to make a difference diplomatically and militarily.[324]

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[324] Heinbecker, *Getting Back in the Game*, 35-36.

With relatively substantial hard power and expansive putative soft power, Canada has the potential for considerable global influence. Although nothing in this study dismisses the eminence of national interests in world affairs, Canada's soft power potency opens the door and foments the initial reputation for hard power-based negotiations. This said, as reflected by Clark, Canada may possesses a diverse enough pool of hard power success and soft power brands that it has the potential to hold a broad influence over sundry countries and cultures, "Cultural or soft power factors influence international decisions about which cultures to call upon … there is now much more opportunity for a country like Canada to guide and stimulate important change."[325]

Canada's extensive national capabilities equally demonstrate the difficulty in calculating collective hard and soft power. This is because these elements of national power are deeply symbiotic. As has been reviewed, hard power as viewed through a state's success contributes to soft power or national reputation. Concurrently, this state credibility may well attract other countries to cooperate, trade, ally or allow its citizens to immigrate to the state. Such actions will undoubtedly in-turn increase hard power. Although this self-reinforcing cycle reflects the complexity of national power, the contemporary actions of Russia towards the Ukraine demonstrate the superfluous nature of soft paper if hard power is employed. Should a country possess little soft power or be indifferent to its loss, hard disempowerment will not dissuade it. Therefore Russia's loss of reputation among Western countries from its widely-condemned land grab means little to this significant hard power.

Although an important characteristic of national power, this view is both short-term and tactical. From a more grand strategic perspective, there is some indication that a state's reputation, culture, credibility and national success acts as an attractive, long-term vision for

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[325] Clark, 117. Clark suggests most countries do not have grand strategic freedom, however, where countries must work together to achieve foreign policy objectives Canada is well situated.

others. Although this study has focused on and attempted to quantify Canada's soft power based on immediate, primarily diplomatic influence, the true impact of this aspect of national power may be in it acting as a prevailing goal for other countries. Therefore, Canada's considerable soft power based on its generally universally attractive brands and indeed its hard power-originating national success may attract other countries to copy aspects of the Canadian model or fabricate local adaptations. In this sense, Canada's model as a liberal, multi-ethnic, democratic and accommodating society may attract other less-developed states in the long durée of history. Although public opinion and the desire for shorter term influence may encourage political desire for near-term hard power success in Canada, ultimately it is perhaps through soft power that the state will achieve and consolidate its long-term international goals.

This paper has potentially raised as many questions as it has answered. Although it has developed a National Power Matrix and postulated Canada's hard and soft power-based influence in the world, broader research would enrich these conclusions. Moreover, there is considerable opportunity for further research on Nye's superpower-based model of national power and its applicability to Canada. Equally, this study was unable to fully understand the relative benefits to Canada's contemporary influence of pandering to soft power versus deliberate efforts at increasing hard power. Further, this paper's literature and conversational research focused largely on the diplomatic and political influence from Canada's soft power with some tangential military impacts. Greater research could readily deepen this aspect and also examine the effect of Canada's reputation and credibility economically especially in terms of elaborating concrete examples. There are undoubtedly many other key areas left for research that this paper has only touched peripherally. However, due to the subject's topical nature and

the readiness of so many academics, diplomats and former politicians to freely converse, this

remains a fertile field for further research.

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4. Heinbecker, Paul. Former Canadian Ambassador to Germany and the United Nations, 14 Feb 2014.
5. Hillmer, Norman. Carleton University, 26 Feb 2014.
6. Lawson, Bob. Department of Foreign Affairs, Trade and Development, 03 Mar 2014.
7. Livermore, Dan. Former Canadian Ambassador to Guatemala and El Salvador, 15 Jan 2014.
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16. Sloan, Elinor. Carleton University, 24 Feb 2014.
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18. Sutherland, Fred. Retired Lieutenant General and former Canadian Armed Forces Vice Chief of Defence Staff, 16 Jan 2014.