

Canadian Security: Threats and Responses in the 21st Century

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Abstract:

Canada is currently in need of a defense policy and academic discussion that addresses the existing and emerging global geo-political situation. Canada faces a wide variety of threats to its national security in the coming years, some of which are largely being ignored in favor of more topical threat scenarios. The proposed essay will discuss an overview of the various threats that Canada can expect to face in coming years, as well as the potential types of responses that we will be responsible for providing in order to maintain our sovereignty and protect our vital interests.

Canada's main efforts in national defense are focused on protecting our political and economic interests at home and abroad and to promote Canadian values such as global peace, security and prosperity for Canadians. Canada faces threats to these values and interests from a variety of sources. These threats can be grouped into four rough categories; environmental change, clashes of religions and ideologies, political (both internal and international), and economic.

Environmental change is a highly uncertain factor in global security. There are conflicting opinions regarding the nature of environmental change, and its projected effect on the relationship between countries is even more highly disputed. Assessing what kind of environmental change Canada may potentially face, as well as the repercussions of this change to the global security environment is extremely important. Scarcity of natural resources, desertification and the melting of the polar ice caps will all have significant repercussions for Canada and its neighbors.

Religions and ideologies have long been a source of conflict in the global environment. Canada faces both internal and external threats to its stability and prosperity from the potential for religious and ideological conflict. The proposed essay will identify those de-stabilizers and examine their root causes as well as their likely repercussions. The on-going conflict between Quebec and the federal government, the impact of refugees and immigration, and Canada's growing multiculturalism will be discussed.

Internal political turmoil could pose a serious threat to Canada's overall security. While the ongoing conflict between Quebec and the rest of Canada has lessened in recent years, the main source of discontent still exists, and must be taken into consideration when discussing Canada's internal security. External politics also play a vital role in Canada's security. Generally speaking, Canada uses the military as one tool (amongst many) to promote its foreign policy abroad. Changes to this policy could greatly affect the types of situations that Canadian soldiers

are expected to deal with. Indeed, maintaining a good relationship between major allies will also be vital and may require Canada to increase its peacekeeping commitments, or even to join in further alliances with our NATO and ABCA partners.

Economically, Canada is strongly tied to several major trading partners and is robustly linked into the global market economy. The stability of those trading partners and the global economy greatly affect Canada's economic stability. The proposed paper will look at the security ramifications of economic shocks to both our economy and that of our major trading partners, focusing on long-term trends. As well, this paper will elaborate on the ramifications of the economic development and industrialization of other countries in the world where we have strategic interests.

The type of responses that will be required to deal with the aforementioned threats range from economic sanctions to military responses. Military responses will span the whole spectrum of conflict, from peacekeeping to war. Other responses that will need to be considered include political, humanitarian and education (information operations). By combining these responses, Canada can develop a well-balance portfolio of available options and have the flexibility to confront these diverse situations.



Our world is being transformed at extraordinary speed, and the result has been profound social change.ⁱ Swelling populations, the rise and fall of nations and new technologies are just some of the factors that have been contributing to the global transformation. This transformation has led to a dramatic shift in the types of threats that Canada has faced since the cold war. Since the attacks of September 11th, threats to security seem to lurk around every corner. In reality, many of these threats have existed for decades, but they have been ignored in favor of more topical and quantifiable threats such as terrorism, nuclear war and asymmetric threats in general. Recently, the National Security Policy has identified the following threats to Canadian security: Terrorism, the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, failed and failing states, foreign espionage, natural disasters, critical infrastructure vulnerabilities and organized crime.ⁱⁱ While many of these categories have been accurately identified, several have been excluded, such as the threats posed by climate change, economic instability and internal political instability. Canada is sorely in need of a governmental and academic discussion that addresses the existing and emerging global geo-political situation. Canada's current efforts in national defense and security are focused on protecting our political and economic interests at home and abroad and to promote Canadian values such as global peace, security and prosperity for Canadians. Canada faces threats to these values and interests from a variety of sources. The following essay will discuss internal and external political threats, the threat from radical religion and ideology, the threat from economic shocks and destabilizers, the threat from criminal activity and from climate change, as well as responses the Canadian government must undertake to maintain our sovereignty and protect our vital interests.

Canada's prosperity is directly linked to the openness of our society.ⁱⁱⁱ Our freedom of speech, our ability to travel and experience different cultures helps to create an innovative and prosperous society. It allows us freedom of movement and expression and supports and promotes Canadian ideals and is one of the most important characteristics of Canadian society. Canada's main efforts in national defense and security must be focused on protecting our political and economic interests at home and abroad and promoting Canadian values such as global peace, security and prosperity for Canadians. The defense policy and internal security policy must reflect these goals and objectives. We must be prepared to defend Canada, and, in cooperation with the United States, the whole of North America^{iv} from these diverse threats.

There are a wide variety of external political threats to Canadian National Security. The world is so strongly interlinked that no country stands alone, and no region's future can be separated from that of others.^v Problems that other countries face quickly become problems that Canadians have to deal with. Recent examples include the conflict in the Balkans, where Canada played a major role in stabilizing the region, and Haiti, where Canada's roles included stabilizing the country and humanitarian assistance after the first in a series of major storms hit the area. These are just two examples of areas that Canadian troops have been deployed in recent years in order to protect Canadian interests and project Canadian values. There are numerous areas in which

political turmoil could affect Canadian security. For example, if the conflict between Pakistan and India were to escalate, there could be spillover violence in Canada between groups with roots in these two countries. Canada could experience an influx of refugee claimants and face the long-term migration of a large number of people through its borders that it was not prepared to deal with.

Seemingly regional conflicts quickly become international conflicts in a world as inter-connected as ours. Another example would include any escalation in the conflict between Taiwan and China, which would certainly have repercussions for Canadian security. First of all, there is a strong possibility that our neighbors to the south would find themselves embroiled in this conflict. Second of all, a conflict in that region could disrupt shipping between Canada and a major trading partner, Japan. Finally, any conflict that involves China clearly involves the rest of the world, as China has the ability to affect the strategic interests of every major country through both its economic and military might.

As a final example, the conflict in Iraq can be reviewed. Our refusal to participate in this conflict has decreased our popularity with the Americans. While this may not be a long-term trend, this could be construed as exacerbating trade issues, such as the debate over imports of beef in the wake of the discovery of mad cow disease. It is highly likely that Canada has slipped in its “favored nation” status as a result of our refusal to participate or endorse the war in Iraq. It is certainly possible that trade issues such as the restriction of Canadian beef traveling to the United States could have been resolved sooner, had the US deemed it to be an important enough issue to devote time and energy to. However, without a bargaining chip like our participation in the Iraq war, there is pressure on the Americans to see this as an important issue. Additionally, the conflict in Iraq has affected the supply of oil to the rest of the world. Had problems in Nigeria not affected the supply of Nigerian oil to the rest of the world, this might not have been as critical an issue, but clearly the world’s oil supplies are seen as threatened, as has been seen by the rise in the price of crude oil to over 50\$ a barrel. The increase in oil prices has been partially mitigated by the rise in the Canadian dollar, which has allowed our economy to be buffeted for the time being. However, the Canadian economy will soon enough feel the shock of the increase in oil prices in the form of rising prices and reduced purchasing power, if it has not started to feel it already.

A direct threat in the form of conventional war is highly unlikely for Canada, largely because of our neighbors to the south. Fortunately for us, the United States of America is taking the lead in the protection of North America. We must continue to pursue a good relationship with our major allies, particularly the US. We are particularly fortunate to have them as a neighbor. Imagine alternatives: would we prefer to be situated in the Middle East or on the African continent, next to far less predictable and much more volatile neighbors? However, the Canadian military must be prepared to deploy to countries where we have strategic interests, as well as where we wish to promote Canadian values, such as peace and democracy. The problem this century will not be strong states flexing their military muscles, but weak states that refuse to maintain authority or make appropriate provisions for their citizens.^{vi} States are not stable or secure unless they can provide for the basic needs of their inhabitants.^{vii} These countries

are likely to include Haiti (a failing state) in the near term, and in the long term the African continent as it continues to struggle with political turmoil and will soon be confronted by the tremendous impact of the AIDS epidemic¹, as well as the effects of climate change. Warlords will seek to exploit the vacuum of power left by the weak, which will result in some involvement from western countries^{viii} should the particular failed state be deemed to hold western strategic interests. Certainly, Canada will have to intervene in some if not all failing states to prevent them from collapsing into terrorist controlled or crime controlled states. Preventing the demise of democracies worldwide should be of major concern to Canada, because preventing their collapse will help to mitigate against the creation of states that can harbor people that have an interest in harming Canadian values.

Canada's internal political security continues to face the threat of the sovereignty movement in Quebec. While opinion polls amongst young Quebecers reflect a shift away from the sovereignty movement, recent press releases from the Parti Quebecois have indicated that they are aiming for resurgence in the movement. Whether or not this goal will be achieved, the threat of a segmented Canada still exists, and must be addressed. The result would inevitably be reflected in a weaker foreign policy as policymakers would be tied up in domestic policy issues, and unable to dedicate the appropriate time to the external political situation. A segmented Canada would face incredible upheaval as political questions are answered and would be politically vulnerable to other destabilizing factors such as trade disputes or regional conflicts threatening our strategic interests. The external political factors are such that they cannot be ignored, even in the face of Canadian internal upheaval.

Religions and ideologies have long been a source of conflict in the global environment. Canada faces both internal and external threats to its stability and prosperity from the potential for religious and ideological conflict. When discussing this type of conflict, the main threat that comes to mind is clearly the terrorist threat posed by Al Qaeda (AQ). While Canada has yet to be directly attacked on our own soil, the time may come when this becomes a reality. Canada must continue to participate in the global war on terror until all insurgents have been neutralized. As Lee Harris clearly illustrates in his most recent work, Civilization and Its Enemies, the conflict with radical Islam constitutes a fantasy ideology, similar to that of National Socialism and Fascism. These types of ideologies must be completely defeated – there is no middle ground, and there is certainly no room for negotiations. This must be Canada's number one priority. The reasons for this are twofold. Firstly, international terrorism is a major destabilizer both of economies and polities, and could unravel the fabric of social order if left unchecked.

¹ The AIDS epidemic in Africa has yet to reach its full magnitude. Currently, the majority of people with AIDS in Africa are actually infected with HIV and have yet to develop the full-blown version of the virus, AIDS. In approximately 5-10 years, Africa will start to see the massive dying-off of its people that academics have been warning about for decades. This will move through the demographic base of the countries like a black plague, eliminating labor pools and decimating families.

Second of all, our biggest trading partner, our ideological ally and our closest neighbor is deeply and personally involved in this war. Ensuring their stability by helping to bring an end to international terrorism only helps to ensure our stability and prosperity. This point seems to have been lost on a surprisingly large number of Canadians, who seem to want to end our commitments and withdraw from the war on terror. This would be absolutely disastrous, by alienating us from our biggest ally, by leaving ourselves open to attacks from these terrorists and by sacrificing our moral standards. By withdrawing from the war on terrorism, we would essentially be surrendering to terror, sacrificing the Canadian values of democracy, prosperity, security and peace along with it.

Canada faces internal threats from the war on terror as well. According to Stewart Bell, Canada has been harboring and exporting terrorists for decades. These groups bring violence, extremism and intolerance to Canada.^{ix} This has made us incredibly unpopular with countries in the world that have experienced terrorism and has in fact jeopardized our relationship with them. In addition, travel has become and will increasingly become more difficult for Canadians, as more and more countries become suspicious of Canadians traveling abroad. If this problem is not addressed, and addressed soon, Canada will quickly feel the wrath of our American neighbors. They are currently holding several Canadian citizens for allegedly belonging to AQ. This will certainly not come in the form of any armed conflict – that would be entirely unnecessary. The simplest solution would be to create delays at the borders and further restricting other elements of trade. The impact on our economy would be unmistakable, and highly disastrous.

Canada's prosperity is a result of, among other things, an open border and an open society. Canada is tied to several major trading partners. The majority of our trade is with the United States of America, the European Community, Japan, and the United Kingdom.^x Any economic shocks that these countries sustain will also affect our economy. Therefore, the stability of these economies must be identified as a strategic interest for Canada and any potential for their instability must be identified as a threat to Canadian Security. Canada is also robustly linked into the global market economy. Canada must therefore seek to minimize shocks to any country that could result in a global shock. For example, Canada must seek to stabilize countries such as Nigeria and Iraq, and indeed other oil exporting countries so that the global market economy can be stabilized. Canada must be prepared to commit forces to these countries in order to help restore social order and promote a healthy economy. The greatest instability in countries occurs when economic change is present, either in the form of increased or decreased wealth. Therefore Canada must seek a policy of maintaining moderate growth throughout the countries of strategic interest in order to maintain their stability. Canadian values are dependent upon a strong economy. Without a strong economy, health care, defense, security, and other social services will suffer from a lack of funding, and will become ineffective. Without these services and a strong economy, the prosperity and security of Canada will suffer.

It has become clear over the last few years that organized crime has expanded from its traditional role as being contained within a single country to transnational criminal organizations with diverse interests. Not only are criminal elements transnational, but they are also connecting with groups such as terrorist organizations to achieve their separate aims. This trend is increasingly disconcerting as it points to the complexity of both the organized crime network as well as that of terrorist organizations. Organized crime is moving from its traditional hierarchy towards a network based structure, which is congruent with the structure of most terrorist organizations.

In Colombia, the drug cartels are directly challenging the state system through their propensity for extreme violence, their uncompromising nature, and their willingness to directly challenge the authority of the state.^{xi} They have implemented a “kidnapping tax” whereby prominent and wealthy citizens must pay a tax in order to prevent their kidnapping. Otherwise, the threat exists that they or members of their family will be kidnapped. The citizens are paying this tax out of fear and acknowledgement that the national security organizations are completely unable to protect them. This is the beginning of what Robert Bunker calls the emergence of the third phase cartel which is characterized by the co-option of state institutions and the complete control of the cartel over the country. While the criminal state has yet to emerge, the warning signs are present in many states worldwide such as Mexico, Columbia and Haiti.^{xii} In Haiti, corruption and political stalemate were contributing to the existence of a virtual narco-state, which is one of the many reasons why international intervention was actioned. However, there are other states where this action is not being taken and which represent an even greater threat to international and Canadian security.

Criminal enclaves are emerging, particularly in the South American jungle, where a virtual “free crime zone” exists. Few if any authorities venture into these regions, and they are essentially without law. One of these particular enclaves exists at the intersection of Paraguay, Brazil and Argentina. The triple border zone serves as a free enclave for supporting and sustaining acts of terrorism and smuggling drugs, among other criminal activities. Known to operate out of this area are Lebanese terrorists, Colombian drug smugglers, Nigerian gangsters, the Japanese Yakuza, Tai Chen (Cantonese Mafia), and the Flying Dragons.^{xiii} The ability of all these groups to come together into one area and “compare notes”, as it were, points to a dangerous trend in the internationalization of crime and the interconnectedness between criminal and terrorist organizations. Indeed, Chicago witnessed the first evolution of this interconnectedness when in 1986 the “Black P Stone Nation”, a street gang, sought to carry out terrorist attacks on behalf of Libyan President Gaddafi.^{xiv} Evidence of cooperation is mounting between the mafia, the Columbians and the Nigerians. Complex schemes have been revealed in which certain gangs act as distributors for others, swap illegal goods among themselves, and help each other launder money or open new markets.^{xv}

According to the National Security Policy, Canada is increasingly becoming part of a globalized network that supports the narcotics trade, migrant smuggling, the

trafficking of persons, weapons smuggling, money laundering and theft. This threatens our relationship with other countries as they see us as a place where terrorists, criminals and others find refuge. Chinese gangs have long been spreading beyond Asia, and are major players in the Heroine trade, including here in Canada. In addition, the triads are a major player in the immigrant smuggling into Canada and the USA.^{xvi} This clearly has global ramifications.

Tying all of these different threats to Canadian security together is one dominant theme. Climate change is the widest ranging threat currently facing Canadian security, and is the one that is the most likely to have the longest term and most severe impact. Climate change will exacerbate all the other threats that have previously been mentioned. The effects that climate change will have on the planet are highly uncertain, and the effects on any one country even more so. However, given the amount of research that has gone into the debate over climate change, we can be relatively certain of a few essential changes that will most certainly affect global security, and in turn, Canadian security.

Some of the changes that will occur are detailed as follows. The consensus amongst major scientific institutions around the world is that the Earth will initially experience a period of warming. Increasing temperatures will lead to changes in many aspects of weather, including but not limited to: wind patterns, amounts and types of precipitation and storm patterns.^{xvii} The warming trend will be most pronounced in the polar areas, as well as in continental interiors. Associated with the warming pattern will be a rise in sea levels as water that was held in the form of ice melts into the oceans. Some models predict a rise in sea level of one meter by the year 2100.^{xviii} Storm surges will become more severe, and the intensity of heat waves and their duration will increase, combined with greater air pollution and humidity. Diseases, such as malaria and dengue, will benefit from this warming and will spread to new areas where they have never before been seen. There will be a general reduction in crop outputs from tropical and sub-tropical areas as these regions become too warm to support traditional crops.^{xix} There will also be a decrease in production at mid-latitudes, with some variation, for an increase in global temperature of more than a few degrees. However, there is also the possibility that some mid-latitude areas will experience an increase in crop yields from longer growing seasons. There will be decreased water availability for the subtropics, as well as the Middle East. Some of these changes are already visible. Glaciers are shrinking globally, the permafrost in the arctic is thawing, lakes and rivers are freezing later, the ice is breaking up earlier each year, and the growing season has lengthened in mid-latitudes.^{xx}

The thing about climate change is that it will affect the most underdeveloped countries first, and in the worst way. Those with the least resources have the least capacity and ability to deal with any shift in the climate.^{xxi} Africa will be the worst affected, partly because much of the continent is tropical or sub-tropical, in addition to its lack of resources. The continent will face reduced crop yields, and as a result increased

malnutrition. The Middle East will experience increased water scarcity, and Asia will have to contend with increased forest fires and an increased risk of infectious diseases.^{xxii} Countries such as Haiti, who regularly experience hurricanes and tropical storms, will have those effects exacerbated by the deforestation in the country, as well as by other symptoms of climate change.

Regional conflicts will be exacerbated by the effects of climate change. Collapsing states are due in part to the processes of environmental degradation that damage or destroy the means of subsistence for peasant cultivators.^{xxiii} Environmental degradation is currently causing major problems in China as has been seen by the flooding of major rivers, the destruction of crops and the wide-spread pollution that is resulting in health complications for many Chinese. As states fail or struggle under the weight of failing crops, depleted resources and other effects of climate change and the prospect for regional conflict will be exacerbated by the resource scarcity. One third of the world's population (1.7 billion people) already face water scarcity. This number could double over the next twenty-five years.^{xxiv} Local conflicts have already begun over water resources in the Middle East, and this will only be exacerbated by climate change. In some areas of the Middle East, traditional grazing grounds for livestock have become unusable due to collapsing ground. The ground in these areas is collapsing in on itself because the water table has been so depleted that the structural integrity of the ground has been compromised. Social change connected with environmental scarcities are already an important part of political conflict in many underdeveloped countries.^{xxv}

Illegal migrants from impoverished and chaotic regions are overflowing borders everywhere, reaching levels that provoke strong social and political reactions.^{xxvi} Some policy makers fear sustained immigration of ethnic racial minorities because it may lead to a concentration of people in one area, which is a barrier to full integration. Without full integration, discrimination is more rampant.^{xxvii} (Li 69) Regardless of settlement patterns, these migrants will continue to change the social fabric of Canada. In other countries, they may disturb the natural balance. For instance, in France, migrants from Africa are becoming increasingly common. As lands further south become uninhabitable for reasons ranging from conflict to climate change, peoples will be forced to migrate to more accommodating climates and land, regardless of what laws say about their migration. This has already been seen to some extent in the American south, as even armed guards and strong fences cannot stop the flow of illegal immigrants (economic refugees) into the US from North, South and Central America. As a result, many countries may receive destabilizing amounts of refugees / immigrants in such quantities that could result in social unrest. Canada must be prepared to accept some of these migrants in order to achieve international stability.

In Canada, climate changes are difficult to predict. However, following the global model, several changes can be extrapolated. A warming of a few degrees will result in a longer growing season for the prairies. However, associated with this is the threat of severe droughts, and consequently soil erosion. Some scientists suggest that

prairie farmers will be pushed further north as these changes begin to take place. However, there is no guarantee that the soil is of similar quality, and if it is not, this could seriously hinder the output of the Prairie Provinces. With increased drying (a result of warming), there is an increased risk of forest fires for all areas of Canada. As well, there are many additional human systems that are sensitive to climate change. Water, coastal zones, fisheries, human settlements, energy production and use, industry and health are all extremely sensitive to climate change.^{xxviii} While Canada has an abundance of water, it is a resource that we will increasingly have to protect, particularly when the effects of climate change start to be felt throughout the Middle East and Africa, and even by our American neighbors.

Globally, the economy will also experience some of the effects of climate change. Increased energy demands for space cooling in the summer due to higher temperatures will be accompanied by lower demands in the winter for heating. As temperatures rise, a shift in tourist areas will occur, away from the extremely warm equatorial region to more temperate climates north and south. Food prices will also increase as crops fail in more equatorial regions, as well as in areas that may experience periodic drought. Overall, energy prices will rise, as will the cost of food. Insurance costs will also rise as people are devastated by increased flooding caused by rising ocean levels and increased severe storm activity.

The first response from the Canadian government must be to accept that these are threats that are facing Canadian society, and do threaten Canadian security and prosperity. Second of all, the Canadian government must devise a policy that is reflective of these diverse threats. The Canadian military, as well as other governmental organizations, will be responsible for responding to all the threats detailed above in a variety of ways. The government of Canada will be required to fund a variety of responses, from economic sanctions to military action. Thus, the Canadian military will likely be involved in every spectrum of conflict in the coming decades, from peacekeeping to war.

In order to deal with political threats, the majority of the responses are likely to be political in nature, such as diplomacy and negotiations. To deal with economic threats, Canada must be prepared to send stabilizing forces into regions of Canadian interest, as well as invoke sanctions on countries that do not support Canadian values and threaten our vital and strategic interests. The need for humanitarian assistance will grow as more and more countries fall prey to the effects of climate change. The example of Haiti this year is only the tip of the iceberg. Canada must also be prepared to undertake information operations against elements of the global society that seek to paint us with an unflattering brush. Canada should be conducting information operations in order to counter radical Islam. However, this is a highly sensitive area, and should be undertaken with intense caution. This can only help to mitigate against further recruiting by groups such as AQ. Canada must also be prepared to hunt terrorists within its own borders. By

combining these responses, Canada can develop a well-balanced portfolio of available options and have the flexibility to confront these diverse situations .

This paper has essentially followed a threat assessment model. The major problem with threat assessments is that they become increasingly unreliable the further removed they are from current events and situations.^{xxix} However, the greater threat remains in not identifying these threats to Canadian security, and having no plan to deal with them or to even anticipate them. The major issue in analyzing these threats is that they are all interconnected. One affects the severity of the other. Without synergistically analyzing all these threats, it will be impossible to anticipate the scope of the threats that Canada will face in the coming years. Human societies and their interactions with one another and the earth are extremely complex systems.^{xxx} Without even a cursory understanding of these systems, it will be impossible to understand the threats that Canada truly faces. It is my greatest fear that these threats may not be taken into consideration during the upcoming defense review, and that Canada will be left entirely unprepared, and indeed without an understanding of the global threat environment that has emerged since the end of the cold war, and indeed since the attacks of September 11th.

Despite all these threats to Canadian Security, there is much to be optimistic about in these first few years of the twenty-first century. The spread of democracies, market economies, the rapid advance of new technologies and the widespread improvements in literacy^{xxxi} have all been major feats that have improved, overall, global security and prosperity. While the threats presented thus far are outside of the typical realm of threat analysis, they deserve as much, if not more, attention than traditional threats. Simply ignoring them will not make them go away. While this paper has succeeded only in scratching the surface of these threats, a greater in-depth analysis is required in order to formulate a national security policy in which national defense can be employed to combat many of these threats at home and abroad. Canada supports the logic of pre-emptive strikes, and many of these threats should be addressed in such a way. While a “strike” may not always be the best approach, certainly education, stabilization forces and political and economic pressure can go a long way, if it is backed up with appropriate defence policy. The Canadian military is the “doing” aspect of Canadian foreign policy and should indeed be used as such. But it should be used in an appropriate, resource-conserving way so that Canadian values are protected and promoted. Participation gets you a share in decisions, and that, in and of itself is often reason enough to participate. Without participation, there is no political leverage in dealing with other problems. To conclude, while some suggest that that the problem with threat assessments is that if you look for trouble, you will inevitably find it. However, it is the opinion of the author that if you do not look for trouble, it has a way of finding you.

NOTES

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- ⁱⁱⁱ *Ibid.*
- ^{iv} Granatstein, J.L. *Who Killed the Canadian Military?* HarperFlamingoCanada. (USA, 2004) p.214
- ^v Hammond, Allen. *Which World? Scenarios for the 21st Century*. Island Press. (New York, 1998) p.5
- ^{vi} Bunker, Robert J. (Ed) *Non-State Threats and Future Wars*. Frank Cass (London, 2003) xi
- ^{vii} Hanson, Jim & Susan McNish. (ed) *Canada and the World: Non-Traditional Security Threats*. CISS. (Toronto, 1997) p.5
- ^{viii} Bunker, Robert J. (Ed) *Non-State Threats and Future Wars*. Frank Cass (London, 2003) p.51
- ^{ix} Bell, Stewart. *Cold Terror*. John Wiley & Sons Canada Ltd. (Canada, 2004) xiv
- ^x Statistics Canada. *International Trade. Imports and Exports. 2003*
- ^{xi} Bunker, Robert J. (Ed) *Non-State Threats and Future Wars*. Frank Cass (London, 2003) p.42
- ^{xii} *Ibid* p.47
- ^{xiii} *Ibid.*
- ^{xiv} Bunker, Robert J. (Ed) *Non-State Threats and Future Wars*. Frank Cass (London, 2003) p.50
- ^{xv} n, Jim & Susan McNish. (ed) *Canada and the World: Non-Traditional Security Threats*. CISS. (Toronto, 1997) p.62
- ^{xvi} Hanson, Jim & Susan McNish. (ed) *Canada and the World: Non-Traditional Security Threats*. CISS. (Toronto, 1997) p.60
- ^{xvii} Government of Canada. www.climatechange.gc.ca. October 2004.
- ^{xviii} *Ibid.*
- ^{xix} *Climate Change 2001: Impacts, Adaptations and Vulnerabilities. Summary for Policymakers. A Report of Working Group II of the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change*. Geneva, Switzerland. 2001.
- ^{xx} *Ibid.*
- ^{xxi} *Ibid.*
- ^{xxii} Government of Canada. www.climatechange.gc.ca. October 2004.
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- ^{xxv} Hanson, Jim & Susan McNish. (ed) *Canada and the World: Non-Traditional Security Threats*. CISS. (Toronto, 1997) p. 21
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- ^{xxx} Hammond, Allen. *Which World? Scenarios for the 21st Century*. Island Press. (New York, 1998) x.
- ^{xxxi} *Ibid.* p.4