

# World View

from Sir Wilfrid Laurier to Jean Chrétien

• S A L U T I N G • 1900  
**100 years** 2000  
of International Achievement



Issue 6 • 1999

How about it,  
Sir Wilfrid?

2

Portrait  
O.D. Skelton

4

The Makers  
of Foreign Policy

6

Behind  
the Politicians

8

Peace and  
Security

10

Interview  
Prime Minister

24

Foreign Policy Development	9
Canada and the United Nations	18
Other International Organizations	20
Roundtable	22
Nations in the News	26
Culture	28
Y2K and Travel	30
News Briefs	31

Canada



## • A rendezvous with history •

For Canada the 20th century has been an era of steady, determined and quiet affirmation of our country's personality in international relations.

Canadian foreign policy had very modest beginnings but has evolved into an intricate and complex process by which we exert a positive influence on world affairs. Throughout the century, Canada has actively contributed to a more secure and prosperous world. It participated in British Imperial affairs and later the Commonwealth; it joined the League of Nations after the First World War and played a pivotal role in the establishment of its successor, the United Nations, after the Second World War; and it is constructively involved in La Francophonie, the Organization of American States (OAS), the Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC) forum and other international bodies, including the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) and the Group of Eight leading industrialized nations (G-8). This is a record that speaks for itself.

When the Department of External Affairs was created in 1909, it was staffed by an Under-Secretary and four clerks, and was basically a branch of the Prime Minister's Office. Canada had a few commercial and immigration agents abroad, but no diplomatic representation. Today, the Department of

Foreign Affairs and International Trade (DFAIT) has some 8000 employees and locally engaged staff in over 200 posts around the globe and at headquarters in Ottawa.

Despite Canada's relatively small population of 30 million, its voice carries weight in world affairs. This is partly because of the high standards set in the 1920s for the recruitment of Foreign Service Officers, and partly because of Canada's leading role in the Second World War. It is also because of the sheer determination and vision of the men and women who worked so hard to carve out a truly Canadian foreign policy and to establish Canada as a major middle power in international affairs.

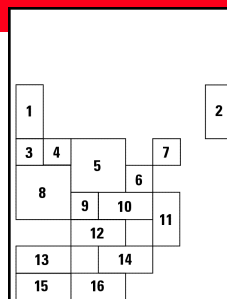
This historical issue of *Canada World View* is dedicated to these men and women, who believed in an ideal and made it possible. To tell their story in greater depth, we have doubled the size of the issue to 32 pages, up from our regular 16-page format.

The issue looks at both past and current achievements, and explores avenues toward a foreign policy for the 21st century. We hope you enjoy this issue of *Canada World View* and find it useful and informative. ●—

The Editors

## Our Cover

- 1 Prime Minister Sir Wilfrid Laurier, circa 1910
- 2 Prime Minister Jean Chrétien
- 3 Trafalgar Building. First headquarters of the Department of External Affairs from 1909 to 1914
- 4 Prime Minister Sir Robert Borden, circa 1915
- 5 San Francisco Conference, creating the UN in 1945.  
Justice Minister Louis St. Laurent, Prime Minister William Lyon Mackenzie King
- 6 East Block, Parliament Hill. Headquarters of the Department of External Affairs from 1914 to 1973
- 7 Prime Minister Richard Bedford Bennett, circa 1931
- 8 Québec Conference, 1943. Standing: Prime Minister King, British Prime Minister Winston Churchill.  
Seated: U.S. President Franklin Delano Roosevelt, Lord Athlone
- 9 Inside the Department of External Affairs, East Block, circa 1920
- 10 Prime Minister John Diefenbaker and U.S. President Dwight David Eisenhower, 1959
- 11 Canadian peacekeepers with the NATO-led force in Kosovo, June 1999
- 12 Prime Minister Lester B. Pearson and Indian Prime Minister Indira Gandhi, 1966
- 13 Chinese Chairman Mao Zedong and Prime Minister Pierre Elliot Trudeau, 1973
- 14 Former Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev and Prime Minister Brian Mulroney, 1990
- 15 Lester B. Pearson Building, headquarters of the Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade since 1973
- 16 South African President Nelson Mandela and Prime Minister Chrétien, 1997



"Canada has its autonomy and intends to keep it."

PRIME MINISTER WILFRID LAURIER  
Colonial Conference, 1907

photo: National Archives of Canada

# Sir Wilfrid?

## Was it Canada's century?

If Sir Wilfrid Laurier could be asked today whether history had fulfilled his prediction that the 20th century would belong to Canada, what would be his answer?

He might begin by clarifying what he actually said. Often misquoted, Laurier's exact words were, "As the 19th century was that of the United States, so I think the 20th century shall be filled by Canada." The United States had come of age in the preceding 100 years, extending its borders to the Pacific, surviving a civil war and emerging as a world power. The issue, then, was not ownership of a century but fulfilment of a national aspiration or destiny.

Measured in those terms, how has Canada fared? When Laurier became the country's seventh prime minister in 1896, the Dominion of Canada was still considerably less than an independent nation: it was effectively subordinate to Britain within the Empire in such matters as foreign affairs and defence. With its five million people, Canada was a vast, underpopulated and politically divided country with an unstable economy, an uncertain future and only tenuous links from coast to coast. In a 1911 speech, Laurier himself spoke of "vast fertile lands still unoccupied and untilled . . . transportation facilities still in the most rudimentary stage . . . with industry stagnant and . . . agriculture

unremunerative." And, although he did not mention it, across the border was a nation of 93 million where the concept of "manifest destiny" still had a respectable following.

The transformation of the past century would certainly have delighted Sir Wilfrid Laurier. Now a three-ocean nation of 10 provinces and three territories, Canada has become not

"As the 19th century was that of the United States, so I think the 20th century shall be filled by Canada."

only the world's breadbasket and a top-ranking supplier of natural resources, but a leader in such advanced sectors as telecommunications and information technology, undreamed of in 1900. The century brought wars and depressions to Canada, as it did to the world, but it eventually led to peace, stability and socio-economic well-being. In 1999 Canada is a member of the economic elite of G-8 nations and, by the measurement of the UN's Human Development Index, it is the best country in the world to live in. The landscape has changed in other ways that would probably please Sir Wilfrid: Imperial

preference is no more. Free trade, an issue that contributed to his electoral defeat in 1911, is now a reality on a North American scale.

In its external relations, Canada has evolved as an independent nation pursuing a global foreign policy. It is a member of the United Nations, NATO, the Commonwealth, La Francophonie, the Organization of American States,

APEC and other international organizations, and is a major dispenser of aid to developing countries. And symbolizing Canada's unique identity is the red Maple Leaf flag that flies over the Peace Tower in Ottawa and wherever Canadians make a contribution around the world.

The 20th century has seen our country evolve from a patchwork of provinces and territories to a continent-wide confederation, from colonial status to independence and from weakness to strength. In that sense, Canada filled the century with the realization of Laurier's vision. ●—

photo: National Archives of Canada



• 1880 • 1882 • 1893 • 1894

Sir Alexander T. Galt appointed Canada's High Commissioner to London.

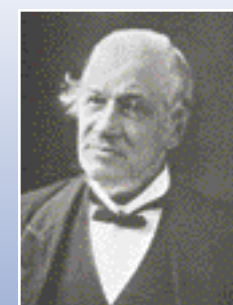


photo: National Archives of Canada

Hector Fabre appointed General Agent for the Province of Québec in France, as well as Commissioner-General and commercial agent for Canada. Fabre served in Paris until 1911.

Appointed joint plenipotentiary alongside the British Ambassador in Paris, Sir Charles Tupper negotiated a trade agreement with France. This translated the right of commercial autonomy into practice for the first time.

John Short Larke appointed resident commercial agent in Australia, the first official Canadian Trade Commissioner abroad.

foreign  
MILESTONES  
SINCE  
CONFEDERATION  
policy



## THE QUIET ARCHITECT OF THE DEPARTMENT OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS

## O.D. Skelton

More than once over his long political career, which spanned from 1908 to 1948, Prime Minister William Lyon Mackenzie King demonstrated a talent scout's ability to reach into the world outside government and recruit people who were outstandingly well suited for public service leadership.

Oscar Douglas Skelton was a case in point. In 1922, early in King's first term as Prime Minister, he heard Skelton speak at a Canadian Club luncheon on the need for Canada to develop its own foreign policy. This was a position close to King's own heart and he was hearing it expressed by a speaker with Liberal Party ties. Three years later Skelton,

photo: National Archives of Canada



O.D. Skelton and L.B. Pearson on board the *Berengaria* in 1923, on their way to the League of Nations in Geneva

then 47, was asked by King to succeed Sir Joseph Pope, Canada's second Under-Secretary of State for External Affairs.

Up to then, Skelton's life had been spent almost entirely in the academic world. Born in 1878 in Orangeville, Ontario, he won a scholarship to Queen's University, doing so well that he received a master's degree at age 21. After completing his doctorate at the University of Chicago, he wrote and passed exams for the elite Civil Service of India, then part of the British Empire, but did not take up employment there. Instead Skelton moved back to the United States for a period, then returned to Canada and to Queen's, where he served as Sir John A. Macdonald Professor of Political Economy and later as Dean of Arts. Along the way, he acquired a reputation as a top-notch teacher and writer.

What King offered Skelton was a chance to go beyond writing and speaking about the need for greater Canadian independence; here was an invitation to do something concrete about it. Skelton made the most of the opportunity, undertaking to transform the Department of External Affairs and also to found Canada's Foreign Service. A firm believer in competitive entrance examinations and promotion by merit, Skelton saw that the first task was to build a core of excellence. This he did by recruiting as many of the best and brightest Canadian postgraduate students as he could attract, as well as luring promising staff from other departments and the private sector. His finds included Lester B. Pearson, Norman Robertson, Hugh Keenleyside, Jean Désy, Escott Reid, Georges Vanier and many more who made significant contributions to Canadian public life.

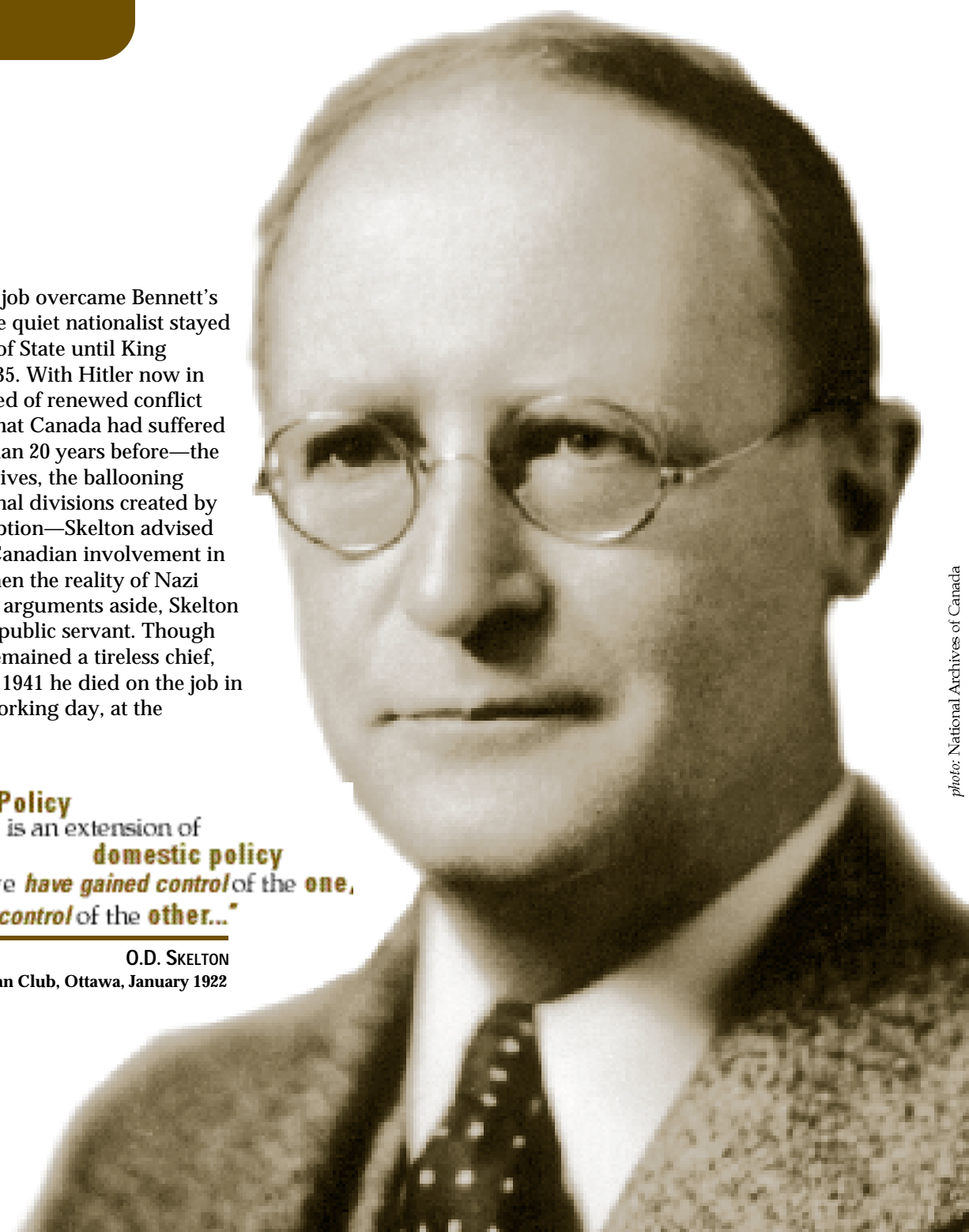
Skelton's shy demeanour and instinctive prudence concealed a fierce passion for two related causes: Canadian independence and the building of a strong Foreign Service. As one of King's closest advisers, Skelton became immensely influential in the government. When the breezy, flamboyant Conservative R.B. Bennett replaced King in 1930, Skelton's

obvious mastery of the job overcame Bennett's initial wariness, and the quiet nationalist stayed on as Under-Secretary of State until King returned to office in 1935. With Hitler now in power, the threat loomed of renewed conflict in Europe. Recalling what Canada had suffered in the Great War less than 20 years before—the heavy loss of soldiers' lives, the ballooning national debt, the internal divisions created by introduction of conscription—Skelton advised King to resist or limit Canadian involvement in another world war. When the reality of Nazi aggression swept these arguments aside, Skelton soldiered on as a loyal public servant. Though fighting ill health, he remained a tireless chief, leading by example. In 1941 he died on the job in the middle of a busy working day, at the age of 63. ●—

**"Foreign Policy**  
is an extension of  
**domestic policy**  
and as we **have gained control** of the one,  
so we **must gain control** of the other..."

O.D. SKELTON  
Canadian Club, Ottawa, January 1922

photo: National Archives of Canada



• 1902 • 1909

At the Fourth Colonial Conference in London, Laurier rejected the British concept of centralization and a single Imperial navy.

Establishment of the Department of External Affairs (DEA) under the authority of the Secretary of State, with Under-Secretary Joseph Pope and four clerks.

The Trafalgar Bldg., Ottawa, first site of DEA offices, 1909–14.



photo: National Archives of Canada

• 1912 • 1914

External Affairs Act of 1909 amended to give the Prime Minister direct responsibility for the Department of External Affairs.

AUGUST 5: In the name of the British Empire, King George V declared war on Germany. Ottawa was simply informed that Canada was at war.

• 1919

JUNE 26: Canada signed the Versailles Peace Treaty with Germany as an independent nation within the British Commonwealth.

In its own right, Canada participated in the creation of the League of Nations. ▶

photo: Riddell Papers—York University Archives



• 1923

Conclusion of the Canada–U.S. Halibut Fisheries Treaty. Prime Minister King decided not to include the British in the negotiations because the Treaty dealt solely with North American affairs. This was the first international treaty that a Dominion signed without the accompanying signature of Britain.

• 1925

Opening of Canada House, the office of the Canadian High Commissioner in London.



photo: National Archives of Canada



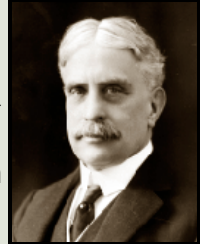
**CHARLES MURPHY**  
(1909–11) **WILLIAM JAMES ROCHE**  
(1911–12)



Although Murphy and Roche were assigned the title of Secretary of State for External Affairs, the real authority remained with the Prime Minister. ■

**ROBERT BORDEN**  
(1912–20)

was a staunch imperialist when in opposition, but in office he fought effectively for greater Canadian autonomy in Imperial and foreign affairs. In the First World War, he insisted on a greater Canadian say in British military planning. After the war, he made sure that Canada had its own delegation to the Paris Peace Conference and at the League of Nations. ■



**ARTHUR MEIGHEN**  
(1920–21, 1926)

was a neophyte in international relations and did not see himself as an international statesman in the mould of Borden. Consequently, he relied heavily on Under-Secretary of State Joseph Pope and Legal Adviser Loring Christie. ■



**WILLIAM LYON MACKENZIE KING**  
(1921–30, 1935–46)

was Prime Minister for 22 years and Secretary of State for External Affairs for all but the last 2 of them. His period in office saw Canada achieve independence in international affairs, with major events including the development of the modern Commonwealth, triumph in the Second World War and the founding of the United Nations. ■



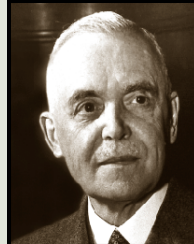
**RICHARD BEDFORD BENNETT**  
(1930–35)

sought to build a trade policy based on Imperial preference and set in motion action that led, after his defeat in the 1935 election, to reciprocal trade agreements with the United States. ■



**LOUIS ST. LAURENT**  
(1946–48)

was Canada's first full-time Secretary of State for External Affairs. A convinced internationalist, St. Laurent believed that Canada should play a strong role in the UN and other international organizations. After he became Prime Minister, St. Laurent supported Canadian membership in NATO and Canadian participation in the UN intervention in Korea. ■



**LESTER B. PEARSON**  
(1948–57)

was arguably the dominant figure of the century in Canadian foreign policy. Recruited in 1929, he became Under-Secretary in 1946. Together with Louis St. Laurent, he shaped Canada's postwar foreign policy. He entered politics in September 1948 and was immediately appointed Secretary of State for External Affairs in the government of St. Laurent. He was the only Canadian to serve as President of the United Nations General Assembly (1952) and to be awarded the Nobel Peace Prize (1957). From 1963 to 1968 he was Prime Minister of Canada. ■



**SIDNEY EARL SMITH**  
(1957–59)

had served as president of the University of Toronto before joining the government of Prime Minister John Diefenbaker, who took a direct and active hand in the conduct of foreign affairs. During his tenure, Smith sought to expand relations with Latin America and to promote disarmament issues. He died in office in 1959. ■



# The Makers of Canadian Foreign Policy:

**HOWARD GREEN**  
(1959–63)

was a strong proponent of limited nuclear disarmament and made this a central plank of Canadian foreign policy. The issue was to play an important part in the fall of the Conservative government in 1963. Green also sought closer ties with Latin America: during his tenure Canada began sending observers to meetings of the Organization of American States. ■



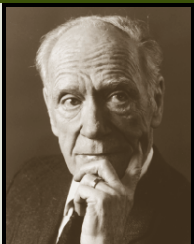
**PAUL MARTIN SR.**  
(1963–68)

was an experienced Cabinet minister and had been active in Canada's delegations to the United Nations before assuming the External Affairs portfolio. Martin's period in office was eventful and challenging, marked by the Cyprus crisis, the deepening war in Vietnam, the 1967 Middle East war and Rhodesia's unilateral declaration of independence. ■



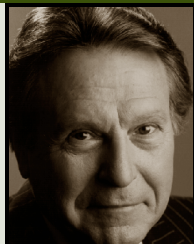
**MITCHELL SHARP**  
(1968–74)

helped draft the Liberal Party's foreign policy platform; among other things, this called for establishment of diplomatic relations with China and a review of Canadian participation in NATO. Sharp advocated a "Third Option" policy approach designed to lessen Canada's dependence on ties with the United States and establish closer links with Europe. ■



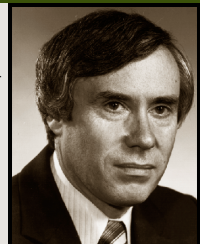
**ALLAN J. MACEachEN**  
(1974–76, 1982–84)

was a former academic and skilled politician. In addition, he served as Government Leader in the House of Commons and was a close confidant of Prime Minister Trudeau. He played a significant role in the development of Prime Minister Trudeau's "Peace Initiative." ■



**MARK MACGUIGAN**  
(1980–82)

was an academic and a politician. He served as Secretary of State for External Affairs in the government formed after Pierre Trudeau returned to power in 1980. ■



**JEAN CHRÉTIEN**  
(1984)

was a veteran of many Cabinet posts under Pierre Trudeau and was destined to become Prime Minister himself. He held the External Affairs portfolio for only a few months in the short-lived government of Prime Minister John Turner. ■



**JOE CLARK**  
(1984–91)

had briefly held the post of Prime Minister in 1979–80. He served as Secretary of State for External Affairs in the government of Prime Minister Brian Mulroney, holding the portfolio longer than anyone since Lester B. Pearson. During his tenure, Canada joined the Organization of American States and made strong overtures to the Asia-Pacific region. ■



**BARBARA McDOUGALL**  
(1991–93)

was a former business journalist and had previously served in Cabinet as Minister of State for Privatization and Regulatory Affairs and Minister of Employment and Immigration. She was only the second woman to hold the External Affairs portfolio. In recent years she has headed the Canadian Institute of International Affairs. ■



**PERRIN BEATTY**  
(1993)

was Secretary of State for External Affairs from spring 1993 until the electoral defeat of the short-lived government of Prime Minister Kim Campbell. In recent years he has served as President of the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation. ■



**ANDRÉ OUELLET**  
(1993–96)

was the first person to hold the renamed Foreign Affairs portfolio, with the title of Minister of Foreign Affairs. During his time in office, the Department absorbed significant budget cuts, and Canada's international agenda focussed particularly on reform of the United Nations. ■



**LLOYD AXWORTHY**  
(1996–)

the current Minister of Foreign Affairs, has held many Cabinet posts. In 1997 he successfully led the international campaign for adoption of a convention banning anti-personnel mines and is now providing leadership on human security in international affairs. ■



## THE PRIME MINISTERS AND MINISTERS WHO CHARTED THE COURSE OF OUR FOREIGN POLICY IN THE 20TH CENTURY

*From the time of Confederation, the Prime Minister's Office had handled Canada's external relations. In 1909 the situation changed when legislation created a separate government department, to be headed by a Cabinet minister with the title of Secretary of State for External Affairs. From 1912 to 1946, this Cabinet post was held by the Prime Minister of Canada. In 1993 the title was changed to Minister of Foreign Affairs.*

• 1926

Vincent Massey named the first Canadian Minister to the United States. His appointment marked the beginning of Canada's autonomous relations with that country. The following year, Canada officially opened a Legation in Washington.

The Imperial Conference adopted the Balfour Declaration, which formed the basis of the Statute of Westminster, adopted in 1931 (see box on page 12). It further stipulated that, henceforth, the High Commissioners (instead of the Governors General) would be "the most important channels of communication between the governments of the Commonwealth."



photo: National Archives of Canada

• 1927

Canadian Legation established in Paris. Philippe Roy appointed Canadian Minister to France.



photo: National Archives of Canada

• 1928

Canadian Legation established in Tokyo. Sir Herbert Marler appointed Canadian Minister to Japan.

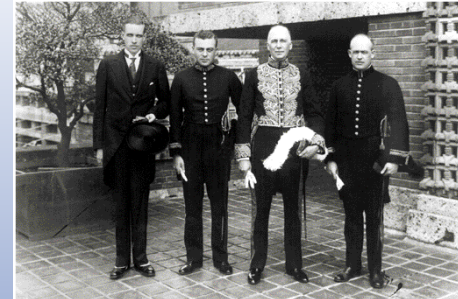


photo: National Archives of Canada

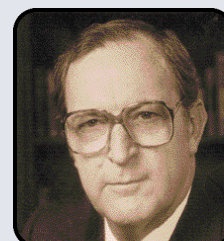
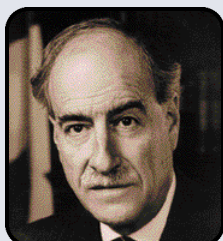
• 1931

The government of Prime Minister R.B. Bennett passed legislation taxing all advertising in an attempt to slow the influx of U.S. magazines into Canada. The law was repealed by Mackenzie King's government in 1936.

• 1932

Canada hosted the first Imperial economic conference ever held outside London. A system of preferential tariffs was established for the Empire. As a result, Canada maintained considerable market share in Britain and throughout the Empire during the Great Depression.



Sir Joseph Pope  
(1909–25)Oscar Douglas Skelton  
(1925–41)Norman Robertson  
(1941–46, 1958–64)Lester B. Pearson  
(1946–48)Escott Reid (Acting  
Under-Secretary of  
State, 1948–49)Arnold Heeney  
(1949–52)Dana L. Wilgress  
(1952–53)Jules Léger  
(1954–58)Marcel Cadieux  
(1964–70)A. Edgar Ritchie  
(1970–74)H. Basil Robinson  
(1974–77)Alan Gottlieb  
(1977–81)Gordon Osbaldeston  
(1982)Marcel Massé  
(1982–85)James H. ("Si")  
Taylor (1985–89)de Montigny  
Marchand (1989–91)J. Reid Morden  
(1991–94)Gordon Smith  
(1994–97)Don Campbell  
(1997–)

## Behind the POLITICIANS:

The civil servants who piloted Canada's  
foreign affairs during the 20th century

The civil service head of the department responsible for Canada's foreign affairs was known as **Under-Secretary of State for External Affairs** until 1993, and thereafter as **Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs**. ●—

photos: National Archives of Canada and DFAIT

# Shaping Foreign Policy:

ENGAGING ALL CANADIANS

Since 1867, Canadians have built a democracy characterized by a well-functioning, vital civil society. Professional groups, academics, research institutions and think tanks, business and labour organizations, and community groups have flourished.

They have also played a continuing and increasingly prominent role in shaping Canada's foreign policy. The inclusion of civil society has deep roots. In particular, the Canadian Institute of International Affairs (CIIA) has taken a leading part in public discussions. CIIA Director John Holmes, a former diplomat and teacher, helped build a base of informed citizens and aware internationalists.

In recent decades, Canadians have sought a more active role. Non-government organizations (NGOs), experts, academics and professionals from every discipline all help shape foreign policy. NGOs have led the way in human rights, and DFAIT has set up regular NGO consultations. Academics and other experts have helped shape specific disarmament measures and

create "second track" diplomacy. Canadian doctors, police officers, scientists, engineers, teachers, artists and many others help make Canadian foreign policy a reality on the ground abroad.

Parliamentarians, too, play an important role. Foreign Affairs Minister Lloyd Axworthy consults the House of Commons Standing Committee on Foreign Affairs on issues including Canada's participation in peacekeeping missions and nuclear disarmament.

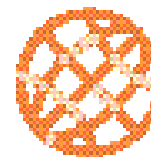
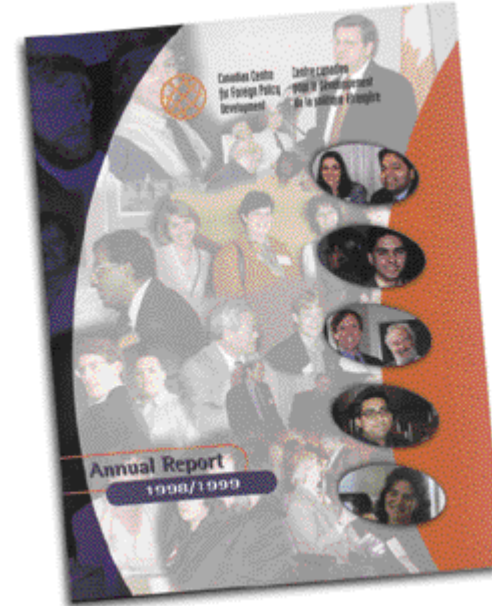
As for citizens' involvement, in 1994 a Special Parliamentary Committee recommended that public input should be strengthened "to ensure that the voice of Canadians can be heard."

In 1996, Minister Axworthy established the Canadian Centre for Foreign Policy Development (CCFPD). The Centre directly engages Canadians through the National Forum, roundtables and policy option papers, enabling them to participate in broadening ideas and foreign policy making.

Canadian youth also participate in the formulation of foreign policy through forums and seminars. Through internships provided by the Department's Youth

Canada has established itself as a leader in the field sometimes called public diplomacy. The Canadian Centre for Foreign Policy Development is at the heart of Ottawa's efforts to include citizen policymakers.

—Christian Science Monitor, Boston



Canadian Centre  
for Foreign Policy  
Development

International Internship Program ([www.dfait-maeci.gc.ca/interns/](http://www.dfait-maeci.gc.ca/interns/)), which is part of the government's Youth Employment Strategy. Canadian youth also contribute in a direct way to the advancement of current foreign policy objectives.

These processes have strengthened Canada and have earned the country international recognition and credibility in promoting democracy and civil society. Such public participation will be increasingly important in the new millennium. As Minister Axworthy has said, "In the future, our success internationally will hinge on our ability to harness the creative ideas in all sectors of Canadian society through an open policy process." ●—

For more information, visit the CCFPD Web site ([www.cfp-pec.gc.ca](http://www.cfp-pec.gc.ca)) or contact the Centre by telephone at (613) 944-4150/-0391, by fax at (613) 944-0687 or by letter at the following address:  
Canadian Centre for Foreign Policy Development  
125 Sussex Drive  
Ottawa, Ontario K1A 0G2

• 1935

Conclusion of a three-year, most-favoured-nation trade agreement between Canada and the United States. This would form the basis for increasingly close relations between the two countries later on.

• 1936

Tens of thousands of people attended the official unveiling of the Vimy Memorial.



photo: National Archives of Canada

• 1937

JUNE 29: Prime Minister Mackenzie King met with Adolf Hitler and indicated that Canada would come to the aid of the United Kingdom in case of German aggression.

photo: National Archives of Canada



• 1939

MAY 21: King George VI and Queen Elizabeth (now Queen Mother) unveiling the War Memorial in Ottawa.

SEPTEMBER 10: Canada declared war on Germany.

• 1940

JUNE 10: Canada declared war on Italy.

JUNE 12: Canada participated in the first Inter-Allied Meeting in London and pledged to work with the Allies for an "enduring peace" based on the "willing co-operation of free peoples in a world in which, relieved of the menace of aggression, all may enjoy economic and social security."

AUGUST 18: Establishment of the consultative Canada–U.S. Permanent Joint Board on Defence. In 1947, Prime Minister King announced that both countries had agreed to continue and enhance their defence co-operation.

• 1941

Conclusion of the Hyde Park agreement between Canada and the U.S. for joint defence production.





photos: DND

# PEACE and Security:

## CANADA'S HALLMARK IN WORLD AFFAIRS

*If Canada's foreign policy throughout the 20th century had to be described in only two words, they would be peace and security. Right from Sir John A. Macdonald's refusal in 1884 to send a*

*military contingent to relieve the besieged British garrison in Khartoum, down to our recent decision to participate in the United Nations' latest*

*peacekeeping mission in Sierra Leone, Canadian diplomacy has always focussed on promoting international peace and security.*

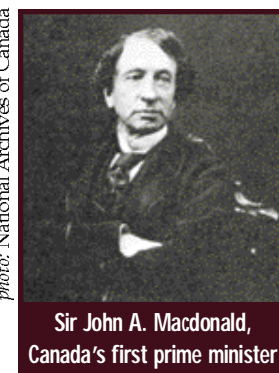


photo: National Archives of Canada

Sir John A. Macdonald,  
Canada's first prime minister

When he was Prime Minister in 1899, Wilfrid Laurier refused to send Canadian troops to fight alongside the British in the Boer War; he would allow only a battalion of volunteers to go. In 1910, the menace presented by growing German naval power led to demands for Canada to participate in Britain's Royal Navy. Laurier's

eventual response was the creation of a separate Canadian navy.

In 1922, Prime Minister Mackenzie King refused to send Canadian soldiers to help British occupation troops pinned

photo: National Archives of Canada



Canadian delegation at a session of the League of Nations, Geneva, 1928—  
from left to right: O.D. Skelton, Philippe Roy, Senator Raoul Dandurand,  
Prime Minister King, Charles Dunning, Walter Riddell

down by Turkish nationalist forces at Chanak (now Canakkale), in Turkey. King's refusal clearly showed his desire to disengage Canadian external policy from that of Britain. Like every one of his predecessors, he was reluctant to involve Canada in Imperial skirmishes that did not threaten Britain itself.

On the other hand, when Britain was threatened at the outbreak of the First World War in 1914, Canadians broadly supported the decision of Prime Minister Robert Borden's government to dispatch a Canadian Expeditionary Force to Europe. Borden was, however, upset that King George V had declared war on Germany in the name of the British Empire—including Canada—with London simply informing Ottawa that it was now at war with Germany. Things would be different at the outbreak of the Second World War in 1939: one week after the British, Canada declared war on Germany through a vote in Parliament. This time Canada had asserted its autonomy loud and clear.



2



3

1. General Maurice Baril, Chief of Defence Staff of the Canadian Armed Forces, during a visit to Canadian units of the NATO-led Peace Stabilization Force, Drvar, Bosnia and Herzegovina, October 1997
2. Canadian soldier giving bath to young Rwandan at hospital, August 1994
3. 102-year-old woman and her granddaughter welcoming a Canadian member of the NATO force in Urosevac, Kosovo, June 1999

• 1942

JANUARY: In Washington, along with 25 other countries, Canada signed the United Nations Declaration, which stated, "Each Government pledges itself to co-operate and to employ its full resources, military or economic, against those members of the Tripartite Pact (Germany, Italy, Japan) and its adherents." Elements of the Declaration were to form the basis for the United Nations Organization, established in 1945.

AUGUST: Dieppe beach, France, where Canadian casualties amounted to more than 3300, including 1800 taken prisoner.



photo: CANAPRESS

• 1943

JULY 9: In the House of Commons, Prime Minister Mackenzie King announced a new foreign policy doctrine entitled "functionalism," based on the principle that the involvement of countries in different international activities should vary in accordance with their contribution to those activities, and that the largest countries should not dominate or smaller ones insist on an equal voice in all affairs.

JULY 9–10: Canada participated in the Allied landing in Sicily.

• 1944

MARCH 17: Minister of Munitions and Supplies C.D. Howe tabled the Draft Convention for International Air Transport in the House of Commons, the first such document in the world. Later that year in Chicago, the draft provided the basis for the establishment of the International Civil Aviation Organization (ICAO), which has its international headquarters in Montréal.



photo: CANAPRESS

◀ JUNE 6: D-Day: Canada participated in the Allied invasion of Europe. Photo: Canadian troops land at Bernières-sur-mer, France.

JULY 1–23: Based on U.S., British and Canadian plans, the Bretton Woods Conference on International Economic and Financial Co-operation agreed on the establishment of two institutions: the International Monetary Fund and the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (the World Bank).

12

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After the First World War in 1919, when Canada joined the new League of Nations, it strongly supported the binding arbitration mechanisms and the disarmament provisions in the League's Covenant. The head of the Canadian delegation, Senator Raoul Dandurand, played a major role in defending the rights of Europe's ethnic and religious minorities, totalling some 25 million people in the 1920s; his efforts helped ensure that the League strengthened its procedures in overseeing their treatment.

### The Statute of Westminster

One of the most important pieces of legislation in Canadian constitutional history was the Statute of Westminster. Adopted by the British Parliament on December 11, 1931, it made Canada, Australia, New Zealand, South Africa, Newfoundland and Ireland "fully independent dominions equal in status to but closely associated with the mother country" as part of the British Commonwealth of Nations.

As a result of the Statute, a Canadian ambassador (then called a minister) no longer had to be introduced by a British ambassador when presenting credentials to a host government. In addition, Canada could now be invited to join some international organizations that did not recognize dependencies or colonies—for example, the Pan-American Postal Union.

The Statute confirmed the right of dominions to independent conduct of their external relations. Its adoption prompted Mackenzie King to say, "We in Canada have just as good material and brains for the Foreign Service as any other part of the Empire."

Session of the Council of the League of Nations, Madrid, June 1929, with Canadian representative Sen. Raoul Dandurand attending

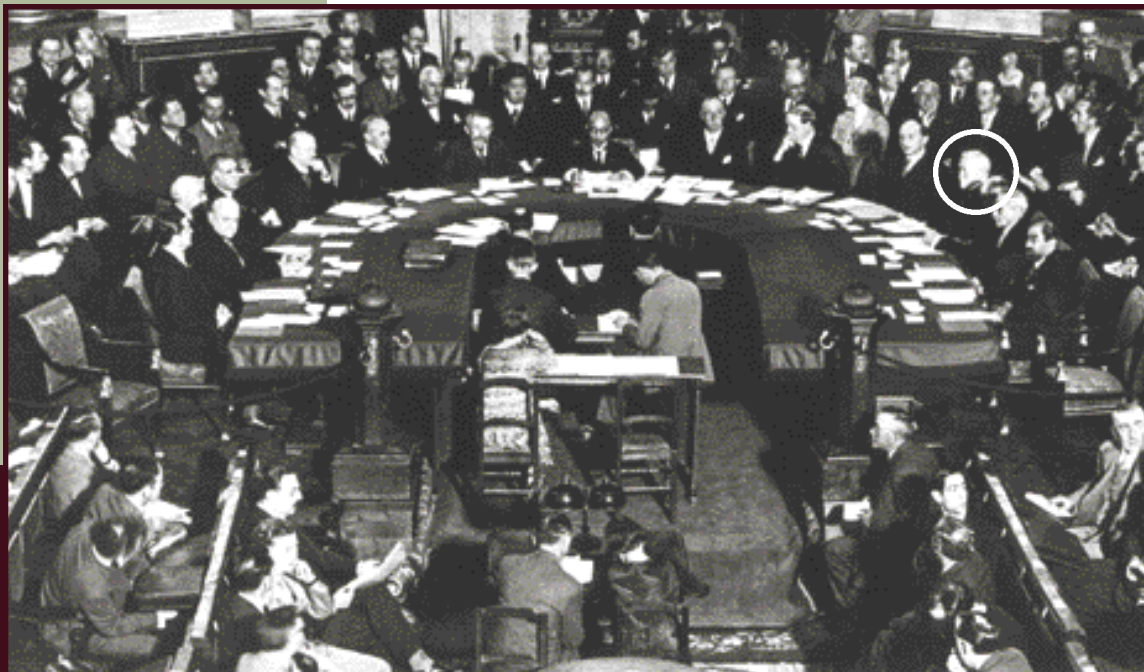


photo: Riddell Papers—York University Archives

### CANADA'S PRIVILEGED FORUM: THE UNITED NATIONS

After the Second World War, the United Nations ([www.un.org](http://www.un.org)) became the main global forum where Canada would work for world peace and security. The process of drafting the UN Charter had been controlled by the major powers, but Canada made its views known. In particular, Canada helped secure the principle of "functionalism," establishing that one of the criteria for election to a non-permanent seat on the Security Council should be a member's contribution to the preservation of peace and security, rather than its size or strength. Canada also played an important part in the drafting of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, proclaimed by the UN on December 10, 1948. Canadian international law professor and human rights expert John Peters Humphrey wrote the first draft of the Declaration.

Canada was a strong advocate of international peace and security in the years when the UN's effectiveness was undermined by Cold War politics. At the same time, Canada accepted and even promoted the idea of a Western regional union for collective defence, and became a co-founder of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) in 1949 ([www.nato.org](http://www.nato.org)). As a result, in 1951 Canadian military units were sent back across the Atlantic to bolster NATO forces protecting Western Europe.



L.B. Pearson giving a press conference during the Suez Crisis, October 30, 1956

Joining NATO marked a turning point in Canadian policy. Traditionally, Canada had been loath to enter into commitments separately with either Britain or the United States. It found it easier to participate in an organization of which both those countries were members.

Canada took similar action in 1950, when it dispatched troops to fight under UN command in the Korean War. During the conflict, U.S. General Douglas MacArthur, the commanding officer of the UN Force, pressed to expand the war into China to retaliate for Chinese "volunteers" fighting alongside the North Koreans. This could have triggered a third world war. Canada sought a different way of resolving the conflict: in UN corridors and Washington offices, Canadian diplomats worked with exceptional zeal and skill to advance arguments for a negotiated peace.

Canada's most outstanding contribution to world peace and security came in 1956 with the Suez Crisis. Lester B. Pearson played a masterful role in orchestrating a peaceful resolution to the conflict. Former diplomat John Holmes compared Pearson's role to that of a "quarterback,"

photo: National Archives of Canada



Canadian soldiers in Korea, 1950

Meanwhile, British and French paratroopers had begun landing in the Canal Zone. In a telegram to St. Laurent, Eden justified the intervention on the grounds that it was required to end the fighting and ensure safe operation of the canal. An infuriated St. Laurent expressed dismay in stringent terms. The United Nations Emergency Force was finally created on November 6 and deployed two weeks later. The first-ever UN peacekeeping mission was born and it included Canadian forces. That forever identified Canada with UN peacekeeping activities and earned Pearson the 1957 Nobel Peace Prize.

• 1945

• 1947

• 1949

• 1950

• 1955

• 1956

APRIL 25: Opening of the San Francisco Conference on the establishment of the United Nations, showing the Canadian delegation. At the front: Justice Minister Louis St. Laurent and Prime Minister King. On June 26, Canada signed the UN Charter. Canadian forces played a key role in the liberation of Holland.

photo: National Archives of Canada

JANUARY 13: St. Laurent outlined a new postwar foreign policy based on the principles of national unity, political liberty, the rule of law, Christian values, and acceptance of international responsibilities. Canada would achieve this by participating in constructive international action through multilateral organizations.

photo: United Nations



For the first time, Canada was elected to a two-year term as a non-permanent member of the UN Security Council, beginning in January 1948.

APRIL 4: Canada signed the North Atlantic Treaty and became a founding member of NATO. Here the Canadian Ambassador to the United States, Hume Wrong, signs the Treaty.

photo: National Archives of Canada



Outbreak of the Korean War. Canadian forces joined in the UN contingent defending the South.

Lester B. Pearson became Canada's first Secretary of State for External Affairs to visit the Soviet Union. Pearson, at a luncheon with Politburo members in Moscow.

photo: National Archives of Canada



JULY: The Suez Crisis (see box above). Canada played a major role in resolving it.



## Recognition of China

Canada had struggled with the issue of recognizing China ever since 1949, when communist forces dislodged the Nationalist government and proclaimed a people's republic. Canada had opened an embassy in Nanking in 1941, but it was closed in 1951 on the orders of the Beijing government, after Canada had supported a UN resolution condemning China as an aggressor in Korea.

Successive Canadian governments sought recognition for China and its admittance to the United Nations, but international tensions and conflicts thwarted their efforts. Finally, in 1969 the government of Prime Minister Trudeau entered into negotiations with Beijing. Despite opposition from Washington, Trudeau was anxious to end China's isolation, convinced that it made little sense to ignore rather than deal with a major power in international affairs. Official recognition came on October 10, 1970. Back then, most Western nations still acknowledged instead the claims of the Nationalist regime on the offshore island of Taiwan, which occupied a disputed seat as a permanent member of the UN Security Council.

Canada's example prompted similar action by several countries and eventually the United States in 1973.

13

inventing plays and giving signals, shifting his ground to take advantage of openings and exploiting adversity to better jump in. His vast experience and his nimble grasp of essentials gave him the necessary confidence, and his own assurance under pressure inspired the confidence of others."

Since 1956, the UN has deployed more than 40 peacekeeping missions around the world and Canada has participated in nearly all of them. Peacekeeping has become a Canadian specialty, demonstrating our country's commitment to international peace and security ([www.dfait-maeci.gc.ca/peacekeeping/menu-e.asp](http://www.dfait-maeci.gc.ca/peacekeeping/menu-e.asp)).



Prime Minister Trudeau with Chinese Chairman Mao Zedong in Beijing, October 1973

## A NEW WORLD ORDER

In 1983–84, with no break in sight to the Cold War, Prime Minister Pierre Elliot Trudeau launched a personal peace initiative. Visiting leaders of both East and West blocs, he sought to persuade them to launch negotiations with the aim of reducing nuclear weapons stocks and lessening tensions. Although his efforts found some support, the superpowers remained aloof. In 1985, Moscow and Washington finally agreed to bilateral discussions on limiting nuclear weapons arsenals.

The Cold War era ended a decade ago with the collapse of communist regimes in the East bloc. The result was a dramatic reduction in international tension. However, expected peace dividends have failed to materialize and the world faces an array of new threats to peace and security: mass migration, transnational crime, environmental degradation,

overpopulation, underdevelopment and more. In recent years, for instance, the number of small-scale conflicts has multiplied and their nature has changed. In 1997 alone there were no fewer than 87 armed (mostly intrastate) conflicts, almost all of them in the developing world.

In 1995 the Government of Canada responded to the changed situation. After a comprehensive review of Canada's external relations, it announced a new "pillar" of Canadian foreign policy: the "protection of our security, within a stable global framework."

## PEACEBUILDING

In recognition of the connection between security, stability and development, the Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade (DFAIT) ([www.dfait-maeci.gc.ca/peacebuilding/index-e.asp](http://www.dfait-maeci.gc.ca/peacebuilding/index-e.asp)) and the Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA) ([www.acdi-cida.gc.ca](http://www.acdi-cida.gc.ca)) launched the Canadian Peacebuilding Initiative in 1996. Two objectives of equal importance underpin this joint undertaking: to assist countries in conflict in their efforts toward peace and stability; and to promote Canadian peacebuilding capacity and participation in international peacebuilding initiatives. The CIDA Peacebuilding Fund supports initiatives that promote dialogue, develop local leadership and strengthen local institutions to contribute to

peacebuilding in countries affected by conflict. To date, more than 40 projects have been completed or are under way in Africa, the Middle East, Haiti and Bosnia, among others. The DFAIT Peacebuilding and Human Security Program supports international action, dialogue, applied research and policy development with a focus on war-affected children, small arms proliferation, strengthening of the civilian components of peace operations and multilateral mechanisms set up by regional and international organizations.

16

## The Trudeau Peace Initiative

On October 27, 1983, in a speech at the University of Guelph, Ontario, Prime Minister Trudeau advocated several confidence-building measures to reduce Cold War tensions, including a conference of the five nuclear powers with a view to decreasing nuclear weapons arsenals. This was the launch of what became known as the Peace Initiative. To promote the idea, in the following months Trudeau travelled to France, the Netherlands, Belgium, Italy, West Germany, the United Kingdom, the United States, the Soviet Union and the United Nations in New York. In February 1984, he announced that he had received "pledges of co-operation to defuse East–West tensions" from East Germany,

Czechoslovakia and Romania. Also expressing support was Premier Zhao Ziyang of China, the only nuclear power to favour the initiative. Soviet officials gave encouragement but declined to participate actively.

The initiative culminated in June 1984, shortly before Trudeau's retirement, at the G-7 Summit meeting in London. There, in his last official appearance as Prime Minister, he convinced his colleagues to issue a pledge to "pursue the search for extended political dialogue and long-term co-operation with the Soviet Union." Tangible progress came only later, in January 1985, when the United States and the Soviet Union started negotiations on an agenda for discussions on limiting nuclear weapons stocks. The discussions led to several agreements between Washington and Moscow in the following years. Political dialogue also made strides: today Russia, the successor state to the former Soviet Union, is a member of the G-8, the expanded group replacing the G-7.



Prime Minister Trudeau with British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher in London, June 1984

• 1958

Canada was elected to a second two-year term on the UN Security Council.

FEBRUARY 24–APRIL 28: First Conference on the Law of the Sea in Geneva. With the longest coastline in the world, Canada played a leading role in the negotiations and in the shaping of the Convention on the Law of the Sea, which would finally come into force on November 16, 1994. Shown here is the Canadian delegation, headed by Canada's High Commissioner in London, George Drew (seated far right). ▶

MAY 12: Ottawa and Washington signed the North American Air Defence Agreement (NORAD). In 1981, it was renamed the North American Aerospace Defence Command.



• 1961

Repulsed by South Africa's racist policies against its black majority, Prime Minister John Diefenbaker sided with African and Asian members at the Commonwealth Conference and was the only white leader to oppose that country's application for renewed Commonwealth membership. As a result, South Africa withdrew its application.

• 1963

DECEMBER 31: Canada received nuclear warheads for its Bomarc missiles, acquired in 1959 and deployed at North Bay, Ontario, and La Macaza, Québec. In 1970 the government announced that Canada would withdraw its armed forces from their nuclear roles. As a result, the Bomarc were phased out of service in 1971. The issue of equipping the missiles with warheads had triggered a major debate in Canada and strained relations with the United States.

• 1965

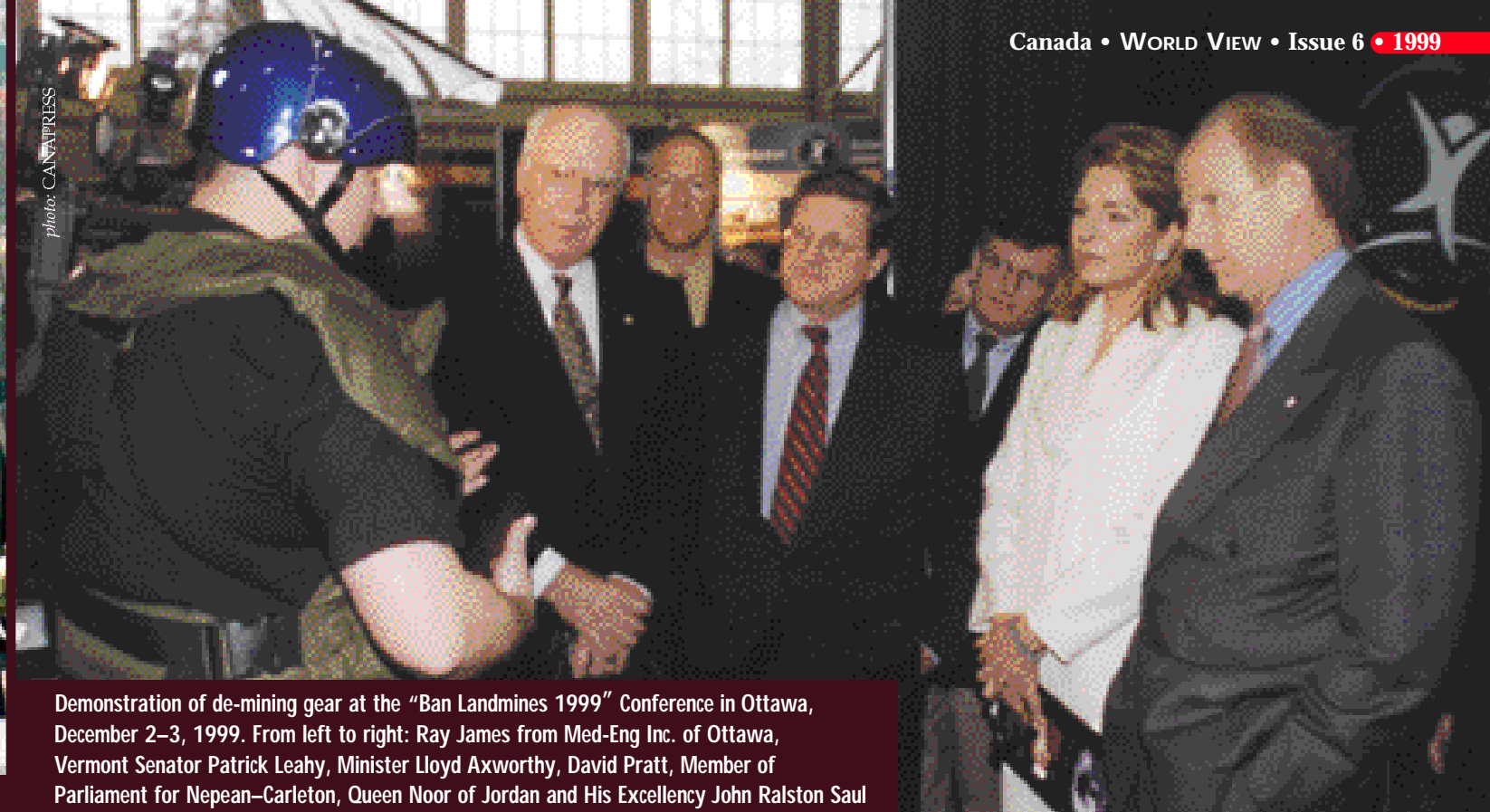
APRIL 2, PHILADELPHIA: Prime Minister Pearson gave a speech critical of U.S. policy in Vietnam and calling for a suspension of the bombing campaign. President Johnson responded by attacking Pearson for interfering in U.S. domestic affairs. In 1972, Canada would again criticize the bombing in Vietnam.

JULY 1: Publication of the Merchant-Heene Report on Canadian–American Relations. The report argued for more institutional links between the two countries and quiet diplomacy to resolve differences.





Rwandan refugees in Zaire, November 1996



Demonstration of de-mining gear at the "Ban Landmines 1999" Conference in Ottawa, December 2-3, 1999. From left to right: Ray James from Med-Eng Inc. of Ottawa, Vermont Senator Patrick Leahy, Minister Lloyd Axworthy, David Pratt, Member of Parliament for Nepean-Carleton, Queen Noor of Jordan and His Excellency John Ralston Saul

15

## THE HUMAN SECURITY AGENDA

Complementing our work on peacebuilding, human security has become a core component of Canadian foreign policy. Human security means making the security of ordinary people a central concern, rather than solely the security of territory or governments. In simple words, it means putting people first. A human security agenda involves working to ensure that people need not fear for their rights, their safety or even their lives.

On October 12, 1999, the Speech from the Throne ([www.pco-bcp.gc.ca/sft-ddt/doc/index-e.htm](http://www.pco-bcp.gc.ca/sft-ddt/doc/index-e.htm)) stated, "As we move into the 21st century, Canada has the momentum to lead the way toward a safer and more secure world. The Government will give increased prominence to human security in its foreign policy, working to achieve meaningful progress in the councils of the world on a global human security agenda." It also noted, "The Government will further develop the capacity of Canadians to help ensure peace and security in foreign lands."

Areas of action include anti-personnel mines, the International Criminal Court (ICC), small arms, illicit drugs, transnational organized crime and human rights initiatives. Other events include an International Conference on War-Affected Children that Canada will host in 2000. The Conference is one in a series dealing with children's issues. In the spring, Canada and Ghana will co-host a conference on the protection of war-affected children in West Africa. These events will contribute to Canada's preparations for the UN Special Session on Children in 2001, which will set concrete goals for child rights, welfare and protection into the next decade. Among Canada's partners are the UN Security Council, the General Assembly and the UN specialized agencies—plus the Human Security Network, a coalition of 11 countries (led by Canada and Norway) and 9 prominent NGOs and international organizations.

Working with non-governmental organizations is of central importance to Canada because the many different measures required to build human security cannot become accepted international practice through government action alone. NGOs played a key part in the process culminating in

the adoption of the Ottawa Convention ([www.mines.gc.ca](http://www.mines.gc.ca)) banning anti-personnel mines, signed in December 1997. The most rapidly ratified treaty of its kind in history, the Convention came into force on March 1, 1999.

The signing of the Convention represented a major victory for Canadian diplomacy: Canada had taken the international lead in convincing a majority of nations to adhere to the treaty. In late 1998, Minister Axworthy received the North-South Prize of the Council of Europe for his unique contribution to the campaign to ban landmines. And last October, he received the first Endicott Peabody Humanitarian Award from the United Nations Association of Greater Boston for spearheading the global ban on landmines.

Another victory for Canada's human security agenda was the adoption in July 1998 of the Rome Statute establishing the International Criminal Court ([www.un.org/icc](http://www.un.org/icc)). Canada played a central role in bringing about the Court, and is leading efforts to ensure that the ICC will be an independent and effective institution. The ICC will become operational once 60 nations have ratified the statute establishing it. The ICC will

be the first permanent international court with the power to prosecute individuals for genocide, war crimes, crimes against humanity and (eventually) crimes of aggression. In December 1999, Canada became the first country to table legislation to implement the Statute of the ICC within its national legal system. The legislation includes, among other items, amendments to Canadian extradition and mutual legal assistance legislation to ensure complete compliance with ICC obligations.

## WHAT LIES AHEAD

The 21st century holds both promises and threats for humankind. While no one can predict what shape international peace and security will take in the new millennium, one thing is certain: more than ever, Canadians will lead in international efforts to build lasting peace and security for all the people of the world. ●

For further information about Canada's work on human security, please visit the following Web site:  
[www.dfait-maeci.gc.ca/foreignp/humansecurity/menu-e.htm](http://www.dfait-maeci.gc.ca/foreignp/humansecurity/menu-e.htm)

## • 1967

Canada was elected to a third two-year term on the UN Security Council.

JULY 24: President de Gaulle strained Canada-France relations with his cry of "Vive le Québec libre" in a speech from the balcony of Montréal's City Hall. ►



photo: National Archives of Canada

## • 1969

APRIL 3: Prime Minister Trudeau delivered a defence policy statement declaring the government's intention to substantially reduce Canada's NATO commitments in Europe, especially the presence of Canadian troops on European soil.



photo: CANAPRESS

## • 1970

Canada became a founding member of the Agence de coopération culturelle et technique, the forerunner of La Francophonie.

JUNE 25: Tabling of the White Paper entitled *A Foreign Policy for Canadians*, which recommended that foreign policy be related to six national interests: economic growth, social justice, quality of life, sovereignty and independence, peace and security, and a harmonious natural environment. Canada's role in peacekeeping was to be downplayed, there was to be closer contact with Europe and developing nations and foreign aid was to be increased.

OCTOBER 10: Canada recognized the People's Republic of China. Pictured here are Prime Minister Trudeau and Premier Chou En-Lai at the caves at Loyang, China. ►

## • 1972

FEBRUARY: Canada became a permanent observer with the Organization of American States.

APRIL: A strategy paper on relations with the United States offered three policy options: (1) maintaining the status quo; (2) moving toward closer integration; and (3) developing a long-term strategy to strengthen Canada's economic and national life through reduced dependence on the United States. The Trudeau government decided in favour of the "Third Option."



# Canada AND THE United Nations

## HALF A CENTURY OF CONSTRUCTIVE ENGAGEMENT

In 1945, Canada was one of 50 countries that gathered in San Francisco to create a new global organization with high aims: to work for peace and security; to foster international co-operation in solving economic, social and humanitarian problems; and to promote culture and respect for human rights.

Over half a century later, the United Nations is still central to Canadian foreign policy. It is an invaluable forum through which we and others can resolve differences and work toward shared objectives on hundreds of issues of international significance.

The United Nations is the only multilateral organization whose membership approaches universality and whose agenda encompasses all areas of human activity, in every region of the world. That is why it is so important to Canada. As the cornerstone of a rules-based international system, the UN is a vital forum through which we have sought to influence world affairs, to defend our security and sovereignty within a stable global framework, to promote our trade and economic interests, and to protect and project Canadian values such as fairness, equal opportunity and respect for human rights.

Individual Canadians have taken major roles within the UN, and many of its great accomplishments have had a Canadian dimension. For example, John Peters Humphrey was the principal author of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, proclaimed on December 10, 1948; Lester B. Pearson developed the concept of peacekeeping during the 1956 Suez Crisis; and Maurice Strong chaired both the 1972 United Nations Conference on the Human Environment, in Stockholm, and the 1992 United Nations Conference on Environment and Development, in Rio de Janeiro, serving as well as founding Executive Director of the United Nations Environment Programme.

Canadians have occupied key positions within the United Nations system, including the presidency of the General Assembly (Lester B. Pearson, 1952–53);



and in January 1998 a Canadian, Louise Fréchette, was appointed the first-ever UN Deputy Secretary-General.

Canada has six times been elected to the powerful UN Security Council, serving terms in 1948–49, 1958–59, 1967–68, 1977–78, 1989–90 and now in 1999–2000. During its current tenure on the Council,

Canada's priorities revolve around issues of human security, such as the protection of civilians in armed conflict, war-affected children, conflict prevention, peacebuilding, mass refugee flows, illicit small arms trafficking, gross human rights abuses, and failures of governance and the rule of law.

Canada's current contribution to the UN budget is US\$28.6 million, or 2.754 percent of total assessments. That makes it the seventh-largest contributor, exceeded only

photo: National Archives of Canada



L.B. Pearson at a UN committee meeting in 1948

by the United States, Japan, Germany, France, Britain and Italy. We always pay our annual assessed contributions in full, on time and without condition.

Canada is a member of many of the UN specialized agencies, including the International Civil Aviation Organization, the Food and Agriculture Organization, the World Health Organization and the UN High Commissioner for Refugees. It also supports and is active in the work of the International Monetary Fund, the UN Development

### Canada has seven diplomatic missions accredited to the UN:

- NEW YORK—responsible for overall relations with the United Nations and member countries, including the Security Council and the Peacekeeping Operations Unit;
- GENEVA—responsible for relations with the UN offices in Geneva, including the High Commissioner for Refugees, the Human Rights Commission and the Conference on Disarmament;
- MONTRÉAL—responsible for relations with the International Civil Aviation Organization;
- NAIROBI—responsible for relations with the Centre for Human Settlements and the UN Environment Programme;
- PARIS—responsible for relations with the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO);
- ROME—responsible for relations with the Food and Agriculture Organization; and
- VIENNA—responsible for relations with the UN offices in Vienna, including the International Atomic Energy Agency.

Programme, the World Food Programme, the UN Environment Programme and other bodies.

Peacekeeping is one of the best-known functions of the UN. Since the late 1940s, some 80 000 Canadians have served on peace or humanitarian operations, large and small, around the world. Early missions included UN supervision of elections in Korea in 1948 and observation of the cease-fire between India and Pakistan in 1949; and right now peacekeeping missions are under way in East Timor, Sierra Leone, Bosnia and Kosovo. Canada has participated in the majority of peace support operations mandated and sanctioned by the UN.

Canada believes that promoting human security is an important dimension of the UN's role. One of the human security initiatives launched by Canada at the UN is our effort to enhance the protection of civilians in armed conflict. Under Canada's presidency in February 1999, the Security Council debated this issue and called on the Secretary-General to prepare a report. Issued in September, the report contains concrete recommendations for protecting civilians in conflict situations. Canada and other countries are now working toward implementation of the recommendations.

As Foreign Affairs Minister Lloyd Axworthy said in his speech at the opening of the 54th session of the General Assembly last September, "Security for all of us begins and ends with a strong, effective United Nations focussed on this goal. We the peoples should resolve to work together to achieve this end." ●

For more information on Canada's action in the UN system, visit the following Web site:  
[www.dfait-maeci.gc.ca/onu2000un/menu.htm](http://www.dfait-maeci.gc.ca/onu2000un/menu.htm)

For information on the United Nations, visit:  
[www.un.org](http://www.un.org)

## • 1976 • 1977 • 1979 • 1983 • 1985

Canada was elected to a fourth two-year term on the UN Security Council.



photo: United Nations

Canada was given permanent member status in the Group of Leading Industrialized Nations. The Group of Six (G-6) became the Group of Seven (G-7).

To protest against apartheid, Canada terminated its trade agreement with South Africa.

OCTOBER 27: Prime Minister Trudeau launched his Peace Initiative and visited leaders in several countries of the East and West blocs. Trudeau's Peace Initiative led to his being awarded the Albert Einstein Peace Prize on November 13, 1984 (see box on page 15).



photo: CANAPRESS

This year marked a definite warming in Canada–U.S. relations. As a result, on May 22, 1986, the two countries launched free trade negotiations. The Canada–U.S. Free Trade Agreement (FTA) received final approval at the end of 1988 and officially came into force on January 1, 1989.

JULY 6: Secretary of State for External Affairs Joe Clark announced a series of sanctions against South Africa, including a ban on the sale of computers and other sensitive equipment to the South African police. On October 22, at the urging of Canada, the Commonwealth Heads of Government Meeting in Nassau called on Pretoria to renounce apartheid and open discussions with its black majority, and set out limited economic sanctions. The next day, at a special session of the UN General Assembly, Prime Minister Mulroney declared that Canada was ready to invoke total sanctions against South Africa, up to and including the cessation of diplomatic relations.



photo: DFAIT



# CANADA AND THE OTHER INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS

While the UN is central to Canadian foreign policy, Canada belongs to a number of other international bodies that focus on specific issues and regions.

More information on these organizations can be obtained from the Department's Web site at: [www.dfait-maeci.gc.ca](http://www.dfait-maeci.gc.ca) by clicking on "Foreign Policy" or "The World."



## THE COMMONWEALTH

The Commonwealth now comprises 54 countries, most of them former British colonies. It is a major international forum for furthering Canada's foreign policy objectives, particularly in the areas of international development, human rights, good government and human security issues. Commonwealth member states now account for nearly one quarter of the world's population and one third of the membership of the United Nations. The Commonwealth Secretariat is located in London. Canada, which is the second-largest contributor to Commonwealth Secretariat programs, has assisted in shaping and modernizing the organization. [www.thecommonwealth.org](http://www.thecommonwealth.org)



## LA FRANCOPHONIE

La Francophonie is a global community of peoples and countries that are either partly or wholly French-speaking. Canada was one of the founding nations of La Francophonie's main working arm, the Agence de coopération culturelle et technique, now the Agence de la Francophonie. This body promotes co-operation in education, culture, science and technology. La Francophonie is an important element of Canadian foreign policy. The federal government has encouraged the provinces to participate. Québec and New Brunswick attend Francophonie conferences as "participating governments," while Ontario and Manitoba have representatives on Canada's delegations. [www.francophonie.org](http://www.francophonie.org)



## ORGANIZATION OF AMERICAN STATES

After having been an observer for more than 30 years, Canada finally took full membership in the Organization of American States in 1990, after a tide of change had brought democracy to nearly all of the Americas. For the past nine years Canada has worked through the OAS to make the most of the new social and economic opportunities opened up by the democratic transformation, and to marshal support for its own foreign policy agenda—for instance, ratification of the Ottawa Convention on anti-personnel mines. [www.oas.org](http://www.oas.org)



## ASIA-PACIFIC ECONOMIC COOPERATION FORUM

Beginning 10 years ago as a 12-country discussion group, the Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation forum has since become the main organ for promoting freer trade and economic co-operation in a vast region that includes Asia, the Pacific and the Americas. Among APEC's 21 members are all the region's major economies, including Canada, the United States, China, Chinese Taipei, Russia and Japan. Between them, the APEC economies account for 58 percent of the world's gross domestic product and 46 percent of world trade. Canada has three seats on the APEC Business Advisory Council, which meets annually with leaders to discuss its recommendations. [www.apecsec.org](http://www.apecsec.org)



## NORTH ATLANTIC TREATY ORGANIZATION

Canada has been a member of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization since it was created in 1949 to deter Soviet aggression in Europe. During the Cold War, Canada committed substantial land and air forces to NATO until 1969, and reduced contingents beyond that time. In 1994, Canada withdrew its forces from Europe but maintained its commitment to the Atlantic Alliance. The Canadian Forces took part in NATO's 1999 Kosovo campaign, and Canadian ground troops are serving in NATO's Stabilization Force in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Beyond its role as a military alliance, NATO is a forum for co-operation on economic, scientific and human security issues. [www.nato.int](http://www.nato.int)



## ORGANIZATION FOR SECURITY AND CO-OPERATION IN EUROPE

Created in 1975, the Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe was given what then seemed an unpromising task: to promote international co-operation across the barriers of the Cold War. Since that conflict ended, the OSCE has come into its own as an effective instrument for co-operation between its 55 member states on a range of issues that include security, confidence building, economic development and human rights. Because of this emphasis on human rights, fundamental freedoms and the rule of law, Canada has found the Organization an excellent forum in which to promote its human security agenda. [www.osce.org](http://www.osce.org)



## ORGANIZATION FOR ECONOMIC CO-OPERATION AND DEVELOPMENT

A grouping of 29 industrialized democracies, the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development came into being in 1961 to replace an earlier body that had co-ordinated Europe's economic revival under the Marshall Plan. The OECD is mandated to promote sustainable economic growth and employment, and a rising standard of living in member countries. In a wider sphere, it works for the expansion of world trade and investment. Member countries regularly review each other's macro-economic, technology and energy policies. [www.oecd.org](http://www.oecd.org)

• 1986

First Summit of La Francophonie, of which Canada was a founding member, in Paris. Prime Minister Mulroney attended, along with Québec Premier Robert Bourassa and New Brunswick Premier Richard Hatfield. Québec and New Brunswick received the status of "participating governments."

• 1987

SEPTEMBER 2-4: Second Summit of La Francophonie in Québec City. Canada announced the cancellation of \$325 million of debt owed by seven African nations, plus a \$17 million aid package to African members. ▶



photo: DFAIT

• 1988

OCTOBER 26: Canada was elected to a fifth two-year term on the UN Security Council, beginning in January 1989.

• 1989

Canada signed the Charter of the Organization of American States (OAS), becoming a full-fledged member the following year. Canada was an observer since 1972.

• 1990

Canada condemned Iraq's invasion of Kuwait and imposed sanctions on Iraq, including the freezing of Iraqi assets in Canada. Operations were suspended at the Canadian Embassy in Kuwait.



# Canada World View

spoke with four distinguished observers of Canadian foreign policy.

Here is what they had to say:

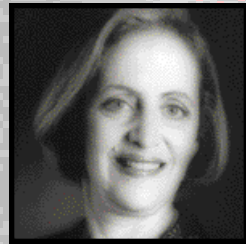


photo: University of Toronto

**Janice Stein**  
is Harrowston Professor of Conflict Management and Negotiation, and Director of the Munk Centre for International Studies, at the University of Toronto.



photo: Ottawa Citizen

**Lawrence Martin**  
is a national columnist for Southam newspapers. He is the author of several books on Canada-U.S. relations and on the former Soviet Union.



photo: Laval University

**Louis Bélanger**  
is Professor of Political Science at Laval University in Sainte-Foy, Québec.

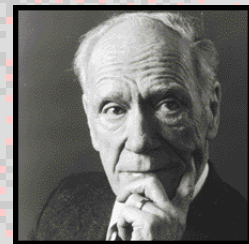


photo: Prime Minister's Office

The Honourable Mitchell Sharp, P.C., C.C., has a long record of distinguished service as a public servant and politician. Among his Cabinet positions, he served as Secretary of State for External Affairs under Prime Minister Pierre Elliot Trudeau. He is currently Special Adviser to Prime Minister Jean Chrétien.

## UNO TABLE

What events of the 20th century were most important in terms of their effect on Canada's international relations?

policy had come of age and it was an independent decision.

### Janice Stein

Canadian troops made a very important difference in the early stages of the Second World War. Canada emerged from the war uninvaded, unoccupied, undefeated and poised to play a major role in the shaping of the postwar order.

### Lawrence Martin

Prime Minister Mackenzie King's relationship with Franklin Delano Roosevelt helped build the economy, strengthened our military capability and gave Canada new influence in world councils.

### Louis Bélanger

By the end of the war, Canada was able to play a role in the world community. Canada's participation in the creation of the UN enhanced and extended this role.

### Janice Stein

At the onset of the First World War, Canadian foreign policy was made as much in London as it was in Ottawa. In the war's wake, Canada achieved full control over its own foreign policy.

### Louis Bélanger

The Statute of Westminster of 1931 was the founding moment in the continuing evolution of Canadian foreign policy. Canada's participation in the Second World War helped to define its role in relation to the two main pillars of its foreign interests, the United States and Europe.

### Mitchell Sharp

I was in the House of Commons on that momentous day in September 1939 when Canada declared war on Nazi Germany. This was a central event in the development of Canadian foreign policy. In 1914 we had entered the First World War because the Empire was at war. But by 1939, Canadian foreign

### Janice Stein

This was the heroic age of Canadian diplomacy. Extraordinarily talented diplomats, such as Lester B. Pearson and Norman Robertson, helped shape the UN, the North Atlantic Treaty Organization and peacekeeping.

### Lawrence Martin

Canada's achievement of a seat at the G-7 (now G-8) table was another significant event, giving us increased international clout in the global economy. During that time, Trudeau maintained a degree of independence from the United States, allowing Canada to act as a bridge between the superpowers.

### Mitchell Sharp

An enormous change in foreign relations was our support for freer international trade in its widest context. For those who remember the excessive tariffs that sank us in the Great Depression, this transformed the world. Freer international trade, based on respect for reciprocal trade agreements, now holds much promise for poorer countries.

### Louis Bélanger

The Free Trade Agreement with the United States, together with the North American Free Trade Agreement and Canadian participation in the Organization of American States, was an important event in the slow transition of foreign policy focus from European affairs to those of the Western Hemisphere.

### Janice Stein

The end of the Cold War has allowed Canada the freedom to take new initiatives and to define our own voice and role.

## Has Canada made a difference in world affairs?

### Janice Stein

There's no question it has: at the United Nations; by broadening NATO's charter beyond strict military responsibilities; and by pioneering and developing the concept of peacekeeping.

### Mitchell Sharp

Another example of growing Canadian leadership was the decision, 40 years ago, to help developing countries through the creation of the forerunner of the Canadian International Development Agency. And Canada led the non-communist world with its recognition of the People's Republic of China. Thirty countries, including the United States, followed suit.

### Louis Bélanger

Considering its middle-power status, Canada has made some difference in world affairs, especially in helping to construct a new multi-lateral order after the Second World War.

### Lawrence Martin

Canada has made a modest difference. In its foreign policy with the United States, it has set the standards for enlightened international relations.

## What should Canada's foreign policy priorities be in the 21st century?

### Mitchell Sharp

They should include extension of freer international trade to the whole of Latin America and perhaps Europe. Peacemaking has limited applicability. But we can reduce conflicts through wider trade, leading to increased prosperity for the poor as well as for the rich.

### Janice Stein

Canada must secure the well-being of its citizens, and it must do so largely by what it accomplishes beyond its own borders. The challenge will be to define the Canadian voice abroad in ways that enhance the well-being of Canadians at home. We will have to form partnerships to maintain security as a public good, necessary to an orderly and well-functioning global environment. We must partner with others on cultural issues to strengthen and define our culture among the others that enrich the global community.

### Lawrence Martin

We must remain a nation and not be swallowed up by the forces of continentalism and globalism. We must pursue enlightened multilateral policies, including nuclear disarmament, and we must fight to counter environmental devastation. Canada should act to reform the international monetary system and lessen the impact of international currency speculators.

### Louis Bélanger

In the most general sense, the prime goal for Canada in the coming century is to define its own national interest. We have convinced ourselves that what is good for the international community is also good for Canada, but there is room for further definition and Canadian foreign policy should reflect this. More specifically, closer relations with the United States mean that we will have to use our traditional diplomatic strengths to help manage and resolve tensions between U.S. foreign policies and those of the rest of the world. ●—

## 1991

Canada commended the repeal of apartheid laws in South Africa, lifted some Canadian sanctions against that country and applauded the start of constitutional talks for an egalitarian South Africa. Remaining Canadian sanctions were lifted in 1993.

Canada participated in international military action to expel Iraqi troops from Kuwait and restore that country's sovereignty.

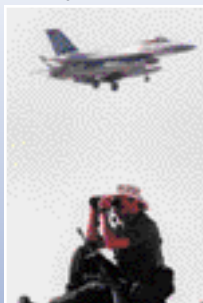


photo: CANAPRESS

## 1992

After the collapse of the USSR, Canada established diplomatic relations with several former Soviet republics.

Canada recognized the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina, and announced that it would contribute troops to UN peacekeeping operations in that war-torn country. Canada opened an embassy in Sarajevo in April 1996.



photo: DND

## 1993

After playing a leading role in the negotiations, Canada signed the Chemical Weapons Convention. It ratified this international convention on September 26, 1993.

Canada participated in the multilateral process of the Middle East Peace Talks, chairing the Refugee Working Group and participating in the other working groups, including those on water resources and the environment.

## 1994

Appointment of Mary May Simon as Canada's first Circumpolar Ambassador.



photo: CANAPRESS

## 1995

Announcement of Canada's new foreign policy approach based on three "pillars": the promotion of prosperity and employment; the protection of our security within a stable global framework; and the projection of Canadian values and culture.

## 1996

SEPTEMBER: Canada hosted in Iqaluit the inaugural meeting of the Arctic Council, bringing together all circumpolar countries.



"Laurier, not feeling in touch with the British machinery entrusted with the duty of fighting his battle for him, sometimes has secret agents of his own at Washington and is always suspected by our Embassy at Washington of working behind their backs. Now this is obviously an evil state of things . . ."

LORD GREY TO LORD ELGIN (COLONIAL SECRETARY),  
MARCH 1, 1906

"Canada. . . is a sovereign nation and cannot take her attitude to the world docilely from Britain, or the U.S., or anybody else. A Canadian's first loyalty is not to the British Commonwealth, but to Canada and to Canada's King, and those who deny this are doing, to my mind, a great disservice to the Commonwealth."

GOVERNOR GENERAL LORD TWEEDSMUIR  
OCTOBER 12, 1937

"The people of the United States will not stand idly by if domination of Canadian soil is threatened by any other Empire."

U.S. PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT  
AUGUST 18, 1938

"We, too, have our obligations as a good friendly neighbour, and one of these is to see that . . . our country is made as immune from attack or possible invasion as we can reasonably be expected to make it, and that, should the occasion ever arise, enemy forces should not be able to pursue their way either by land, sea or air, to the United States across Canadian territory."

PRIME MINISTER KING  
AUGUST 20, 1938

"Living next to you is like sleeping with an elephant: no matter how friendly and even-tempered is the beast, one is affected by every twitch and grunt."

PRIME MINISTER TRUDEAU  
NATIONAL PRESS CLUB, WASHINGTON, 1969

"I must stress the exemplary character of Canada. Here . . . is a vast country, the land of the Aboriginal peoples, the land of the Inuit, at once English- and French-speaking, that is perfecting the art of living together in a spirit of peace and tolerance."

FRENCH PRESIDENT JACQUES CHIRAC  
LOALUIT, NUNAVUT, SEPTEMBER 6, 1999

## Interview with

In October 12, 1999, a new session of Canada's Parliament opened with the traditional Speech from the Throne setting out the Government's plans. The Speech noted that Canada has a record of constructive internationalism that has helped make the world a better place in the 20th century. It also said, "As we move into the 21st century, Canada has the momentum to lead the way toward a safer and more secure world."

**Canada World View** asked Prime Minister Jean Chrétien for his thoughts on the achievements of the past and his views on the directions of Canadian foreign policy in the 21st century.

**Canada World View** Prime Minister, the Speech from the Throne stated that Canada makes a difference in world affairs. In your view, how has Canada been able to make that positive difference?

**Prime Minister Chrétien** As we explained in the Speech, the promise of Canada was born in an age when countries were forged through war or revolution. Our

nation's founders chose a unique path, which has become the Canadian way and a kind of Canadian trademark around the world. We created a country dedicated to peace, order and good government for all its citizens. We dared to break the mould of the nation-state founded on a single language, culture or religion. And we succeeded.

Canada is a bilingual country in which both men and women of many different cultures, races and religions participate in economic, social and political life. Our diversity is a source of strength and creativity—an incredible achievement in a century in which racial and ethnic intolerance has so often been a pretext for unspeakable acts of repression and a cause of war. In many respects, we are a model for other countries and peoples. It is this unique character, plus the fact that Canada has no imperialist past and has always been unequivocally dedicated to peace and security in the world, that made it possible for us to make a difference.

## Prime Minister Chrétien

Jean Chrétien talks to **Canada World View**

### Canada World View

Can you give us some concrete examples of how Canada has made a difference?

### Prime Minister Chrétien

In a violent century, Canada has been an abiding voice for freedom and peace.

During the two world wars, the Korean War and many of the smaller conflicts of the last 40 years, Canadians have never hesitated to answer the call of duty to turn back the forces of tyranny and ethnic intolerance.

Prime Minister Lester B. Pearson was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize for pioneering the idea, in 1956, of deploying soldiers not to make war but to keep the peace along the Suez Canal. Since that historic innovation, Canada has earned international respect and acclaim for our willingness to enter the breach when peace is threatened.

Canada has also made a difference by working with like-minded nations to alleviate the grinding poverty that is a part of life for far too much of humanity. We are known throughout Latin America, Africa and Asia for our innovative development assistance initiatives.

### Canada World View

A hundred years ago, Prime Minister Wilfrid Laurier said that the 20th century would be Canada's century.

Focussing strictly on foreign policy, do you believe that we have fulfilled his prediction?

### Prime Minister Chrétien

Canada began as a small colony with little industry and no role of its own in global affairs. Within a few generations, we evolved into an independent nation with an advanced industrialized economy and a voice in the councils of the world: the United Nations, the G-8, the OECD [Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development], NATO, the Commonwealth, La Francophonie and many others. Canada is now serving its sixth elected term on the United Nations Security Council. I think it is fair to say that Laurier's prediction has proved entirely correct. And I must say that, as we approach the next century, I feel the same sense of optimism.

### Canada World View

In your view, what lies ahead as we move into the third millennium?

### Prime Minister Chrétien

We still have a long way to go to eradicate war, poverty, disease, pollution, terrorism and drug trafficking, to name just a few of the problems and dangers that still plague the world.

As we prepare for the 21st century, Canada is in the vanguard promoting an emerging agenda of human security. It is an agenda that seeks to put the needs of people first, to enhance their quality of life in every respect—protecting their right to free expression and making them safe from the terror and tools of war.

These objectives have always been at the heart of Canadian foreign policy but they have gained added impetus with the end of the Cold War. Working through international organizations, with other nations and with non-governmental organizations, we have made tremendous headway on this agenda.

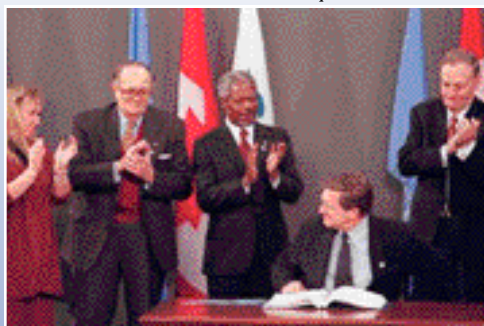
We played a leadership role in forging the international convention banning the scourge of anti-personnel mines—a treaty known as the Ottawa Convention, which came into force faster than any other convention in the history of the United Nations. We were at the centre of the process that led to the creation, last year, of the International Criminal Court, which will bring to justice those who commit crimes against humanity. And we have made creative proposals to renew the international financial system, which has been buffeted by crises in recent years. That's our agenda for the 21st century, and we are fully committed to its realization. ●—

For information about the Prime Minister and the Prime Minister's Office (PMO), visit the following Web site: <http://pm.gc.ca>  
For further information about Canada, visit <http://canada.gc.ca>

## • 1997

DECEMBER 2–4, OTTAWA: Canada hosted an international Signing Conference and Mines Action Forum. It became the first country to sign and ratify the Convention on the Prohibition of the Use, Stockpiling, Production and Transfer of Anti-Personnel Mines and on Their Destruction, known as the Ottawa Convention. The Convention became international law on March 1, 1999. ▶

photo: CANAPRESS



## • 1998

JULY 18: Canada signed the Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court, having chaired the final phase of the negotiations. The Court is to have jurisdiction over crimes of genocide, crimes against humanity and war crimes. It will become operational once 60 countries have ratified the Statute. ▶

photo: CANAPRESS



## • 1999

JANUARY 1: Canada started serving a new two-year term as a non-permanent member of the United Nations Security Council—its sixth Council term since 1948.

SEPTEMBER: As the outcome of a Canadian initiative in February, UN Secretary-General Annan tabled a report containing 40 recommendations for the protection of civilians in armed conflict. Canada will play a leading role in the Security Council working group established to ensure that concrete action is taken by the Council and other UN bodies.



# N A T I O N S I N • T H E • N E W S

## On the Record

Excerpts from a speech by Foreign Affairs Minister Lloyd Axworthy to the Atlantic Diplomatic Forum, which gathered the heads of mission to Canada of some 110 countries in St. John's, Newfoundland, November 5, 1999

Developments over the past decade have profoundly altered global life. The most remarkable aspect of this evolution is the emergence of the security of people as a force in foreign affairs. It is a prominent element of Canada's foreign policy.



photo: DFAIT

The alternately transnational and interstate nature of many human security threats calls into question exclusive notions of state sovereignty, which is not an end in itself. Where human security is imperilled on a massive scale, the challenge for all of us is to consider the limits of sovereignty and the conditions for humanitarian intervention.

Canada has made the protection of civilians a priority during our tenure on the UN Security Council [1999–2000]. Canada has been working to adapt Council sanctions so that they minimize the impact on civilians.

As a result of a Canadian initiative, Secretary-General Annan released a report this fall on the protection of civilians in armed conflict. It contained 40 recommendations for action. Canada will act vigorously to ensure they are pursued.

This year, other institutions and groups—NATO, the OAS, La Francophonie and the G-8—have similarly shown the capacity to adapt to the challenges of human security.

The Commonwealth, through its Ministerial Action Group (CMAG), took a leading role in efforts to restore democracy in Nigeria. It is the same principled approach that CMAG is now applying in Pakistan. It will continue to lead efforts to return democracy to that country.

Advancing human security also means holding accountable those who violate international humanitarian and human rights law. The culture of impunity must be broken.... [This aim] is behind our vigorous support of the International Criminal Court.

Armed conflicts pose a devastating threat to children's security. In 2001, the UN will hold a Special Session on Children. In anticipation, Canada has been active in building an action-oriented strategy relating to war-affected children.

The Ottawa Convention [on anti-personnel mines] works. The number of victims is declining. Trade in anti-personnel mines has all but vanished. The number of producing countries has decreased. More than 14 million stockpiled mines have been destroyed.

The focus on the human dimension is driving activity to address the proliferation of small arms and light military weapons. The OAS has concluded a convention on trafficking and illegal shipments.

Last month, Central African countries worked out a detailed action plan to confront the devastating impact of these weapons on security. A proposal for a UN Conference on the Illicit Trade in Small Arms and Light Weapons is on the table. Canada is working to ensure the agenda is comprehensive and action-oriented.

There remains no greater risk to the security of states and people than the possibility of nuclear annihilation. The need for a strong global non-proliferation regime and progress in nuclear disarmament and arms control is vital.

Fighting the illicit drug trade is part of our human security agenda. At the OAS, Canada chaired the negotiations that created a new multilateral evaluation mechanism. And I initiated a Ministerial Dialogue on Drugs with my OAS counterparts this year.

The arrival this summer of boatloads of human cargo on Canadian shores brought home the ugly reality of the smuggling and trafficking in human beings. Bilateral efforts between Canada, China and the U.S. can go some way to confront this problem. Still, global measures are needed that address the interrelated nature of these and other transnational crimes. The completion of the UN Convention on Transnational Organized Crime is therefore vital.

The human security agenda puts the security of people first. It is an approach that Canada has embraced as a response to a changing world where threats to people increasingly drive the global agenda, as a reflection of our values and as a means of advancing our interests. ●—

For the full text of the speech, visit our Web site at [www.dfa-it-maeci.gc.ca](http://www.dfa-it-maeci.gc.ca) and click on "Publications," or call the Media Relations Office at (613) 995-1874.

## Between Two Giants

Canada finds its place in the sun

From Wolfe's conquest of New France in 1759–60 down to the First World War, Canada's external relations were officially the responsibility of Great Britain. For this reason, at the time of Confederation our Constitution said nothing at all about external relations.



photo: National Archives of Canada

British Governor General Lord Grey, circa 1906

Governor General, the British Embassy in Washington and the Foreign Secretary in London. Treaties involving strictly bilateral Canada–U.S. issues, such as the Alaska boundary dispute or waterways management, were negotiated and signed by the British.

Canada began to assert itself at Imperial conferences. While London envisaged a more centralized Empire, Prime Minister Wilfrid Laurier declared, "Canada has its autonomy and intends to keep it." It was Laurier who created the Department of External Affairs in 1909. In 1912 his successor, Robert Borden, took a similar approach, making clear that Canada expected a voice in the formulation of Imperial policy.

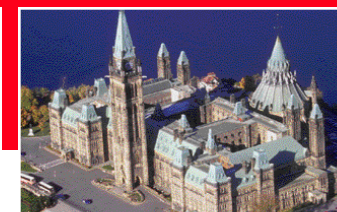
With the First World War, Canada got what it wanted. By 1917, the Canadian contingent had grown into a full army with its own commander. Borden believed that its sacrifices had earned Canada a place in world affairs. At the 1919 Paris Peace Conference, he succeeded in gaining recognition of Canada as an "autonomous nation within the Commonwealth." It was with this status that Canada joined the League of Nations.

In 1923, Prime Minister Mackenzie King refused to include the British in the negotiation of a Canada–U.S. treaty to protect halibut fisheries, arguing that purely North American affairs were involved. This was the first international treaty Canada signed without the British.

In 1931, the adoption of the Statute of Westminster confirmed Canada's autonomy in handling its external relations. The Second World War was a turning point for Canada: even as it gave vital support to the British war effort, it developed closer relations with the United States. In 1940 the two countries created a



British Parliament



Canadian Parliament



U.S. Capitol

Permanent Joint Board on Defence, and in 1941 they integrated wartime military production. After the war, Canada maintained and expanded its defence and economic ties with the United States. In 1958, the NORAD agreement on joint air defence was signed.

Tensions, however, troubled the relationship. In the early 1960s, Prime Minister John Diefenbaker and President John F. Kennedy felt a mutual antipathy. A point of friction was Diefenbaker's refusal to equip Canadian forces with nuclear arms. Friction persisted in the mid-1960s, when Prime Minister Lester B. Pearson openly criticized U.S. involvement in Vietnam.

In the 1970s, as well, relations were strained as a result of Prime Minister Pierre Elliot Trudeau's nationalistic economic policies, and the coolness remained even though Washington intervened to secure membership for Canada in the G-7 (now the G-8). Finally, with the election of Brian Mulroney's Conservatives in 1984, a rapprochement began; this culminated in the Canada–U.S. Free Trade Agreement (FTA), which came into force on January 1, 1989.

While there has been no shortage of disputes since then, bilateral trade has grown dramatically: today, some 85 percent of Canada's exports go to the United States. This phenomenon has led many observers to conclude that Canada will inevitably be absorbed into the United States. Foreign Affairs Minister Lloyd Axworthy disagrees. Certainly, he advocates a more co-ordinated approach to better tackle common threats, such as terrorism, illegal immigrants and drugs. At the same time, he says, Canada and the United States will remain two proud sovereign nations enjoying a strong relationship across the world's longest undefended border. ●—

photo: National Archives of Canada



Prime Minister John Diefenbaker with President John Kennedy and their wives in Ottawa in 1962

photo: National Archives of Canada



Prime Minister Lester B. Pearson and President Lyndon B. Johnson signing the Canada–U.S. auto pact, January 15, 1965, at LBJ Ranch, Johnson City, Texas



# Culture

*Celebrating our uniqueness around the world*



Vincent Massey, circa 1927

photo: National Archives of Canada



The Group of Seven at a luncheon at the Arts and Letters Club in Toronto, circa 1920

photo: National Gallery of Canada



Autumn Garland, Tom Thomson, circa 1916

photo: National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa



The Montréal Symphony Orchestra

photo: Montréal Symphony Orchestra



Author Margaret Atwood

photo: CANAPRESS

Think about foreign policy, and images of international political gatherings naturally come to mind. Seldom do we think of our artists performing or exhibiting their work abroad. Yet artists are major contributors to a country's international image and prestige.

The first diplomat who fully understood the importance of promoting Canadian culture abroad was Vincent Massey, Canada's first-ever Minister to Washington. According to his biographer, during his four-year tenure in the U.S. capital from 1926 to 1930, Massey represented Canada's political and commercial interests competently but in the cultural sphere he was an extraordinary success.

In 1935, after being named Canada's High Commissioner to Great Britain, Massey and his wife

resumed their efforts to gain recognition for Canadian culture. They worked tirelessly, promoting Canadian music and painting in particular. The crowning achievement was a comprehensive exhibition of Canadian paintings at London's prestigious Tate Gallery in the fall of 1938.

Of course, the Masseys were the exception: most of our representatives abroad were not in a financial position to promote Canadian culture on their own. Only the few with personal wealth could afford to do it. Fortunately, Massey set an example that was to become departmental policy years later.

In 1966, the Department of External Affairs established a Cultural Affairs Division to formulate, co-ordinate and execute Canada's cultural policy. In 1995 the government went a step further, naming as a "pillar" of our foreign policy

## "Culture *is the face* of Canada abroad."

—HIS EXCELLENCY JOHN RALSTON SAUL

the promotion and projection of Canadian culture and values abroad.

That includes providing financial backing to professional artists and cultural organizations for tours, exhibitions and participation in festivals abroad. In October 1999, for instance, the Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade supported 74 activities. Among them:

- The Montréal Symphony Orchestra toured Germany, playing in Hanover, Munich, Stuttgart, Frankfurt, Cologne, Hamburg and other cities. After the tour, the Orchestra performed at New York's Carnegie Hall.
- A Mexico City exhibition featured paintings by the Group of Seven.
- Mexico City was also the site for performances by the Royal Winnipeg Ballet, North America's oldest ballet company.

## "Culture *is the face* of Canada abroad."

—HIS EXCELLENCY JOHN RALSTON SAUL

- George Zukerman, distinguished solo bassoonist with the National Arts Centre Orchestra, conducted recitals and master classes in China.

The Department's International Cultural Relations Program helps Canada's arts and cultural industries market their creations abroad by providing market information and intelligence, as well as assistance in devising export strategies. A substantial part of the Program is channelled through diplomatic missions. Recently, several missions organized special screenings of the Canadian film *The Red Violin*, which played to full houses and influential audiences in New York, Los Angeles, Washington, Mexico City, Taipei and Tokyo. Louis Hamel, Director of Arts and Cultural Industries Promotion, says

Program costs are low compared with those of other countries engaged in the same kind of operation: "A significant share of our funding supports activities that are sponsored by other people. The yield in visibility is high, with reviews and media coverage publicizing the events far beyond the points of presentation." Hamel attributes the Program's success chiefly to the creative excellence of Canadian artists: "An invitation to participate in a major international festival, for example, isn't given lightly. These doors open only to quality. And Canada has that to offer."

Success stories of the Program include the Cirque du Soleil, now a major attraction all around the world; Robert Lepage, whose plays staged in major capitals won him international acclaim; and Jeff Wall, whose large-scale, back-lit Cibachrome photographs have appeared in the world's most prestigious exhibitions and galleries.

Meanwhile, thanks to the Canadian Studies programs at major foreign universities and the assistance of the Canada Council for the Arts, numerous Canadian authors (including Margaret Atwood, Rudy Wiebe and Roch Carrier) have been invited to lecture abroad and their books are widely read around the world. ●

For more information about DFAIT programs that promote Canadian art and culture abroad, visit the Department's Web site at: [www.dfait-maeci.gc.ca](http://www.dfait-maeci.gc.ca) or contact Louis Hamel, Director, Arts and Cultural Industries Promotion Division, Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade, 125 Sussex Drive, Ottawa, ON, K1A 0G2; Tel.: (613) 992-9948.



# The Millennium bug abroad

## Be prepared in case it persists

**T**he year 2000 (Y2K) problem has been a real concern for the Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade. We have worked with other countries and international organizations, such as the G-8, the UN and the OECD, to promote action and monitor progress.

By the time you read this article, the problem should be resolved in most developed countries. However, in less-developed nations, experts were predicting that disruptions in several areas of human activity could persist for several weeks, if not months.

The potential problems include disruptions in transportation services such as cancellations, delays, unconfirmed bookings and unannounced changes in scheduled services. Telecommunications services may fail or not be readily available because of excess demand. In some countries, banking services, including the use of credit and debit cards, may not always be available. Power failures could be experienced intermittently, as well as disruptions in medical services, water supply, sanitation and public health services.

While the problems may be short-lived or restricted to parts of some countries, DFAIT's Consular Affairs Bureau advises that until the Y2K bug is permanently corrected, you should stay well informed about Y2K measures in the country where you are travelling.

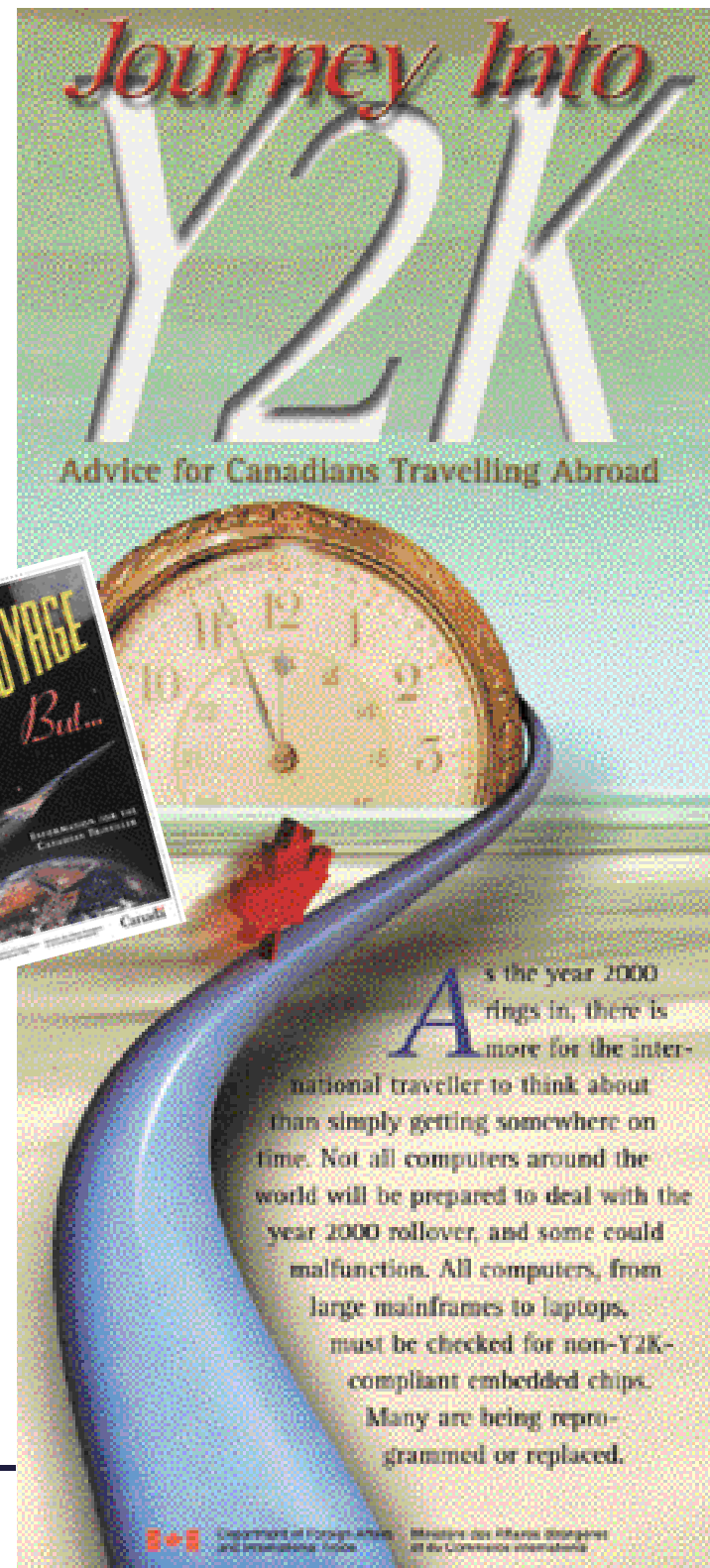
The concern extends to Canadian businesses with foreign partners—particularly small enterprises—whose operations may be hit by the bug. This could affect the shipment of goods or movement of people.

Whether you are a tourist or a business traveller, the Department can help you. Before you go, consult our travel reports, which include information on Y2K country readiness, in the "Travel" section of the Department's Web site at [www.dfait-maeci.gc.ca](http://www.dfait-maeci.gc.ca) or call the Consular Affairs Bureau at **1-800-711-8977** (Canada/U.S.A.) or **(613) 944-3037**. Our fax numbers are **1-800-575-2500** (in Canada) or **(613) 944-2500**.

A special Web site ([www.dfait-maeci.gc.ca/y2k](http://www.dfait-maeci.gc.ca/y2k)) offers further information, as well as numerous useful links. When abroad, contact a Canadian embassy or consulate for assistance. Addresses and telephone numbers are on the Department's Web site, in the publication *Bon Voyage, But...* and in local telephone directories. Two special publications are also available from the Consular Affairs Bureau and on our Web site: *Journey Into Y2K: Advice for Canadians Travelling Abroad* and *Y2K and Your International Partners: Do More Than Cross Your Fingers*.

Finally, in case of emergency abroad, you can obtain assistance from DFAIT headquarters in Ottawa by calling **(613) 996-8885** collect. ●

**Bon voyage...  
but be ready!**



## News BRIEFS

### CANADIAN INITIATIVES FOR KOSOVO AND THE BALKANS

In November, Canada announced a two-year package of initiatives costing up to \$100 million in support of the rehabilitation of Kosovo and the Balkans. The measures focus on community-based assistance, humanitarian aid, democratization, human rights, mine action, peacekeeping training, support for war crimes investigations, police peace support and police training to fight organized crime.

The initiatives were announced by DFAIT, the Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA), and the departments of National Defence (DND) and the Solicitor General. Part of the package supports efforts of international organizations including the United Nations Interim Administration Mission in Kosovo, the Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe, and the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees.

Canada also opened an office in Pristina to co-ordinate the implementation of these initiatives and to liaise with international organizations. CIDA and DND will team up to provide humanitarian aid, including education, primary health care, school repairs, the distribution of roofing kits, de-mining training, and winter shelter packages for an estimated 5000 families.

### CANADA ASSISTS IN BOLSTERING SUDAN PEACE PROCESS

Several Canadian initiatives were announced in the fall bolstering international efforts toward a negotiated settlement to the 43-year civil war in Sudan.

Appointed by Foreign Affairs Minister Lloyd Axworthy, Senator Lois Wilson is Canada's special envoy to the Sudan

Peace Process, where she is leading our country's participation in the International Partners Forum (IPF) of the Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD). CIDA has provided \$300 000 to support the operation of the IGAD Talks Secretariat. This is in addition to the more than \$100 million for food, medical supplies, seeds and tools provided to victims of the conflict since 1990. CIDA also supports efforts of Canadian and Sudanese NGOs, including the Waterloo-based Project Ploughshares and the Montréal-based Alternatives, to promote dialogue among the diverse elements of Sudanese civil society and to encourage community reconciliation as a basis for sustainable peace.

Minister Axworthy appointed John Harker, an Ottawa-based specialist on African issues, to lead a mission to Sudan to examine allegations about human rights abuses, including the practice of slavery. The Minister also met with Canadian companies active in Sudan. "Canadians want assurances that the operations of Canadian enterprises are not worsening the conflict or the human rights situation for the Sudanese people," he said.

### PEARSON CENTRE OFFICE OPENS IN MONTRÉAL

The Lester B. Pearson Canadian International Peacekeeping Training Centre, based in Cornwallis Park, Nova Scotia, opened an office in Montréal in the fall to provide additional support for the Centre's Francophone programming.

The Pearson Centre was established in 1994 to support and enhance Canada's contribution to international peace, security and stability. The Montréal office has been set up in response to growing demand, both in Canada and abroad, for French-language peacekeeping training.

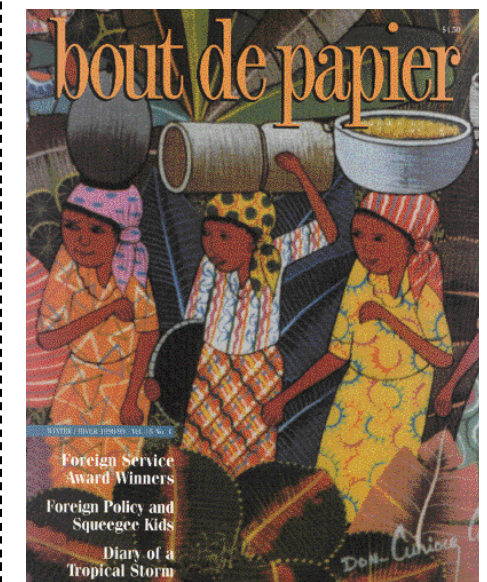
Its activities complement those already conducted in French at the Nova Scotia campus.

In charge of the Montréal office is Jocelyn Coulon, a former journalist who was head of international news at the Montréal daily *Le Devoir* from 1987 to 1999. The office is funded by the Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade.

### DIPLOMATS ON DIPLOMACY

The Professional Association of Foreign Service Officers (PAFSO) invites you to subscribe to its quarterly publication, *bout de papier*.

Canada's magazine of diplomacy and foreign service, *bout de papier* is of particular interest to anyone who would like to learn more about the challenges and rewards of a diplomat's



life. The publication also examines current international political, trade and economic issues, and explores countries and life abroad.

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## Acknowledgement

Special thanks to the senior departmental historian and the staff of the Historical Section of the Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade, whose close co-operation made this issue of **Canada World View** possible.

## THE TEAM

Managing Editor	Jacques Larochelle
Writers	Ronald Baynes Jonathan Bramwell
Copy Editors	Nicole Chênevert-Miquelon William Hart Jennifer Jarvis
Graphic Design	GLS Design

## TO RECEIVE OUR MAGAZINE

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Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade  
125 Sussex Drive, B-2  
Ottawa, Ontario K1A 0G2

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Fax: (613) 996-9709  
E-mail: [enqserv@dfait-maeci.gc.ca](mailto:enqserv@dfait-maeci.gc.ca)

## In Our NEXT ISSUE

Our next issue will focus on foreign policy challenges in the 21st century. We will also examine worldwide progress in implementing the Ottawa

Convention on anti-personnel mines in the year since it came into force, plus we will present our regular features. ●—

## DID YOU KNOW THAT . . .

The Paris Bureau of the Canadian Commissioner-General was the first office abroad to come under the jurisdiction of the Department of External Affairs in 1913. However, the Commissioner-General, Senator Philippe Roy, did not have diplomatic status since Canadian representation abroad remained the preserve of the British until 1926.

In 1924, the Government of Canada purchased and opened Canada House at Trafalgar Square in the heart of London, to serve as the office of the Canadian High Commissioner. King George V and Queen Mary officially opened Canada House on June 29, 1925.

In 1927, Canada took a seat for the first time on the Council of the League of Nations, the governing body of the League and the equivalent of today's United Nations Security Council.

Early in 1943, it took the newly appointed Canadian Minister to the Soviet Union, Dana L. Wilgress, and his staff eight weeks to reach Kuibyshev, the temporary wartime location of the Soviet Foreign Ministry. The trip by plane had to be made via Brazil, the Gold Coast (now Ghana), Egypt and Iran.

Lester B. Pearson was so well regarded in UN circles that in 1946 he was considered for the position of United Nations Secretary-General.

His candidacy was blocked by the Soviet Union, which felt that, with the headquarters of the new organization in New York, it would be inappropriate for the chief officer to be a North American.

CETTE PUBLICATION EST  
ÉGALEMENT DISPONIBLE EN  
FRANÇAIS.



**Canada World View** is published in both English and French under the direction of:

Richard M. Bégin  
Director  
Communications Services Division  
Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade  
125 Sussex Drive  
Ottawa, Ontario K1A 0G2  
Canada

**Canada World View** is also available on the Internet: [www.dfait-maeci.gc.ca/canada-magazine](http://www.dfait-maeci.gc.ca/canada-magazine)

