

International Policy and Politics in Canada

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To James G. Eayrs and André Donneur, pioneers in the study and teaching of Canadian foreign policy

Acronyms and Abbreviations

3D diplomacy/defence/development

»ABM anti-ballistic missile

ACCT Agence de coopération culturelle et technique

ALCM air-launched cruise missile

APEC Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation

ASEAN Association of Southeast Asian Nations

AU African Union

AUF Agence universitaire de la Francophonie

BMD ballistic missile defense

BNA British North America

BQ Bloc Québécois

CAF Canadian Armed Forces

CARICOM Association of Caribbean Commonwealth countries

CAW Canadian Auto Workers

CCC Canadian Chamber of Commerce

CCCE Canadian Council of Chief Executives

CCF Cooperative Commonwealth Federation

CCME Canadian Council of Ministers of Education

CCND Canadian Committee for Nuclear Disarmament

CENTCOM Central Command (US)

CEO chief executive officer

CF Canadian Forces

CHOGM Commonwealth Heads of Government Meetings

CIDA Canadian International Development Agency

CIIPS Canadian Institute for International Peace and Security

CLC Canadian Labour Congress

CME Canadian manufacturers and exporters

C-NAFTA Federal—Provincial Committee on the North American Free Trade

Agreement

CNAFTN Committee for North American Free Trade Negotiations

CND	Campaign	for	Nuclear	Disarmament	(IJK)	
CND	Campaign	101	Inucical	Disarmament	(UIV)	1

CSIS Canadian Security Intelligence Service

CSN Confédération des syndicats nationaux

C-TPAT Customs-Trade Partnership against Terrorism

C-Trade Federal/Provincial/Territorial Committee on Trade

CUPE Canadian Union of Public Employees

CUSO Canadian University Service Overseas

DAC Development Assistance Committee (OECD)

DART Disaster Assistance Response Team

DEA Department of External Affairs

DEW Distant Early Warning line (NORAD)

DFAIT Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade

DHS Department of Homeland Security (US)
DISC Domestic International Sales Corporation

DM deputy minister

E&I Department of Employment and Immigration

EAITC External Affairs and International Trade Canada

EAO External Aid Office

FAO Food and Agriculture Organization

FAST Free and Secure Trade program

FCCC Framework Convention on Climate Change

FLQ Front de libération du Québec

FSF Financial Stability Forum

G-4 The Ouad

G8 Group of Eight

G-20 Group of 20 (finance ministers/central bank governors)

G-20 Group of 20 (leaders)

GATT General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade

GDU Garrison Diversion Unit

GNP gross national product

GO5 Coalition Gestion de l'offre 5

IAE International Assistance Envelope

IBRD International Bank for Reconstruction and Development

ICBL International Campaign to Ban Landmines

ICBM Inter-continental ballistic missile

ICCS International Commission for Control and Supervision

ICER Interdepartmental Committee on External Relations

ICISS International Commission on Intervention and State Sovereignty

* ICJ International Court of Justice

ICSC International Commission for Supervision and Control

IETCD International Economic and Technical Cooperation Division

IFI international financial institution

IFOR NATO Implementation Force, Bosnia

IGGI Inter-governmental Group on Indonesia

ILO International Labour Organization

INS Immigration and Naturalization Service (US)

IPS International Policy Statement

IR international relations

ISAF International Security Assistance Force (Afghanistan)

IT&C Department of Industry, Trade and Commerce

ITW/AA Integrated Tactical Warning/Attack Assessment

JI Jemaah Islamiyah

KFOR Kosovo Force

KGB Komitet Gosudarstvennoye Bezopastnosti

KMT Kuomintang (Nationalist Party, China)

KLA Kosovo Liberation Army

MAD mutual assured destruction

MAIQ Ministère des Affaires intergouvernmentales du Québec

MEF Major Economies Forum on Energy and Climate Change

MEO Manufacturiers et exportateurs du Québec

MITT Ministry of Industry, Trade and Technology (Ontario)

MP member of parliament

MRI Ministère des Relations internationales (Québec)

NACC North Atlantic Cooperation Council (NATO)

NAFTA North American Free Trade Agreement

NATO North Atlantic Treaty Organization

NDP

New Democratic Party

NEG/ECP

New England Governors/Eastern Canadian Premiers

NEP

National Energy Program

NERC

North American Electricity Reliability Council

NGO

nongovernmental organization

NORAD

North American Aerospace Defence Agreement

NORTHCOM

Northern Command (US)

NRC

National Research Council

NWS

North Warning System (NORAD)

OAS

Organization of American States

ODA

Official Development Assistance

OECD

Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development

OEF

Operation Enduring Freedom (Afghanistan)

OIC

Organisation of the Islamic Conference

OIF

Organisation internationale de la Francophonie

OIRP

Office of International Relations and Protocol (Ontario)

OSCE

Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe Priorities and Planning Committee of Cabinet

P&P P-5

permanent five members of the UN Security Council

PC

Progressive Conservative

PCO

Privy Council Office

PFP

Partnership for Peace (NATO)

PJBD

Permanent Joint Board on Defence

PLO

Termanent John Board on Berence

Palestine Liberation Organization

PMO

Prime Minister's Office

PQ

Parti Ouébécois

PRC

People's Republic of China

PRT

Provincial Reconstruction Team (Afghanistan)

R2P

responsibility to protect

RCMP

Royal Canadian Mounted Police

SDI

Strategic Defense Initiative (US)

SFOR

Stabilization Force

SM5

Supply Management 5

SPP Security and Prosperity Partnership

SSEA secretary of state for external affairs

SUCO Service universitaire canadien outré-mer

TBS Treasury Board Secretariat

TEIGA Ministry of Treasury, Economic and Intergovernmental Affairs

(Ontario)

TNO Trade Negotiations Office

TRIPs trade-related intellectual property rights

UNCED United Nations Conference on Environment and Development

UNCHR UN Commission on Human Rights

UNESCO UN Economic, Social and Cultural Organization

UNFCCC UN Framework Convention on Climate Change

UNFICYP UN Peacekeeping Force in Cyprus

UNICEF UN International Childrens' Emergency Fund

UNOSOM UN Operation in Somalia

UNPROFOR UN Protection Force, former Yugoslavia

UNTAC UN Transitional Authority in Cambodia

UPA Union des produceurs agricoles

USCG United States Coast Guard

USSR Union of Soviet Socialist Republics

VOW Voice of Women

WHO World Health Organization

WTO World Trade Organization

Preface

This book had its origins in the mid-1980s as *The Politics of Canadian Foreign Policy*. That book went through two further editions, in 1989 and 1997. In the early 2000s, the three of us decided to rewrite that book in French, not only updating it, but also expanding references that would be useful and relevant for students studying in French. While the basic structure was retained, *Politique internationale et défense au Canada et au Québec*, which appeared in 2007, was much more than just a translation of *The Politics of Canadian Foreign Policy*, bringing as it did the fresh perspective of two scholars who are not only younger (and younger still) than the original author but also the viewpoint of francophone scholars of international relations. We decided to rewrite it once again in English. Like *Politique internationale*, *International Policy and Politics in Canada* is not just a translation of its predecessor, but an updated and revised version.

In the quarter-century that has passed since the original version of this book first appeared, much has changed. In the fall of 1983, when The Politics of Canadian Foreign Policy went to press, the international system was marked by severe crisis and Canadian politics by the prospect of change. Internationally, relations between the United States and its allies in the Cold War on the one hand and the Soviet Union on the other were extremely tense. In March 1983 the administration of Ronald Reagan had outlined plans for a Strategic Defense Initiative designed to make the United States immune from attack by nuclear weapons. In September Soviet jet fighters shot down a Korean Air Lines Boeing 747, killing all 269 on board. In November, the North Atlantic Treaty Organization launched Operation Able Archer, which was intended as an exercise to simulate the start of a nuclear war between East and West. All of NATO's militaries went to DEFCON1, the highest nuclear alert; as part of the exercise, Margaret Thatcher, the British prime minister, and Helmut Kohl, the German chancellor, were spirited away to secure locations and disappeared from public view. Indeed, the exercise was so realistic that the Soviet leadership in Moscow believed the West was about to launch a nuclear attack, and readied its own nuclear weapons for war. The war scare was heightened by the broadcast just days later of a made-for-TV movie, The Day After, that portrayed in grim detail a nuclear exchange between East and West.

In Canada, the Constitution, entrenching a new Charter of Rights and Freedoms, had been patriated the year before—but Québec, still governed by a Parti Québécois freshly reelected after the substantial rejection of sovereignty-association in the 1980 referendum, was still outside the Constitution. In the fall of 1983, the long tenure of Pierre Elliott Trudeau was coming to an end and Brian Mulroney had just ousted Joe Clark as leader of the Progressive Conservative party, bringing with him hopes that his leadership would end the long domination of Canadian politics by the Liberal party. The effects of the crushing recession of the early 1980s, marked by high interest rates, the migration of manufacturing, and high levels of American protectionism, were still being felt. Levels of anti-American sentiment in Canada were high, galvanized not only by American protectionism but also by such transborder issues as acid rain. There was also deep opposition to the Reagan administration's Strategic Defense Initiative and to the testing by the United States Air Force of cruise missiles over the snowy stretches of Canada's north.

In the autumn of 2009, as we finish this book, both the world and Canada look radically different. Contemporary global politics is no longer marked by intense rivalry between great powers. The Soviet Union collapsed in the late 1980s, an event marked most vividly by the breaching of that iconic symbol of division between East and West, the Berlin Wall, in November 1989. The Soviet Union's successor state, the Russian Federation, reprogrammed its nuclear weapons and joined the former enemies of the Soviet Union in an expanded Group of Eight, while most members of the rival alliance that the Soviet Union created, the Warsaw Pact, have joined a hugely expanded NATO. The People's Republic of China, which had cooperated with the United States and the West in the 1980s in a de facto anti-Soviet coalition, is now the major trading partner of the United States and of a number of other countries, cooperating in the management of the 2008 global financial crisis. The architecture of global politics is marked by summit diplomacy, with the emergence of new groupings that have grown to crowd the annual agendas of many world leaders. Instead of great-power rivalry, global politics in 2009 continues to be marked by the challenge of radical Islamism, the July 2009 bombings in Jakarta being the latest in a series of attacks since the early 1990s.

In Canada, the most important of these attacks, those launched in the United States on September 11, 2001, continues to cast a long shadow. Over the summer of 2009, 13 more Canadian soldiers were killed in the mission that began in 2001, when the Canadian government joined NATO allies in an attack on Afghanistan for harbouring those who had planned and financed 9/11. Likewise, the effects of 9/11 continue to cause the United States to "thicken" its borders, affecting the transborder flows that accelerated after the embrace of the North American Free Trade Agreement. In Canadian politics, the landscape has also changed. Three minority governments in a row attest to the radical shifts in the party system that have marked the past quarter-century: the collapse of the Progressive Conservative party as a result of challenges from the rise of the Reform party in the west and a party in Québec committed to the *souverainiste* cause rising to be the Official Opposition; the fragmentation of the vote that sustained the Liberal party through three majorities in the 1990s; the "reuniting" of the Conservative Party of Canada under Stephen Harper that ended Liberal dominance but has not to date produced a sufficient shift among voters to produce a majority.

But despite all the profound changes in both global and Canadian politics, it can be argued, as we did in all previous versions of this book, that for those who make (and study) the international policies of a particular country, the essence of their task has not changed much in the intervening years. Only the milieu, the problems of the time, and the personalities have changed (and even then, some of the personalities have proved exceedingly long-lived, such as Fidel Castro Ruz of Cuba). The tasks of those who make international policy in Canada in the post-9/11 era remain not all that different from the tasks that faced their predecessors during the Cold War period—or, indeed in the eras before that. Those tasks are to grapple with the anarchical nature of global politics; to cope with the greater power of other political communities, particularly the United States; to protect Canada from the predations of others; to protect and advance the interests of Canadians; and to wrestle with the competing and contending demands Canadians impose on their governors. This is the enduring essence of international policy, regardless of the era.

Our purpose in this book is to provide a heuristic framework for analyzing the foreign policy behaviour of one country in the international system. We argue that a country's international policy is forged in the nexus of politics at three levels—the global, the domestic, and the governmental—and that to understand how and why Canada's international policies look as they do, one has to look at the interplay of all three.

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A Note to Students

It is customary in books such as this to include "Suggested Readings" or something similar, intended to direct students to key sources. Students of international policy in Canada are fortunate to be able to draw on a rich array of primary and secondary sources, in English and in French. However, the burgeoning literature in the field makes this an increasingly daunting task. For example, when Stephen J. Randall and John Herd Thompson put together such a list for their work on Canadian—American relations, it turned into a 19-page bibliographical essay that discusses over 300 sources.¹

We take a somewhat different approach in this book. While we do provide a brief discussion below with some illustrative sources for further research, our "suggested readings" are to be found in each chapter's notes. Notes serve two purposes. First, they are the traditional means of providing readers with the source of quotations, research, interpretation, or ideas. Second, notes act as a form of hypertext, providing additional information about a topic in the text (and because they do this best when they appear as footnotes at the bottom of the page, Pearson Canada deserves thanks for its far-sighted decision to incorporate them here). We use notes for both these purposes, and we are hoping that our readers will not only explore the footnotes for additional information, but will also use the notes in this book as a bibliographical guide. We have tried to ensure that the references are as full as possible, not to be pedantic, but to point the way to those scholars who have treated subjects in greater depth than is possible in a survey such as this one.

We also provide a number of sources in French, a reflection of the vibrant scholarship on international policy and politics in Canada that often remains largely invisible to many students at English-speaking universities. We hope that just as students at French-language universities routinely read the work of English-speaking scholars, readers of this book will read the contributions of francophone scholars.

FURTHER RESEARCH: ADDITIONAL SOURCES

The purpose of this brief bibliographical survey is to provide a guide to some of the general literature. A full bibliography on international policy in Canada is available at http://www.pedc.uqam.ca | Publications | Bibliography.

Histories

The best general histories of Canada and international policy are: C.P. Stacey's two-volume series, *Canada and the Age of Conflict*, vol. 1: *1867–1921* (Toronto: Macmillan, 1977) and vol. 2: *1921–1948: The Mackenzie King Era* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1981); James Eayrs's five-volume series, *In Defence of Canada*, that covers from the end of the

¹ John Herd Thompson and Stephen J. Randall, *Canada and the United States: Ambivalent Allies*, 4th ed. (Montréal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University, 2008), "Bibliographical Essay," 409–28.

First World War until the 1950s; John W. Holmes's two-volume history of the immediate postwar decade, *The Shaping of Peace: Canada and the Search for World Order, 1943–1957;* Paul Painchaud, ed., *De Mackenzie King à Pierre Trudeau: Quarante ans de diplomatie canadienne (1945–1985)* (Québec: Presses de l'Université Laval, 1989); and Robert Bothwell, *Alliance and Illusion: Canada and the World, 1945–1984* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2007). On the history of Canadian–American relations, see John Herd Thompson and Stephen J. Randall, *Canada and the United States: Ambivalent Allies*, 4th ed. (Montréal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2008).

Annual Reviews

For the period 1939–1984, the Canadian Institute of International Affairs published a series, *Canada in World Affairs*. The final volume in this series covers the Trudeau years: J.L. Granatstein and Robert Bothwell, *Pirouette: Pierre Trudeau and Canadian Foreign Policy* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1990). Students should also consult the international affairs section of the *Canadian Annual Review*. Since 1984, members of the Norman Paterson School of International Affairs at Carleton University have edited an annual series, *Canada Among Nations*. Each volume features essays on both the foreign policy process and key issues in international policy.

Journals and Periodicals

Scholarly articles on international policy in Canada can be found in the following journals: *International Journal*, the quarterly of the Canadian International Council; *Canadian Journal of Political Science*, the journal of the Canadian Political Science Association; *Études internationales*, published by the Institut québécois des hautes Études internationales; *Canadian Foreign Policy*, published by the Norman Paterson School of International Affairs at Carleton University; and the journal of the Association for Canadian Studies in the United States, *American Review of Canadian Studies*. Shorter articles with a policy focus can be found in *Policy Options*, published by the Institute for Research on Public Policy (http://www.irpp.org), and *bout de papier: Canada's Magazine of Diplomacy and Foreign Service*, published by the Professional Association of Foreign Service Officers (http://pafso.com/magazine.cfm). For military issues, consult the *Canadian Military Journal* (http://www.journal.dnd.ca/index-eng.asp).

Diaries, Memoirs, Biographies

There are numerous diaries, memoirs, and biographies of the major political and bureaucratic figures in Canadian international policy. *The Mackenzie King Record* is edited in four volumes by J.W. Pickersgill and D. Forster. Lester B. Pearson's memoirs are in *Mike: The Memoirs of the Rt. Hon. Lester B. Pearson*, in three volumes; John English has published a two-volume biography of Pearson. Basil Robinson's *Diefenbaker's World* is a foreign policy memoir written by Diefenbaker's External Affairs liaison officer; a lengthier and more scholarly treatment may be found in Denis Smith, *Rogue Tory: The Life and Legend of John G. Diefenbaker*. Paul Martin, Sr., Mitchell Sharp, and Pierre Elliott Trudeau have all published memoirs. Trudeau and his foreign affairs adviser, Ivan Head, published a memoir dealing specifically with foreign policy: Ivan Head and Pierre Trudeau, *The Canadian Way: Shaping Canada's Foreign*

Policy, 1968-1984 (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1995). Some parts of Christina McCall and Stephen Clarkson's two-volume Trudeau and Our Times deal with foreign policy.

All four prime ministers who served from September 1984 to 2006 have published memoirs: Brian Mulroney, Memoirs (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 2007); Kim Campbell, Time and Chance: The Political Memoirs of Canada's First Woman Prime Minister (Toronto: Seal Books, 1997); Jean Chrétien, My Years as Prime Minister (Toronto: Alfred A. Knopf Canada, 2007); Paul Martin, Hell or High Water: My Life in and out of Politics (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 2008).

Also of note are memoirs of Canadian officials: Allan Gotlieb, "I'll Be with You in a Minute, Mr. Ambassador": The Education of a Canadian Diplomat in Washington (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1991); Allan Gotlieb, The Washington Diaries, 1981–1989 (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 2006); Charles Ritchie, Storm Signals: More Undiplomatic Diaries, 1962-1971 (Toronto: Macmillan, 1983); James Bartleman, Rollercoaster: My Hectic Years as Jean Chrétien's Diplomatic Adviser, 1994–1998 (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 2005).

Primary Sources

Edited selections of speeches and documents on Canadian international policy are also available: Walter A. Riddell, ed., Documents on Canadian Foreign Policy, 1917-1939 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1962); R.A. MacKay, ed., Canadian Foreign Policy, 1945–1954 (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1971). Arthur E. Blanchette edited three volumes of Canadian Foreign Policy: Selected Speeches and Documents-for 1955-65, 1966-76, and 1977-1992.

The Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade publishes a full historical record in the series Documents on Canadian External Relations, a selection of memoranda and dispatches. Volume 1 begins in 1909; at present, volumes are available for the early 1960s. All volumes are fully searchable online at http://www.international.gc.ca/department/historyhistoire/dcer/browse-en.asp.

Government Websites

Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade: http://www.international.gc.ca

Department of National Defence/Canadian Forces: http://www.forces.gc.ca

Canadian International Development Agency: http://www.acdi-cida.gc.ca

Prime Minister's homepage: http://www.pm.gc.ca

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http://www2.parl.gc.ca/HouseChamberBusiness/ChamberHome.aspx

House of Commons Standing Committee on Foreign Affairs and International Development: http://www2.parl.gc.ca/CommitteeBusiness/CommitteeHome.aspx? Cmte=FAAE

House of Commons Standing Committee on National Defence: http://www2.parl.gc.ca/CommitteeBusiness/CommitteeHome.aspx?Cmte=NDDN Library and Archives Canada maintains archived collections of all the above websites: http://www.collectionscanada.gc.ca

Ministère des Relations internationales du Québec: http://www.mri.gouv.qc.ca

International Policy and Politics in Canada Website

For further resources on international policy in Canada, visit our website: http://ip-pi.ca.