
THE POLITICS OF
CANADIAN
FOREIGN POLICY

T H I R D E D I T I O N



Kim Richard Nossal

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T H I R D E D I T I O N

To James G. Eayrs

■ ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Numerous people have helped this book see the light of day. I am particularly grateful to all the people at Prentice Hall Canada: to Patrick Ferrier, who in various guises has been involved in all three editions of this book; to Maurice Esses, Marilyn Neyedly, and Kelly Dickson who guided the third edition to fruition; and to Robyn Packard, the copy editor for this edition, whose careful editing saved me from embarrassment and the reader from numerous infelicities in the original.

I am also grateful to numerous students and their professors who took the time to offer useful comments on the earlier editions of this book. In particular, I would not want the contributions of the reviewers of the earlier editions, including Kal J. Holsti of the University of British Columbia, Cranford Pratt of the University of Toronto, and Douglas A. Ross of Simon Fraser University, to be forgotten in the change of editions.

Four reviewers were engaged by Prentice Hall Canada for this edition: Donald E. Abelson of the University of Western Ontario, Gerry Dirks of Brock University, Alistair D. Edgar of Wilfrid Laurier University, and T.A. Keenleyside of the University of Windsor. All were unstinting in offering the wisdom and advice that comes from both knowledge and experience. Moreover, in the process, they pointed out errors in interpretation and style. My thanks to them for helping to improve this book.

This is also an appropriate opportunity to thank in a formal way those who, in a sense, started it all. When I was a student in what was then the Department of Political Economy at the University of Toronto in the early 1970s, I was fortunate to have a group of professors whose commitment to their students was of critical importance in firing my own interest in international relations—James Eayrs, Richard Gregor, Franklyn Griffiths, John W. Holmes, Robert O. Matthews, Arthur Rubinoff, and Gordon Skilling. While I am grateful to all of them, one deserves particular mention.

Before he left the University of Toronto to join the Department of Political Science at Dalhousie University in the late 1970s, James Eayrs taught the introduction to international relations and a third year course on Canadian foreign policy. I was fortunate not only to have Eayrs as a member of my PhD supervisory committee, but also to be assigned as one of his teaching assistants in the second year IR course and the third year course on Canadian foreign policy. Drawing on a seemingly endless wealth of historical knowledge, and offering an often iconoclastic view of the real world of world politics, Eayrs taught all those in his courses, his TAs included, a great deal about international politics and Canadian foreign policy. As important, in the process he taught his TAs a great deal about teaching itself. Knowing that it is but slim recompense for what he has given me, I dedicate this edition to Jim Eayrs—with respect, affection, and thanks.

Hamilton, Ontario
March 1996

A Note to Students

Within months of the appearance of the second edition of this book in the spring of 1989, those who made foreign policy for Canada experienced the most dramatic reorientation of international politics since the Second World War. In the late 1980s and early 1990s, the international system was transformed; many icons of the Cold War era simply disintegrated, disappeared, or were radically changed. This process began in November 1989 with the breaching of the Berlin Wall—perhaps the most forbidding symbol of the division between East and West—without provoking the kind of Soviet military intervention that took place against Hungary in 1956 and Czechoslovakia in 1968, or was threatened against Poland in 1981. As a result, Communist regimes in Eastern Europe were swept away, one after another. Unity and division reshaped the map of Eurasia in the months thereafter: the two Germanies united, and Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia divided, the former amicably, the latter in a bloody four-year civil war.

The radical change in Soviet behaviour was most dramatically evident in the days and months following Iraq's invasion of Kuwait in August 1990. The Soviet Union cooperated with the United States on the United Nations Security Council in fashioning a multilateral response to the invasion. The United States, too, was no less susceptible to change: the president of the United States, demonstrating an unprecedented multilateralism, worked hard to gather a coalition of more than thirty states to contribute to a multinational force that declared war against Iraq and forced it from Kuwait. And then the Soviet Union itself went out of existence—declared at an end by the Secretary General of the Communist Party himself.

Change came to other parts of the world. In South Africa, *apartheid* was brought to a dramatic but peaceful end. Nelson Mandela was released from nearly three decades of incarceration, and subsequently elected president in multiracial elections. In North America, a free trade agreement was signed with Mexico, with the promise that it would be extended to the entire hemisphere within a decade. In the Pacific, increasing cooperation among the burgeoning and dynamic economies of the Asia-Pacific resulted in closer institutional linkages. Change of a different sort came to China: the Chinese leadership, so ardently courted by the West during the 1980s, burst the bubble of good feelings by sending troops to suppress pro-democracy protestors gathered in Tiananmen Square, the centre of Beijing, killing hundreds in the process. The Beijing massacre of June 1989 ushered in a new and more realistic relationship with China. Changes were also evident at the international level: the United Nations entered

a new and vigorous phase of activism; NATO was forced to redefine its mission; summit diplomacy intensified; and by 1995, the trading regime presided over by GATT was gone, replaced by a new World Trade Organization.

Indeed, such has been the scope of the changes that much of what has come to be known as the post-Cold War era would scarcely be recognizable to a student of Canadian foreign policy in the late 1980s, much less to a student in the mid-1980s, when the first edition of this book appeared. A great deal would be unfamiliar territory, from the acronyms that dot the contemporary landscape—APEC, EBRD, IFOR, NACC, NAFTA, NIDL, OSCE, P-5, PFP, TRIPs, UNOSOM, UNPROFOR, WTO—to the increasing membership of the United Nations, swelled to 185 by countries that a decade before were only subdivisions of larger states, and the place names that we now use as shorthand to conjure images of more complex events and phenomena—Punta del Este, Tiananmen, Maastricht, Bosnia, Somalia, Rwanda.

By the same token, to students today the foreign policy agenda of merely a decade ago must now seem odd and dated. The Cold War system in the mid-1980s was marked by an intense rivalry among the great powers, involving a balance of terror created by increasingly expensive weapons systems of mass destruction. That era featured great-power machinations, usually played out through proxies throughout the world. Invariably, these great-power games resulted in periodic clashes all over the globe—Indochina, Afghanistan, the Middle East, southern Africa, the Horn of Africa, and the Caribbean. There were the stark defining incidents, such as the invasion of Grenada by the United States or the shooting down of Korean Air Lines flight 007 by Soviet fighters.

And yet, despite all the profound changes in the international system, it can be argued that for those who make (and study) the foreign policy of a particular nation, 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, like Deng Xiaoping of China or Fidel Castro Ruz of Cuba). The task of Canadian foreign policy makers in the post-Cold War era remains not all that different from the task that faced their predecessors during the Cold War period—or indeed in the eras before that. That task is to grapple with the essential anarchy of the international system; to cope with the greater power of other political communities, particularly the United States; to protect the political community from the predations of others; to advance the interests of Canadians; and to wrestle with the competing and contending demands that Canadians impose on their governors. That is foreign policy's enduring essence, regardless of the nature of the international system.

Theoretical Underpinnings

This book seeks to provide a heuristic framework for analyzing the foreign policy behaviour of one country in the international system. I argue that a

country's foreign policy is forged at the nexus of politics at three levels—international, domestic, and governmental—and that to understand foreign policy making, one must look at the interplay of all three.

The examination of Canadian foreign policy presented in this book is not guided by any one theoretical perspective on international politics or foreign policy making. Of course, the analysis is informed, as it must be, by theory. What is presented as “important”—and, by the same token, what is excluded, and thus deemed relatively less important—will inexorably be a theoretical and ideological exercise.

The approach I use in this book is an amalgam of perspectives that cannot be tidily arranged in a single theoretical pigeonhole. While I recognize that this tendency in the Canadian foreign policy literature poses a number of theoretical problems, as scholars such as Maureen Appel Molot, David R. Black, and Heather A. Smith have pointed out,¹ I would nonetheless argue that a traditional eclectic approach still provides the best basis for the analysis of a single state's foreign policy. And there can be little doubt that the intellectual lineage of the presentation in this book is traditional. In general, my own views on the nature of international politics have been influenced by the work of scholars such as Hedley Bull. A professor of international relations at Australian National University before moving to the University of Oxford, Bull had a perspective on international politics that differed considerably from that of most American scholars, who tended to see international politics as a struggle for power in an environment not unlike the imagined “state of nature” of mid-millennium philosophers like Thomas Hobbes. Bull argued that the various autonomous political communities constituted a rudimentary society, and that the relations among them should be seen as essentially social—hence the title of his major work, *The Anarchical Society*.² But my attachment to Bull's work is neither mechanistic nor dogmatic, for many of the contributions to the dialectic conversation that is international relations theory—from realists,³ neoliberal theorists,⁴ and constructivists⁵—provide insights into how best to interpret and analyze world politics.

Likewise, the focus of this book is traditionally state-centric: its purpose is to explain the foreign policy decisions of the state, not the many other actors that crowd the world stage. Again, the contributions of the foreign policy decision-making literature that enjoyed prominence in the late 1960s and early 1970s will be evident.⁶

Finally, this book concentrates on a single country in the international system. It thus owes an intellectual debt to those who have provided us with detailed histories of Canada's foreign policy. This book relies heavily on the research and writing of, among others, George Glazebrook, C.P. Stacey, James Eayrs, John W. Holmes, J.L. Granatstein, and Robert Bothwell, who have done so much to provide a historical account of Canada's external relations.

It should be noted that my approach is “traditional” in other ways. There are a number of perspectives that do not inform the analysis in this book at

all. While one cannot analyze the foreign policy of a country like Canada without examining economic issues, the analysis here does not embrace any of the competing international political economy approaches.⁷ Nor does this book reflect the perspectives from critical theory,⁸ even though post-modern reflections on global politics, if nothing else, force one to be more self-conscious about joining what Richard Ashley has called the “Renaissance carnival” of textbook construction.⁹

Finally, Deborah Stienstra has noted that earlier editions of this book, like many other contributions to the literature on Canadian foreign policy, were silent on the issue of gender.¹⁰ As Stienstra notes, breaking the silence on gender begins by “adding women” to discussions of the foreign policy process. This is easier now than in the past: since Flora MacDonald was appointed secretary of state for external affairs in 1979, more and more women have been involved in the foreign policy process: Kim Campbell, Louise Fréchette, Monique Landry, Barbara McDougall, Sylvia Ostry, Mary May Simon, Monique Vézina, and numerous foreign service officers in the Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade and other agencies. But Stienstra argues that merely adding women is not enough. Instead, one must change the boundaries of inquiry altogether, eliminating the essential “structuring-out” of women’s perspectives that is so much the mark of works like this.

I offer no apology for the absence of perspectives such as these. A book on Canadian foreign policy using an international political economy, a post-modern, or a gender-analysis approach would require a different book—one that asked substantially different questions and employed fundamentally different assumptions. In short, these are not approaches that one can merely “add” to a traditional approach and “stir”—at least not if one wishes to do them justice. Rather, these are approaches that require a (re)construction of the project *de novo*.

Further Reading: Notes

Students of Canadian foreign policy today have a rich array of primary and secondary sources to draw from, in part a result of the explosion of scholarship on Canada’s international relations that began with the expansion of the Canadian university system in the 1960s.

It is customary in books such as this to have a section entitled “Suggested Reading” or similar name, which is intended to direct students to key sources. The burgeoning literature in the field, however, makes this an increasingly daunting task. For example, when Stephen J. Randall and John Herd Thompson compiled such a list for their work on Canadian-American relations, it turned into a twenty-page bibliographical essay that discusses more than 300 sources.¹¹ Similarly, David Dewitt and David Leyton-Brown, in their edited collection on Canadian security policy, ended up with a fifty-page appendix that includes a good bibliography and a full array of primary and secondary sources.¹²

Rather than duplicate those efforts, I have tried to give readers of this book a trail to follow in the footnotes (I use the word loosely, for book publishers have for many years now banished notes from the foot of their pages).

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 (though they do a better job of this when they appear as footnotes at the bottom of the page).

I use endnotes for both these purposes. I have also, however, tried to use the notes in this book as a bibliographical guide. I have tried to ensure that the references are as full as possible, not to be pedantic, but to point the way to those colleagues who have treated subjects in greater depth than is possible in a survey such as this one.

The Chronology

A chronology of selected events since the outset of the Second World War appears at the end of the book. A chronology enables one to place an event in a wider context or simply to pinpoint an event more accurately. The chronology in this book seeks to weave together the *dramatis personae*—including political leaders of Canada, the United States, the Soviet Union, China, and the United Nations—and some of the defining events of international politics since 1939. This chronology is updated semiannually, and is available in electronic form on request, at <nossalk@mcmaster.ca>.

■ FURTHER RESEARCH: ADDITIONAL SOURCES

Compendia

An indispensable reference tool for the student of Canadian foreign policy is Mel Himes's *Canadian Foreign Policy Handbook* (Montreal: Jewel Publications, 1996). This volume contains information on Canadian foreign policy decision-makers since 1945; data on Canadian trade, aid, defence; and a range of other useful (and hard-to-find) information.

Bibliographies

Another useful research tool is the bibliographical series compiled by the Holmes Library at the Canadian Institute of International Affairs. Entitled *A Bibliography of Works on Canadian Foreign Relations*, it comes in five volumes: 1986–90 (compiled by the staff); 1981–1985 (comp. Jane R. Barrett, Jane Beaumont, and Lee-Anne Broadhead); 1976–1980 (comp. Jane R. Barrett and Jane Beaumont); 1971–1975 and 1945–70 (comp. Donald M. Page). The Holmes Library will, on request, provide researchers with a computer printout of sources on specific topics, but only for acquisitions after 1990. Contact the

librarian at the Holmes Library, Canadian Institute of International Affairs, 5 Devonshire Place, Toronto, ON M5S 2C8, or call (416) 979-1851 or 1-800-668-2442; fax (416) 979-8575.

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*.

For the contemporary period, there is an annual series, *Canada Among Nations*, edited by members of the Norman Paterson School of International Affairs at Carleton University. The series was started in 1984. Each volume features essays on both the foreign policy process and key issues, and many include an annual statistical profile and a chronology. The volumes for the post-Cold War era are the following:

Maxwell A. Cameron and Maureen Appel Molot, *Canada Among Nations, 1995: Democracy and Foreign Policy* (Ottawa: Carleton University Press, 1995)

Molot and Harald von Riekhoff, *Canada Among Nations, 1994: A Part of the Peace* (1994)

Fen Osler Hampson and Christopher J. Maule, eds., *Canada Among Nations, 1993–94: Global Jeopardy* (1993)

Hampson and Maule, eds., *Canada Among Nations, 1992–93: A New World Order?* (1992)

Hampson and Maule, eds., *Canada Among Nations, 1990–91: After the Cold War* (1991)

Chronicles

International Canada, available at many university libraries, was a comprehensive month-by-month report on Canada's foreign affairs. Until 1982, it was produced by the Canadian Institute of International Affairs with an annual index. In the 1980s, it appeared as an insert to the bimonthly journal *International Perspectives*. After that journal ceased publication, a quarterly chronology, *Canadian International Relations Chronicle*, appeared, published by the Institut québécois des hautes Études internationales and the Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade.

Journals and Periodicals

Scholarly articles on Canadian foreign policy can be found in the following journals: *International Journal*, the quarterly of the Canadian Institute of

International Affairs; *Canadian Journal of Political Science*, the journal of the Canadian Political Science Association; *Études internationales*, published by the Institut québécois des hautes Études internationales; and *Canadian Foreign Policy*, published by the Norman Paterson School of International Affairs at Carleton University.

Shorter articles can be found in such periodicals as *bout de papier*, the magazine of the Professional Association of Foreign Service Officers; or *Behind the Headlines*, the magazine of the Canadian Institute of International Affairs. During its brief existence in the 1980s, the Canadian Institute of International Peace and Security published a magazine, *Peace and Security*, which featured short articles on issues of topical interest.

Diaries, Memoirs, Biographies

There are numerous diaries, memoirs, and biographies of the major political and bureaucratic figures in Canadian foreign policy making. *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, Mitchell Sharp, and Pierre Elliott Trudeau have published memoirs, and Trudeau has a volume (with Ivan Head) dealing specifically with foreign policy. Some parts of Christina McCall and Stephen Clarkson's two-volume *Trudeau and our Times* deal with foreign policy.

Primary Sources

The Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade publishes a number of primary sources of interest to students of Canadian foreign policy, available in the government publications of the library or on the Internet (see below). A particularly useful source is the *Statements and Speeches* series, featuring speeches by ministers on foreign policy.

A full historical record is presented 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 1950s.

A four-volume series of selected speeches and documents is also available, the first one (1945–55) edited by R.A. MacKay, the last three (1955–65, 1966–76, and 1977–1992) edited by Arthur E. Blanchette: *Canadian Foreign Policy: Selected Speeches and Documents*.

Electronic Sources

Material on Canadian foreign policy is also available on the World Wide Web, using one of the WWW browsers: Cello, Lynx, Mosaic, or Netscape. The following

home pages provide a good starting point for access to a range of documents on foreign policy and international affairs (some exploring may be necessary):

Canada's Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade:
<http://www.dfait-maeci.gc.ca>

Norman Paterson School of International Affairs:
<http://gsro.carleton.ca/npsia>

Standing Committee on Foreign Affairs and International Trade:
<http://www.parl.gc.ca>

G-7 Information Centre
<http://library.utoronto.ca/www/g7>

An Invitation

If you have questions about Canadian foreign policy or comments or suggestions about this book, please e-mail <nossalk@mcmaster.ca>.

ENDNOTES

- 1 Two excellent critiques of the literature may be found in the following: Maureen Appel Molot, "Where do we, or should we, or can we sit? A review of Canadian foreign policy literature," *International Journal of Canadian Studies* 1-2 (Spring/Fall 1990): 77-96; David R. Black and Heather A. Smith, "Notable exceptions? New and arrested directions in Canadian foreign policy literature," *Canadian Journal of Political Science* 26 (December 1993): 745-74.
- 2 Hedley Bull, *The Anarchical Society: A Study of Order in World Politics* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1977).
- 3 Either the hard realists like Hans J. Morgenthau, *Politics Among Nations: The Struggle for Power and Peace* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1948, 1954, 1960, 1966, 1973), or the structural realists like Kenneth Waltz, *Theory of International Politics* (Reading, MA: Addison-Wesley, 1979).
- 4 Mark Zacher and Richard Matthew, "Liberal international theory: common threads, divergent strands," in Charles Kegley, ed., *Realism and the Neoliberal Challenge: Controversies in International Relations* (New York: St Martin's, 1994).
- 5 For example, Alexander Wendt, "Anarchy is what states make of it: the social construction of power politics," *International Organization* 46 (Spring 1992).
- 6 For a survey of the rise and fall of the decision-making approach, see Kim Richard Nossal, "Opening up the black box: the decision-making approach to international politics," in David G. Haglund and Michael K. Hawes, eds., *World Politics: Power, Interdependence and Dependence* (Toronto: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1990), 531-52.

- 7 See the contributions in Richard Stubbs and Geoffrey R.D. Underhill, *Political Economy and the Changing Global Order* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1994).
- 8 Such as R.B.J. Walker, *Inside/Outside: International Relations as Political Theory* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993).
- 9 Richard K. Ashley, "The state of the discipline: realism under challenge," in Richard Higgott and J.L. Richardson, eds., *International Relations: Global and Australian Perspectives on an Evolving Discipline*, Canberra Studies in World Affairs 30 (Canberra: Australian National University, 1991): 46.
- 10 Deborah Stienstra, "Can the silence be broken? Gender and Canadian foreign policy," *International Journal* 50 (Winter 1994-5): 103-127, esp. 117.
- 11 "Bibliographical essay," in John Herd Thompson and Stephen J. Randall, *Canada and the United States: Ambivalent Allies* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1994), 351-70.
- 12 Martin Shadwick, "Research guide and further reading," in David B. Dewitt and David Leyton-Brown, eds., *Canada's International Security Policy* (Scarborough, Ont.: Prentice-Hall Canada, 1995), 455-504.

■ ACRONYMS AND OTHER ABBREVIATIONS

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

ASW Anti-submarine warfare

BMD Ballistic missile defence

BNA British North America

BQ Bloc Québécois

CARICOM Association of Caribbean Commonwealth countries

CBIAC Canadian Business and Industry International Advisory Committee

CCF Cooperative Commonwealth Federation

CCND Canadian Committee for Nuclear Disarmament

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

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

CND Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament (UK)

COCOM Coordinating Committee (NATO)

COMECON Council for Mutual Economic Assistance

CSIS Canadian Security Intelligence Service

CUSO Canadian University Service Overseas

DAC Development Assistance Committee (OECD)

DEA Department of External Affairs

DEW Distant Early Warning line (NORAD)

DFAIT Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade

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

EBRD European Bank for Reconstruction and Development

FAO Food and Agriculture Organization

FLQ Front de libération du Québec

- G-7 Group of seven most industrialized democracies
- GATT General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade
- GDU Garrison Diversion Unit
- GNP Gross national product
- IAE International Assistance Envelope
- IBRD International Bank for Reconstruction and Development
- ICBM Inter-continental ballistic missile
- ICCS International Commission for Control and Supervision
- ICER Interdepartmental Committee on External Relations
- ICJ International Court of Justice
- ICSC International Commission for Supervision and Control
- IETCD International Economic and Technical Cooperation Division
- IFOR Implementation Force, Bosnia (NATO)
- IGGI Inter-Governmental Group on Indonesia
- ILO International Labour Organization
- IMF International Monetary Fund
- INF Intermediate-range nuclear forces
- IT&C Department of Industry, Trade and Commerce
- ITA International Trade Administration (US)
- KMT Kuomintang (Nationalist Party, China/Taiwan)
- KGB Komitet Gosudarstvennoye Bezopasnosti
- MAD Mutual assured destruction
- MAIQ Ministère des Affaires intergouvernementales du Québec
- MBFR Mutual and balance force reduction
- MFN Most Favoured Nation
- MITT Ministry of Industry, Trade and Technology (Ontario)
- MP Member of Parliament
- 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
- NGO Non-governmental organization
- NIDL New international division of labour
- NIEO New international economic order
- NORAD North American Aerospace Defence agreement
- NRC National Research Council