

integral involvement from the start in the great global cataclysms of the two world wars, a divided nationality, and a singular exposure to the goods, money, people and ideas of the outside world.

Conversely, Canadians regard as largely irrelevant the core realist concepts of independence, sovereignty, the nation state, military methods of statecraft, conflict and anarchy. To this day most Canadians do not know or even particularly care when their country became fully independent, if indeed it now is. They are dimly aware that Canadian independence was a highly incremental process, with most Canadians usually wanting to slow down the pace to prevent being cut off from the outside world. Similarly, sovereignty for Canadians is something physically embodied in a monarch living abroad, and constitutionally divided at home among eleven governments which seldom seem to agree on who has indivisible, ultimate and stable authority over what. The idea of the nation state makes little sense to a country whose first immigrant community, the Quebecois, have now freely chosen and historically proven the path of maintaining nationhood without a state of their own. It is of similarly low value to a once-dominant British majority which willingly created a bilingual, multi-ethnic constellation of communities living in a deeply interdependent and relatively harmonious coexistence.

Power of legitimacy

In the realm of foreign policy instrumentalities, Canadians have on the whole failed to rely on the relevance of military means. They have seen instead the effectiveness of political legitimacy in securing their ends. In the nuclear

realm, Canada was the first, and for many years the only, nuclear weapons-capable state to renounce the bomb. Partly due to its peculiar cultural composition, Canada has rigorously renounced conscription for all but those few years when global war raged and needed to be ended quickly in victory. During the postwar period Canada has been among the global leaders in reducing the share of national wealth invested in things military. Through low levels of reserve forces Canada has also avoided inculcating an ethic of military values into its political culture.

Such anti-military values are not difficult to explain. For the most severe threats to the country's survival have come not from external predators but from internal dissidents, and have been met by an almost purely political response. Indeed, only a country with a supreme belief in the efficacy of its political legitimacy could respond to the primordial threat of Quebec's separation with a referendum, and one in which only citizens in the home province of the dissidents were allowed to vote, and in which the question to be voted upon was defined exclusively by the dissidents themselves. Through their central role in international peacekeeping, Canadians have also effectively exported this formula of low military force, backed by high political legitimacy, abroad.

Internationalism

These peculiarities of Canada's behavior as a country are often attributed, in orthodox neo-realist fashion, to the luxuries available to a country snuggled under the protective embrace of the powerful United States, and basking warmly in the friendly Anglo-American international

COMPETING INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS PARADIGMS

Theoretical Issues	Realist Concept	Canadian Reality
	A. Actors	
Separateness	Independence	Autonomous attachment
Cohesiveness	Sovereignty	Divided authority
Unit character	National state	Multicultural federation
	B. Actions	
Motives	National self-interest	Shared values
Priorities	Power and capability	Functional capacities
Dominant instrument	Armed strength	Political legitimacy
Associative mechanisms	Temporary alliances	Permanent institutions
Primary strategy	Deterrence and balance	System stability
	C. System	
Natural condition	Anarchy	Community
Unit relations	Competition	Collaboration
Level of violence	Conflict	Peace
Major emphasis	Limiting war	Redistribution
Management mechanism	Hegemonic leadership	Functional governance