

off trade. What is the intention? To change the policy of the South African Government? If so, the embargo would have to be extensive before it would have much effect and there is no evidence at all that an embargo would be widely supported by the principal trading nations.

Is it to punish the South African Government or the white minority? I am inclined to think that the worst sufferers would be the black majority who do most of the work in South Africa in producing goods for export.

Or is it to satisfy our own emotional needs to express our repugnance for *apartheid*. If so, then I think that emotional satisfaction has to be measured against the considerations I have mentioned. This is not callousness or putting money-making ahead of principle. Our embargo on arms shipments is evidence that Canada should cut off or even discourage trade in peaceful goods with South Africa should be looked at honestly and forthrightly and the decision made in the interest not only of ourselves but of the oppressed for whom we have sympathy and to whom we want to give support.

If trade sanctions imposed unilaterally are a form of punishment not likely to bring about reform it is perhaps strange that many people who decry punishment as an answer to crime and social misbehaviour within their own societies are so eager to see it imposed internationally where the possibilities of good results are so much more remote....

VALUE OF POLICY REVIEW

Is there anything new in the papers? Leaving aside the specific Government decisions they contain, which are obviously new, I think there is. First, we have thought out our foreign policy in a more systematic way than ever before. This is more than an intellectual exercise, it will affect the formulation and operation of specific policies in the future.

For many years a great many Canadians had seen Canada primarily as an active member of the Commonwealth, the United Nations and NATO and as a close ally and partner of the United States. The foreign policy papers represent a view of the world much more specifically from a Canadian vantage-point. We have decided that Canada should continue to be active in its alliances and the international groupings of which we are a part, including, and this is something new, the grouping of nations wholly or partly of French expression, La Francophonie. But we continue these associations not because we have had them for years, but because the Government is satisfied that they help to foster our national aims and goals.

For a large part of its history Canada's attention has been focused southward upon the United States and eastward upon Europe, more particularly Britain and France. We have seen ourselves as a Northern Atlantic nation. Looking at the world from a Canadian vantage-point we have come to realize that we are, and to begin to accept our responsibilities as, an American nation, an Arctic nation and a Pacific nation. The paper on Latin America indicates our growing interests in the hemisphere as a whole including, of course, the Caribbean. The recent Arctic legislation presented in the House of Commons represents our assumption of responsibility for the ecology of the Canadian Arctic, not only in our own interest but in the interest of all. The growing importance to Canada of the Pacific nations is dealt with in the paper on the Pacific. And what we are seeing in this geographical dimension is not so much change as enlargement. The widening of our horizons does not lessen the close ties we have with the United States, although it may help us avoid increasing our economic dependence upon the American economy. In Europe our traditional ties with the Western states are being strengthened and new ties forged with the nations to the East. Our traditional relationships with India and Pakistan have not been lessened, in Africa our historic connections with the new states of English expression are being enriched by new relationships with new states of French expression. It is difficult to see how some observers at home and abroad can suggest that Canada is retreating into isolationism simply because we look at the world, as all countries do, from our own point of view.

The review has brought home to us many things we already knew but to which we had not given due weight. As people get older they tend to look back and identify a golden age they feel has gone for ever. In the late Forties and early Fifties Canada, emerging from the war with its economy strengthened when the economies of most countries had been weakened, enjoyed a brief spell of unusual prominence upon the international stage. Since then, friends and former enemies have rebuilt their economies, the Soviet Union has emerged as a super-power, China has come to have the potential to be a world power. All this is true, but what is even more true is that Canada has grown in strength and independence since those days to an extent not generally realized or accepted at least by some Canadians. Our brief day of prominence in a world devastated by war may be over, but we are coming of age in the world of today, we are taking our place and playing our part in the world as it is....