

not wish to find ourselves in Western hemispheric groupings in the specialized agencies.

Until very recently, we did not pull our weight in this region and it is no credit to us.

I don't think it is possible to put a date on the time when Canadians began to see multilateralism as a way of constraining the exercise of that power as it might apply directly to Canada.

Based on my own experience, I believe that, by the mid-1950s, it was quite normal for Canadians to see multilateralism at least partly in this light.

During the Diefenbaker years, Canada began to use multilateralism as a form of pressure against the U.S. in a bilateral context. In the late 1950s, the Canadian Cabinet accepted a recommendation of the Interdepartmental Committee on Territorial Waters to seek to establish a 12-mile exclusive fishing zone off our coasts. The U.S. was strongly opposed. For several years thereafter, we waged an enormous diplomatic campaign to gather support for a new international rule of law in favour of 12 miles. We blocked agreement on a rival U.S. proposal at the First UN Conference on the Law of the Sea in 1958, and, eventually, thanks in no small measure to Canada, a rule emerged in the 1960s that legitimated the Canadian, not the original American, approach to a 12-mile zone. Then we moved unilaterally.

The Canadians understood perfectly what they were doing. They consciously refrained from an untimely unilateral act that would have offended the United States. They supported an international consensus to legitimate what they intended to do and then did it. With variations, this is a fundamental strategy that Canada was to adopt again and again over many years in the pursuit of jurisdiction over territorial seas, navigation through Arctic ice, pollution control on the high seas and so on. We persistently sought international sanction, in the form of new rules, for actions that were strongly opposed by and largely directed against the United States.

Similar examples can be drawn from areas other than territorial waters, resource management and environmental controls.