

Statement

Secretary of
State for
External Affairs



Déclaration

Secrétaire
d'État aux
Affaires
extérieures

93/6

CHECK AGAINST DELIVERY

**NOTES FOR AN ADDRESS BY
THE HONOURABLE BARBARA McDOUGALL,
SECRETARY OF STATE FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS
TO THE DIPLOMATIC ACADEMY OF THE
RUSSIAN FOREIGN MINISTRY
"CANADA AND RUSSIA -- MANAGING CHANGE"**

**MOSCOW, Russia
February 4, 1993**

I am pleased to be addressing such a distinguished audience at the Diplomatic Academy of the Russian Foreign Ministry. It is a particular honour because many of you have literally changed the world, and we have much to learn from each other.

Never before has so much depended on our ability to learn new ways to manage these turbulent times.

My good friend, Andrei Kozyrev, exemplifies the need for courage in this new diplomacy -- and believe me, it is a new diplomacy. And all of us need the courage to ensure that the new diplomacy leads to new stability.

We need to be reminded that freedom, democracy and prosperity based on the free market are not easily won; that there are those who fear change. We also need to remember that the world is passing to a new generation. Vaclav Havel, Aung San Suu Kyi, and our own Prime Minister Brian Mulroney have made significant changes to the world -- and no one more than your president Boris Yeltsin.

The images shaping their world are compelling: Yeltsin standing tall on that tank, people dancing on the Berlin Wall, and, sadly, the victims of war in the former Yugoslavia, Karabakh, Tajikistan.

We must work together to comprehend and deal with the contradictory and sometimes brutal reality behind these images.

Russia is a great power with a glorious past, a challenging present and, without doubt, a prosperous future. Historically, Russia has been pivotal in defeating the Nazis, in the United Nations Security Council, as a nuclear superpower. Now, history calls on you to play a new role, not as an adversary but as a friend and partner.

The September 1990 Gorbachev-Bush Summit made history by creating a consensus on co-operation. It enabled the U.S.S.R., and now Russia, to get on with a social and economic transformation.

The complexity of such changes is enormously daunting. Already, people are saying that the costs are too high to bear. But our wish for Russia is that you remain outward-looking and engaged, and confident that there are others who are willing to share your difficult task with you.

Canada is a willing partner in the new structure of constructive multilateralism. It is the only way to deal with current international risks and unpredictabilities.

We have much in common between our two countries:

- We share the bleakness and majesty of northern landscapes; the disappearance of the sun in winter; the long, hot luxuriant days of summer; and the rich resources and harvests that bless our natural environment. We share, as well, the ethnic, linguistic and cultural diversity that enriches our lives but complicates our capacity to achieve common solutions.
- We are both retooling for the next century in a fast-moving and increasingly competitive international environment, recognizing the need to focus on bilateral and global trading relationships.
- We have compatible resource sectors where our know-how can help Russia earn hard currency now, especially in agriculture, minerals, forestry products and oil and gas.
- We have high technology expertise and experience in bridging distances and bringing people together, through state-of-the-art telecommunications, computers and transportation.

In short, we have much to offer Russia in the way of becoming an efficient economy that is able to deliver domestically, as well as to compete in the global marketplace.

But this is not one-way. Russia, for its part, has much to offer Canada -- and the world -- in return. As a permanent member of the Security Council, which Canada and most other countries are not, you have political influence that affects us all. Your leadership on such issues as ending the unspeakable tragedies in the former Yugoslavia will be critical in the coming days. Your scientists and artists, among the best in the world, can share their skills with others.

Canada has always adopted a global perspective. We have traditionally recognized that multilateralism, consensus-building and an effective UN serve the world better than the bipolar rivalry between the United States and the former Soviet Union (FSU). Today, our traditional view has found more favour -- in the Group of Seven leading industrial countries (G-7), at the UN and elsewhere. And there is certainly a full agenda that requires urgent attention.

Just think of the global challenges we all face.

- controlling the threat of proliferation of weapons of mass destruction;
- strengthening the international capacity for peacekeeping and peacemaking;
- ensuring respect for human rights and fundamental values;
- supporting the economic aspirations of millions of the world's poorest people;
- managing mass movements of people uprooted by ethnic conflict and economic dislocation;
- creating modern economies capable of competing in the international marketplace; and
- coping with the consequences of nuclear and other environmental disasters.

Fundamental to all of these challenges is the need to create a global environment of peace and stability.

We need to continue the remarkable progress in reducing the stockpiles of nuclear weapons. Nothing is more urgent than preventing their proliferation.

Security co-operation must be strengthened regionally to reduce the underlying causes of tension, particularly in global hot spots such as the Middle East, the Indian sub-continent and now the southern periphery of the former Soviet Union.

With the U.S., you showed the way with START I and START II. We advocate that the current nuclear testing moratorium be extended and soon replaced by a comprehensive test ban.

The nuclear weapons states should go beyond "build-down" to provide non-nuclear weapons states with security guarantees beyond those implicit in the Non-proliferation Treaty (NPT).

Agreements are fine, but we must address what happens in the meantime. The reduction of superpower weapons stockpiles is vital not only for non-proliferation, but for the sake of safety. Reduced levels of readiness could help prevent accidents.

We know the tremendous costs that this means for you. Canada would be prepared to join an international program to assist the countries of the FSU in destroying their nuclear weapons.

The recent Minsk Summit showed once again that Russia, as the accepted nuclear weapons state, has the major responsibility in ensuring the secure command and control of those weapons within the FSU.

This is not to say that Ukraine, Kazakhstan and Belarus are off the hook. We have stressed that they must abide by their commitments to ratify START I and adhere to the NPT as non-nuclear weapons states.

Russia can ease the process by responding to the legitimate security concerns of its neighbours. Confidence-building is a co-operative effort, requiring a sustained commitment by all four nuclear successor states.

The NPT must be strengthened and extended indefinitely at the 1995 Review Conference. We call upon India, Pakistan, Israel and other threshold countries to mark the occasion by becoming parties to the NPT.

The International Atomic Energy Agency must be given the mandate and the resources to stop nuclear cheating. Iraq is a powerful argument in favour of surprise inspections -- anytime, anyplace.

Prime Minister Mulroney has made it clear that as part of an effective international program, Canada would be prepared to terminate economic co-operation programs, including aid and tariff preferences, with any country that undermines the NPT through action or inaction.

The key is effective internationalism. It is in the interest of all our countries to act together -- and strongly -- to eliminate the nuclear threat.

Controls must also be tightened on the export of sensitive technologies. We are concerned about the transfer of nuclear and missile technology and equipment to states whose commitment to non-proliferation is ambiguous.

We must work toward alternative scenarios where prosperity can be achieved without such transactions. Russia has undertaken to follow the guidelines of the Missile Technology Control Regime, and belongs in the Nuclear Suppliers Group.

We understand the economic pressures driving your scientists to leave, but the sale of nuclear brain-power to pariah states must be prevented for all our sakes. We regard nuclear co-operation as a priority and we have backed that up with action by being part of the Moscow International Technology Centre.

We want you to join us in ensuring universality, not only of the NPT, but also of the Chemical Weapons Convention. The refusal of Middle East states to adhere to the Chemical Weapons Convention is a terrible disappointment and must be reversed.

Similarly, the Biological Weapons Convention needs strengthening. Russia can help by taking special measures to demonstrate that it has stopped its biological weapons program.

The end of superpower confrontation has brought new challenges, requiring effective multilateral action. The members of the UN Security Council are now able to agree on measures to deal with international crises.

The break-up of the old order in Central and Eastern Europe has brought the promise of freedom, but also the disillusionment of economic pain and ethnic conflict.

As Prime Minister Mulroney has said, "The birth of newly independent states will be a tragedy and not a triumph if hatred is their only *raison d'être*, if minorities are singled out for abuse, if economies flounder and people starve and perish for lack of food and medicine, and if wars are started to settle old scores and establish new borders."

The cascading violence in the Balkans, Central Asia and the Transcaucasus now threatens Russia itself.

The international community needs more effective tools to deter such crises, including preventive diplomacy, mediation and judicial recourse. Sometimes, however, enforcement is the only effective response.

The new doctrines of humanitarian intervention and peacemaking are global in scope. The whole concept of national sovereignty is being rethought as we move into the post-statist world. Ethnic minorities deserve the protection of the international community.

Human rights are a cardinal value underpinning Canada's foreign policy. We fought for them during the Cold War not out of ideological hostility, but because they are basic human requirements. The substance of our relations is influenced by how governments treat their people.

The tension has been broken between international vigilance over human rights and objections on grounds of non-interference in the internal affairs of states. The irreversible shift toward human rights is one of the great transformations of our time.

As we come to honour your victory over the forces of repression, we must remain vigilant. The image of Boris Yeltsin on that tank will haunt any leader on any continent who dares to hide behind the false veil of intervention in the internal affairs of a country.

That is why we are particularly troubled by the reaction of some states to Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe (CSCE) scrutiny. This smacks of old-style thinking and must be resisted.

Together, we must continue to hold Iraq to UN Security Council resolutions and bring Saddam Hussein to heed the will of the international community.

There has been a perception that we have differing views on responsibility and remedy in the former Yugoslavia. In fact, I know we both see the urgent and immediate need to stop the carnage. Canadians are outraged by the systematic rape and unjustified violence in Bosnia.

We in Canada understand the priority that you attach to the situation of Russians living in neighbouring countries. The CSCE has the potential to protect the rights of minorities in Russia and elsewhere, eliminating the need to intervene on their behalf.

Crucial to the resolution of most human rights situations is the establishment of local and regional systems for self-sufficiency. Globalization and international competitiveness are inescapable realities of our time. Russia and the countries of Central and Eastern Europe have already recognized the opportunities that exist and have begun to act on them.

You have freely chosen integration into the world financial and trading system, and the responsibilities that go with it. Canada welcomes this choice. It is in everyone's best interest.

But let me emphasize that we are very sensitive to the difficulties you face. With a population of 155 million people, the world's largest land mass and an intricate economic system developed over 70 years, the challenges you have embraced are daunting beyond description. You have earned the respect of all of our countries as you build your new vision of the future.

I am proud that my country, Canada, was the first to press for a high-level G-7 dialogue with Russia. I am confident that this dialogue will continue at Tokyo and beyond.

President Yeltsin is clearly committed to your country's courageous moves to reform its economy. This morning, I had the opportunity to meet with Andrei Kozyrev. Tomorrow I will be meeting your president. I will underline our support for his efforts at macroeconomic stabilization and structural reform. I shall assure him, as I assured Andrei Kozyrev today, that we are seeking additional ways to transfer our skills and other advantages.

The West, too, has a responsibility to make a new and concerted effort to help you at this critical stage. Canada is in for the long haul. We will do our share and more. Our prosperity is linked to your prosperity.

At the same time, we must recognize that the world's and our own resources are finite. Please do not be frustrated or discouraged if there does not seem to be enough aid. Even with the best will in the world, Canada and other Western governments have their limits. Learning how to do more with less does not mean shortchanging Russia, but finding new and better ways to help each other.

We know that you cannot develop a market economy overnight. There are always new problems as the rules change. That is understandable, but private sector investors rely on confidence, and that will only come from predictability and transparency.

To make this happen, you need a stable and consistent legal and regulatory framework. Businesspeople want to know where they stand. They will go where decision-making is quick and unbureaucratic.

Foreign investment is vital, and it must work for you as well as for the investor -- creating jobs, skills and new markets. "Win-win" is the way to the future.

Canadians are already making investment decisions -- in oil and gas, pulp and paper, bank financing, telecommunications systems. They and others will put their trust -- and their money -- into Russia's long-term success as long as you offer attractive and competitive business conditions.

Our technical assistance program is transferring skills and knowledge that you need to establish a modern economy. We are focusing on areas where we have something to offer. The thousands of Canadians and Russians already working together are proof that we have much in common to share.

Any developments must take heed of the new standards of global co-operation that continue to evolve.

As we each develop our northern frontier, we should make common cause on environmental issues that affect us both: the greenhouse effect, the protection of forests and oceans, and trans-boundary Arctic pollution. Canada is Russia's friend to the west across the Atlantic, to the east across the Pacific, and to the north across the Arctic.

But fundamental to all of these decisions is having a democratic structure that allows for the development of choices.

The basis of a successful democracy is pluralism, a clear delineation of powers, the existence of organized political parties representing the various views and a Parliament that truly represents the people.

In Russia right now, the political dialogue is vigorous and heated. Your challenge is to build on the hard-won reforms to ensure that both the process and the products of democracy are enhanced.

As a politician, I know the value of building consensus and realistic compromise. I also know that democracy is never an end in itself, but rather a continuation of a process to higher and higher levels of co-operation.

Canada and all the world's nations are stakeholders in Russia's future. None of us is alone, and that is why diplomacy, too, must adopt a new face as we near the 21st century.

Addressing graduating students at Johns Hopkins University last May, Prime Minister Mulroney challenged them, and us, saying: "Rarely in history has there been such a victory for an idea -- the idea of democracy. The task the world's democrats face now is to secure that victory and to ensure that it is neither hollow nor short-lived. History will judge my generation and yours by our response to this challenge."

We must capture the hopes of the new generation and turn their dreams into reality.