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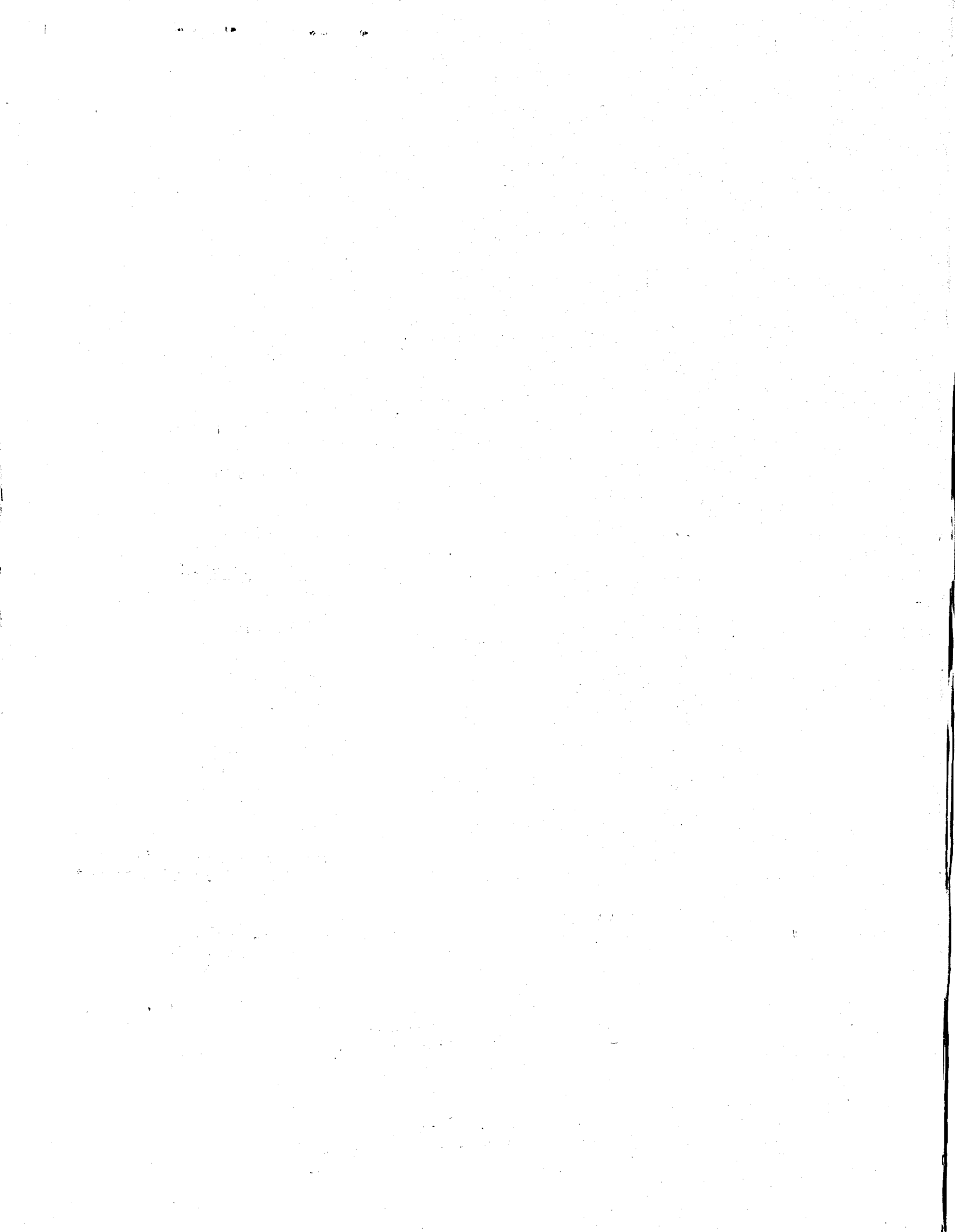
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PRDGRAM: JOE CLARK  
EMISSION: News Conference

DATE: May 14, 1985  
DATE:

NETWORK / STATION:  
RESEAU / STATION:

TIME:  
HEURE:

GREEN PAPER

MODERATOR: I believe you all know Mr. Clark and Madame Vezina, Mr. Kelleher. Mr. Clark will have a short statement and then it will be thrown open to questions of all the Ministers.

CLARK: Thanks very much. I have tabled today in the House of Commons, a Green Paper entitled "Competitiveness and Security" which is the occasion and the vehicle for the first public parliamentary review of international policy in Canadian history. My colleague Flora MacDonald tried to accomplish this purpose in 1979 but you may recall that we ran out of time. We are doing it through Parliament, through a joint committee of the... a special Joint Committee of the House of Commons and the Senate because Parliament, in our view, is Canada's most important institution and represents the whole country. The paper will reflect the traditional concerns of Canadian foreign policy, concerns with regard to arms control, to international development, to relations with particular countries and regions of the world, to Canada's activity and leading role in international institutions. But there is also, as you would have seen, an untraditional element in this paper and that

is the direct recognition of the economic interdependence of the modern world of the degree to which international economic circumstances must be faced by Canada as we make our policy in any aspect of international relations. We reached a situation today where issues that once were local have now become very much international. There was a question in the House of Commons today about beef. Beef used to be a matter that concerned my ranchers in southern Alberta. Today beef and Canadian beef policy is an international question. There has been in the House recently concern, and indeed over the last several years, concern about the rights and the equality of Indian women. That used to be a Canadian question, it has become an international question before the United Nations. Acid rain obviously is an international question, no longer just a matter of concern to people in the Muskokas. So it goes, questions that used to be local in the modern world are now very much international. WE hope by way of this policy review process to help Canadians gain that international perspective on questions which had traditionally been regarded as more local. We also hope to create and to generate a much broader understanding of the interdependence...the economic interdependence that we face. We're a new government. We were elected to bring new policies to the country. I've made it clear, as have my colleague Ministers that we intend actively to pursue and to maintain the Canadian tradition in international affairs, maintaining an active and positive presence, but we have some choices to make as a country. We have some choices to make as to where we put our emphasis, whether that's in trade or in development or in other fields. It's our view that those questions are too important just to leave to Ministers or to governments. We think

it's...it is appropriate for the Canadian people to be involved directly in this process, that is what the Green Paper process is all about. I should say that we're doing this in the context of a quite remarkable demonstration of interest by ordinary Canadians in international questions. All of us have been impressed by the overwhelming response of Canadians to the famine in Africa, a response which continues. I believe that that interest in international questions largely untapped for a long time, goes well beyond the question of famine, the question of a crisis in one continent. We hope in the year in which this study will continue, that we will find reflected that kind of interest on the range of questions that are raised by the Green Paper.

Je ne veux pas repeter tout ce que j avais dit, mais brievement, je viens de soumettre a la Chambre des communes une copie du Livre Vert qui sera un vehicule pour les citoyens canadiens participer directement dans la formulation, dans la discussion des fins, des raisons d'etre du politique international canadien. C est la premiere occasion dans l'histoire du Canada que nous avons eu un debat, une serie de seances publiques pour permettre aux citoyens de participer directement dans la formulation des politiques etrangeres. Dans une grande mesure, le Livre Vert touche les concerns, les preoccupations traditionnelles du Canada. La preoccupation avec le developpement international, avec les institutions internationales, avec nos relations bilaterales, et avec les regions du monde. Mais avec le controle des Andes. Mais aussi il y a une autre phase qui n'est pas traditionnelle dans le Livre vert. Ca, c'est l'acceptation que le Canada est partie d un monde et sujet, susceptible aux forces economiques internationales avec lesquelles nous devons travailler, avec



lesquelles nous devons faire face. Et j'espere que l'occasion de la circulation du Livre Vert peut encourager les citoyens canadiens de nous joindre dans un debat public et detailler des fins et des programmes de notre politique internationale.

We'd be pleased to try to deal with questions that any of you might have.

MODERATOR: Michel Rostand.

Q: Monsieur le ministre, en ce qui concerne l'OTAN, je comprends que l'adhésion à l'OTAN et à ses politiques n'est pas remise en question ou n'est pas le sujet de la discussion et en particulier à la page 16, vous rappelez un principe de l'OTAN selon lequel on ne renonce pas à recourir en premier aux armes nucléaires. En vertu du principe, le but de l'alliance c'est d'empêcher la guerre sous toutes ses formes. Est-ce que je comprends bien, votre gouvernement en pensant que donc la politique de l'OTAN est de ne pas renoncer à la première attaque nucléaire et d'endosser par ce gouvernement ne fait pas partie de la révision.

CLARK: Ce que nous avons endossé est l'idée, le principe que les politiques de l'OTAN doivent être déterminées par l'OTAN, par tous les membres, les états-membres de l'OTAN. Nous avons indiqué que pour le gouvernement, la question est décidée en ce qui concerne notre adhésion à l'OTAN, mais c'est un processus public. Il y aura les autres perspectives, j'ai... nous avons indiqué dans le Livre Vert notre position, mais il y aura les autres perspectives. Si les autres perspectives peuvent convaincre le Comité, il y aura les conclusions différentes une fois que le Comité a soumis son rapport.

ROSTAND: Mais pour l'instant, vous acceptez ce principe de l'OTAN.

CLARK: Pour l'instant, le gouvernement accepte les politiques actuelles de l'OTAN, s'il y a un changement, sera le Canada d'y participer dans une discussion d'un changement potentiel, mais nous sommes les membres d'une équipe de l'OTAN et nous devons, nous voulons faire les décisions avec les autres partenaires de l'OTAN.

MODERATOR: Pamela Wallin.

Q: Mr. Clark, much of the emphasis on this paper is trade related and much of it was dealt with extensively in a paper presented by your colleague, Mr. Kelleher. Mr. Kelleher is to make some important and crucial decisions on that much sooner than your deadline that you've imposed on this committee. Why are we going through both exercises?

CLARK: There is...as I make clear in the paper on several occasions, the fact that we are reviewing policy does not relieve us of the obligation to make policy and there are going to be a number of issues that arise, some of them in trade, some of them in other fields, where the government of Canada is going to have to make decisions so we will do that. The fact that we have to make decisions does not lessen the importance of the country having an opportunity for the first time in our history to discuss together what should be the general purposes of Canadian foreign policy including Canadian trading policy. And of course it is always possible, always possible that if there is a unanimous

report by the committee resulting from this...the circulation of this Green Paper that suggests changes in decisions that we might take between now and the submission of the report. It would be very difficult for a government to ignore that kind of unanimity. So we think that this process allows us both to act and to consider foreign policy. There is nothing new about governments making decisions, what is new is that this process permits for the first time in Canadian history the broad public participation of individual Canadians in the process.

MODERATOR: John Burke.

Q: ...(inaudible)...a bit the same question, how do you reconcile, for instance, a decision coming back or a recommendation on cruise missile...or pardon me, not cruise missile, but participation of Star Wars research from your experts when in the meantime there's a public discussion going on through this Green Paper about defence and such roles? Would you have to then retroactively say, okay, we're not going to participate if that were the verdict of the committee?

CLARK: Well, let me take that in two ways. If there were no public process of discussion, there would be a decision by the government in any event with regard to the invitation from the Americans to participate in the Strategic Defence Initiative Study. So what is new is not the decision but the fact that Canadians will be allowed, encouraged, given a vehicle to take an active and decisive role in discussion of Canadian foreign policy. The

second thing I'd make to deal, I hope for the only time this press conference, in a hypothetical... Let's assume for the moment, for the sake of argument, that the government of Canada decides to reject the invitation from the United States to take part in Strategic Defence Initiative Research. Let's make that assumption and let's assume that the committee after its hearings reported unanimously that that was wrong, that we should in fact be taking part in that research. I think that a government that had a decision to reject the invitation would have to pay attention to a unanimous decision, a unanimous recommendation by a committee, that we should consider that research. That is a hypothetical but I think it makes the point that I'm trying to make.

MODERATOR: Robert Hepburn.

Q: Mr. Clark, in your forward you say that reduction of the budget deficit may require further re-entrenchment of some of our international activities. Throughout this paper the only place that I can find that you talk about possible cutbacks is in foreign aid. Is that an oversight or is that the only place that you are looking at possible cutbacks?

CLARK: Bob, everytime I come to a press conference on a specific topic you ask a question on another one. You'll have to wait for the budget to see what happens to the budget in...with regard to the Department of External Affairs and CIDA and ODA.

Q: You're raising the question in the paper.

CLARK: Yeah, you're asking a budget question which you know very well I can't answer now...unless I misunderstood you.

Q: Well where else might you cut back other than giving money to other countries? Embassies, the defence?

CLARK: Might we cut back...might we cut back? Yes, we might cut back in...you're asking me as a result of the process might we cut back in some of these fields? Yes, if the recommendation of the committee is that we cut back in field A, B, C or D, we will look at that. And if you're asking me a question about the budget, I can't answer that until the 23rd of May.

Q: Monsieur Clark, François Jalbert de la Radio Mutuelle, j'aimerais savoir dans quelle mesure vous vous sentirez lié par une recommandation du groupe parlementaire de consultation qui irait dans le sens contraire d'une politique qui aurait été décidée d'ici l'an prochain, est-ce que ça va être possible de revenir en arrière, en particulier si vous décidez de participer à la guerre des étoiles, c'est presque impensable qu'on puisse s'en tirer si on s'aperçoit que les canadiens sont contre?

CLARK: Si les décisions, si les recommandations d'un Comité conjoint du Parlement et du Sénat, si les recommandations sont unanimes, il y a une possibilité que le gouvernement peut changer même une politique

de base pour le gouvernement. Euh... j'ai... j'ai indiqué dans le Livre Vert certaines des questions qui pour nous sont presque fermées, les questions de l'OTAN, les questions des Nations-Unies, les questions comme ça, mais s'il y a recommandation unanime et forte et persuasive par le Comité parlementaire à appeler des audiences publiques, le gouvernement doit les considérer. Je prends au sérieux le processus je crois que c'est bien essentiel pour nous d'avoir, premièrement, les audiences publiques, la participation publique, mais je crois que plus l'obligation est une obligation gouvernementale, ce sera nécessaire pour nous, le gouvernement, d'accepter un certain nombre de recommandations, en particulier les recommandations unanimes du Comité.

MODERATOR: David Todd.

Q: Picking up on Bob Hepburn's question, throughout the paper Mr. Clark, starting with your foreword, the need to focus more on specific parts of the world is tied in fact to...the fact there's going to be limited resources in the future and I wonder to what...in fact in one of the background... the background paper that came with it, it says we cannot afford to make every region a priority. And I'm wondering to what extent over the next year, you have this process of finding out what Canadians think, the object of the exercise is political in the sense of finding out what parts of the world Canadians are not particularly interested in and focussing on the rest.

CLARK: I don't think that we're going to be running...I don't think we're going to be trying to determine what parts of the world Canadians are interested in. I think we are going to try to determine what parts of the world is there a stronger Canadian interest in, if you see the distinction. One is a matter of public opinion, if you will, the other is a matter of enduring national interest and the point that we are making is that after a long time in which the country was and considered itself to be a very wealthy country, we have to recognize that we too are dealing with some limitations. If we want to be effective we may well have to...we are going to have to establish some priorities. We don't want to establish those priorities blindly, we want to do it on the basis of comparing what believe we know about Canada's interest in different regions with what the public believes it knows about Canada's interest in different regions.

MODERATOR: Gail Morris.

Q: Mr. Clark, on the whole question of trade, you know you mentioned on page seven that there's a drift towards managed trade and new forms of protectionism affecting key sectors like automobiles, shoes and textiles and food. I'm thinking here of import quotas and the various lobbies for these groups have been pressing the Canadian government very hard to retain the quotas and in some cases to increase those quotas. How do you view this? Do you see free trade actually eliminating these kinds of quotas and what impact would that have on jobs in Canada?

..11..

CLARK: Well our argument of course, speaking on a basis I suppose for a moment of theory, is that as the world, Canada and other countries in what they define as their own immediate national interest, become more and more protectionist, that raises threats to jobs everywhere and that we are going to have to have a much more open trading system. Obviously if Canada is going to be calling for an open trading system, our actions have to be consistent with the position we're taking internationally and we have to take a look, as the paper quite explicitly raises. We have to take a look at those areas in which it is going to be more likely for Canada to be able to be competitive on a world scale and those areas where it is less likely and what we have to do about making sure that Canada is competitive. But obviously if we are going to be involved in urging other countries to be less protectionist, we are going to have to follow our own advice. I think you would agree with that Mr. Kelleher.

KELLERHER: Yes.

Q: Would that mean...excuse me if I may have a supplementary, would that mean then, perhaps, the elimination of some of these import quotas?

CLARK: Elimination of...it would mean obviously some changes in some Canadian trading practices. I wouldn't be bold enough to try...bold or foolish enough to try to list today... And progress towards the elimination of the formal and informal barriers that other countries have put in place and are putting



in place.

MODERATOR: Courtney Tower.

Q: ...With respect to process sir, the...there are a couple of graphic phrases in the thing, particularly with...

CLARK: I don't know how that happened.

Q: Yes, I don't either. Particularly on page 29 where it says American economic performance continues to defy conventional economic thinking. And the next sentence says, when the change comes, will it be dizzying or gentle? With such a critical (inaudible) and expressed so vividly, do you accept the argument that Canada has to move quickly into a closer trading relationship with the United States, or should it hang back and wait awhile?

CLARK: We obviously have to move quickly on the nature of our trading relation with the United States. Jim, you might want to elaborate on that.

Q: ...(overlap)...process...

CLARK: Sorry? Oh, well, look, are you suggesting to me that our...that the choice that's available to a government is on the one hand to have a policy discussion and do

nothing for a year while policy is being discussed and on the other hand carry on activity but not allow public participation? In that...I think that's a false dichotomy.

Q: Well sir you had an interesting hypothesis with respect to the SDI. What if you turned it around and got involved in a long term profound commitment? Could you undo it? And that's really the same question in this case.

CLARK: I guess the question that a government would have to...I guess the real question you're asking me is would we try to undo it if there was a recommendation by a committee, a unanimous, strong, persuasive recommendation that we should try. My view is that we wouldn't close the door on trying to change a basic decision that we might have taken whether in trade or in defence or something else in the face of that kind of strong, persuasive, unanimous recommendation from the committee. In other words, we expect to receive advice that will cause us to change policy, that's the purpose of the process.

Q: ...Go into serious negotiations with the Americans on the basis that you're free to change your mind if a report came in recommending otherwise?

CLARK: We live in a parliamentary system where a government... one government can't be bound by...one Parliament can't bind the actions of another Parliament so that to degree there is always that kind of uncertainty. We don't know what

policies might arise in the governments of countries with whom we're negotiating because they too are subject to those kinds of changes. This doesn't change the circumstance that policy can always be reviewed by any country. What this does is add a device of review and it's a device that permits the public of Canada to take part in processes from which previously, formerly they...it's too harsh to say they've been excluded, but they had not had this vehicle of participation.

MODERATOR: David Halton.

Q: I was wondering Mr. Clark if you would give us your own characterization of the thrust of the document in terms of whether you see it as a greater emphasis on continuity with the previous Canadian government foreign policy or whether you see this is as paving the way to a radical departure?

CLARK: I see it as reflecting continuity in some of the traditional areas of Canadian foreign policy in our commitment for example to international institutions and not just to being members of them but to be active and where necessary trying to be reforming and constructive members of them. But I see it as new in the emphasis upon accepting and responding to international economic reality. I think that the assumption that was made in 1970 when there was last a foreign policy review of a more limited nature, the assumption was that Canada could sort of decide what we wanted to do in the world and then go out and do it. I think that international circumstances have made us

more realistic now and what we have to do is take a look at the world as it is and see where we are, as we are, where we can move.

Q:                   Isn't that emphasis on Canada's economic priority very much a part of the latter day thinking of the Liberal government, the new emphasis on trade as part of our foreign policy as a priority in a sense...

CLARK:               It may well have been and I don't...and if it was I don't despise it for that reason. Is that right John?

MODERATOR:         Hugh Windsor.

Q:                   Mr. Clark you said at the briefing the other day that you had hoped to bring this paper out earlier but that it had got tied up in P & P and cabinet processes. Given that it is essentially inquisitive rather than declaratory, what...I don't even see from looking at it why it had to spend a lot of time tied up in Cabinet unless it's...were you sorting out what Mr. Kelleher was going to do and what Mr. Nielsen was going to do? Is that what tied it up in Cabinet?

CLARK:               Hugh, I can remember days when the bureauchief for the Globe and Mail used to be inquisitive rather than declaratory but those days have passed. There is a major change of emphasis of Canadian foreign policy in this paper. It affects literally every department ranging from agriculture through

to fisheries, it affects every one. I wanted my colleagues to have the opportunity to know what we were proposing in their name, to know the concept we were putting forward in their name. I didn't want to issue it just on the back of our department, I wanted it to go be discussed extensively among my colleagues. It was. There were some additions of detail made, the general principle was accepted, but I didn't want to put this out to the public until I knew I had that agreement from my colleagues. And we have had a lot of other things on the agenda of the Cabinet for the last several months that did not until a month ago allow us to have that kind of thorough and conclusive discussion of this orientation.

MODERATOR: The gentleman here in the second row.

Q: Si vous me permettez une question, monsieur Clark, sur la question de l'initiative stratégique, est-ce que vous avez envisagé la possibilité de demander au Comité conjoint d'étudier cette question-là en priorité et de vous faire un rapport préliminaire avant que toute décision soit prise pour éviter une situation conflictuelle d'opinions. Ma deuxième question, c'est pour l'aide au développement, est-ce que vous ne ferez aucun changement aux structures des l'ACDI entre autres, avant que le Comité ait remis son rapport en 1986?

CLARK: Premièrement, en ce qui concerne mes recommandations au Comité, mes suggestions au Comité, je n'ai pas l'intention de les donner les suggestions formelles. Si le Comité veut donner une priorité aux questions de l'initiative stratégique, ça c'est leur affaire et ils sont libres de prendre une telle décision,

mais je n'ai pas l'intention ni de les instruire, ni de forcer le gouvernement de les attendre. En ce qui concerne les structures de l'ACDI, nous n'avons pas les plans pour les changements dans les structures de l'ACDI, peut-être dans certaines de leurs activités, parce que là aussi, nous devons agir, mais nous n'avons pas les plans pour preempt les décisions du Comité.

MODERATOR: Jamie Len(?).

Q: Mr. Clark, I wonder if you could clear up the air in the thinking that might say that this is a rather cynical exercise, a sort of a glorified public opinion poll that will take a year. Traditionally MP's have taken the concerns of their constituents, are MP's no longer involved in this or are the questions too important? It seems a rather cynical exercise.

CLARK: I guess Jamie, if you're going to decide it's a cynical exercise, there's not much I can do about that. The...you ask if MP's are going to be taking part in these decisions, it's a committee of MP's. If your question has to do with the relevance of Parliament, part of the reason for the carriage of the review by a Joint Committee of the House of Commons and the Senate is precisely to reinsert Parliament as a body of importance in helping decide public policy. Some of you will know that that has been a preoccupation of mine for sometime and I have not lost it and it was my decision and my insistence that we go this route precisely so that parliamentarians will be involved. Not every

member of Parliament will be on the committee but every member of Parliament will be free to try to influence the committee and to try to bring his or her views before the committee. I understand that until the recommendations have been made, no one can judge how seriously the government will take those recommendations. But I have made it clear consistently to officials when they were preparing the documents, to some of your colleagues when I have had occasions to speak to them about it, that I take it seriously and I expect it will not be a success unless the government acts on some of the recommendations for change that I expect to receive from the process. I think among other things this, to a degree, puts on trial the parliamentary process. Its purpose is to discuss foreign policy which needs discussing, it's never been discussed before by Canadians in this forum but it has the incidental advantage of providing a committee of parliamentarians, an all party committee, with an opportunity to demonstrate that given the chance to influence government decisions, it will take that opportunity.

MODERATOR: The gentleman, third...yeah, right there.

Q: Mr. Clark, I wonder if I could ask you about the research and development questions which are dealt with in the paper. It strikes me that although it talks about the decline in research and development in Canada, it doesn't address one of the reasons for this decline or small amount of R & D, which is the extent of foreign ownership in the economy. And also in the area of R & D it seems to come down fairly favourable on the question of Star Wars. Would that be your interpretation?

CLARK: No to the latter. I mean we were trying to phrase that discussion as neutrally as we could and I think that the committee will be free to apply its own interpretations, whatever you or I might read into the paper that we have submitted. With regard to specific aspects of the research and development question, the fact that we have not mentioned every aspect of a problem does not exclude the committee from considering and dealing with and making recommendations on, aspects of questions which they consider to be important. I wanted the document to be brief, relatively short, I wanted it to be in lay language so that we could involve the participation of people who had not normally been involved in foreign policy discussions before. I didn't want it to be either encyclopedic or too complex. You know we have just gone through, as I said earlier, a remarkable experience in terms of Canadian public interest in the questions of famine. I hope that revealed on the question of development, a potential new constituency in Canada. I hope that this process will address and enlarge what I think is a potentially new constituency for the discussion of foreign policy questions in the country. I hope we will also engage the interest of people and of groups who have traditionally been engaged but I hope we can reach beyond them.

MODERATOR: I have Christopher Young.

Q: Mr. Clark, this is also R & D. There's a fairly clearcut statement there that our R & D is inadequate especially in competitive terms. Yet that this government has taken two steps that I know of that clearly are likely to reduce



the R & D in Canada. First of all the Wilson the cutbacks last fall and secondly as Jeff mentioned, the encouragement for more of foreign ownership which apply, I think, other things equal, to a reduction of R & D in Canada. I'm wondering how to interpret that? Does that mean that you're inviting the committee to tell you that the government policies are wrong, not to be reversed or is this a descending note from External Affairs on the policies (inaudible) the government?

CLARK: No, not at all. I suppose what I would hope the report might do is encourage you and others to examine your own premises, to examine the premis that encouraging foreign investment necessarily is going to lead to a net reduction of research and development. I could make quite strongly the other case and I expect that here will be an opportunity for that to occur. We... you've heard Tom Siddon on the question of the implications of the restraint which the whole of the government had to exercise upon our longer term goals in research and development. Part of the point we are making is that we live now in a time when we are going to have to undergo some restraint, make some choices and our view on the reductions in R & D was that they did not limit Canada's ability to excell and be strong in that field. What we have to do is choose those areas of emphasis that make more sense for Canada in a period when we are operating under some kind of restraint, whether that's in R & D or whether that's in terms of where in the world we are active.

MODERATOR: We have David Todd and then Courtney Tower and

that's the end of the list.

Q: Mr. Clark at the briefing last Thursday you disclosed that Mr. Nielsen would soon be introducing his own White Paper on defence and I'm wondering to what extent that process, since that's going to be a White Paper rather than a Green Paper, whether it not...that does not pre-empt the part of your document that relates to arms control and disarmament?

CLARK: Mr. Nielsen disclosed his plans with regard to a White Paper in a public meeting with the Standing Committee on External Affairs and National Defence just to clear up that point. But I guess, Dave, the answer is the same as it was on some earlier questions. Mr. Nielsen, when he brings down a White Paper, will be setting forth the government's views on some aspects of defence policy. On some of those we might have to act before the report on this review is on, on some we won't. If there is a unanimous and persuasive report by the committee that questions or challenges some of the elements of the defence policy in the White Paper, then I think it would be difficult for us to resist changing some of those elements.

MODERATOR: And Courtney.

Q: ..(inaudible)..question sir, I was wondering how trade policy would free-up or immunize Canadian freedom to act culturally as it wished which the report postulates on page 32. And...alright at the bottom of this page it says it's possible

such a trade treaty could shield cultural policy and foreign policy. How would that work with respect to cross-border advertising or book publishing takeovers or various things that are at issue currently?

CLARK:           The point that is being made now...the point that is being made here is that in a situation such as currently exists, where everything is bargained, where we have to go down and bargain exemptions from US attitudes on steel or on lumber, there is the prospect that we have to give something in return and so there is the prospect that we have to give something that's important to us in cultural policy or in foreign policy in return. And what we're saying is that if there is this broader kind of arrangement, it is possible that that element of bargaining and that consequent element of our having to give up things in order to get something specific, would be diminished, that's the sense of the sentence as I read it.

MODERATOR:       Michel?

Q:                Votre document vous-même. Vous revenez souvent sur les questions de contrainte financière, contrainte de l'environnement international, le précédent gouvernement de monsieur Trudeau avait plaisir à se présenter comme un grand de ce monde. Est-ce que vous-même vous êtes pas en train de nous dire qu'il faut que le Canada ait une politique étrangère à la mesure de ses moyens?

CLARK:           Je ne suis pas certain que je comprends toutes les implications de cette phrase en français. Je crois qu'il y a un rôle important pour le Canada à continuer à jouer, je crois que ce sera nécessaire pour nous de faire le choix, d'établir

certaines priorités parce que nous ne pouvons pas faire toutes les choses que peut-être nous voulons faire, mais avec les choix, avec l'établissement des priorités, je reste certain que le Canada peut continuer à jouer un rôle bien important et consistant avec nos traditions internationales mais aussi que nous pouvons réaliser une convention internationale une croissance domestique qui est plus efficace aujourd'hui.

Q: Il faut vivre selon ses moyens. Il faudrait dire que le Canada devrait par exemple accepter plus de dépendance vis-à-vis les Etats-Unis pour la défense ou pour le commerce. Aren't you downgrading the Canadian..(inaudible)..as opposed to..(inaudible)..

CLARK: No, I'm very optimistic about Canada. I don't want to get into comparisons with former governments in terms of emphasis they might or might not have given. I'm very optimistic about the role that Canada can play. Mais je crois que c'est plus probable pour nous d'être efficace dans les champs choisis, les champs qui méritent leur préoccupation si nous ne sommes pas préoccupés avec un désir d'être actifs partout et je crois que c'est une simple question de choix, mais il n'y a aucun pessimisme chez nous, au contraire, nous pensons qu'en particulier le nouveau gouvernement avec un mandat, avec l'encouragement et la participation des citoyens peut prendre les initiatives qui n'étaient pas disponibles n'étaient pas acceptables dans l'ancien régime.

Q. Monsieur Clark, c'est un document évidemment très pro-américain, très anti-soviétique, c'est vraiment clairement affirmer que le Canada n'est pas neutre, comme l'a proclamé monsieur Mulroney déjà, mais je voudrais que vous m'expliquiez le sens que vous attachez à une phrase assez intéressante à la page 40 en français où on parle ...

que le risque le plus immédiat pour la sécurité du Canada provient de la suprémacie de l'Union Soviétique et son antipathie à l'égard de nos valeurs, etc. etc. Vous pensez pas qu'à ce moment-ci que votre rapport a pris tout à fait une nouvelle attitude très claire et anti-soviétique et sa place le Canada, comment vis-à-vis ces discussions avec ses partenaires sur la question des droits de l'homme à la Conférence, je sais pas, un message très anti-soviétique complètement.

CLARK: Non, du tout, ni anti-soviétique si vous parlez du soviétique comme l'union soviétique ni pro-américain, si vous parlez des américains comme les Etats-Unis. C'est une question de nos valeurs. Le mot valeur est mentionné dans la phrase et il n'y a aucune question en ce qui concerne les valeurs canadiennes. Nous sommes un pays qui supporte les libertés et il y a un autre système qui est contre la liberté.

Q. Je m'excuse, vous dites valeur, ça veut simplement dire selon vous, liberté.

CLARK: Liberté, les autres valeurs associées avec une société libre, comme les droits humains, comme la presse libre. Comme les valeurs comme ça. Comme le respect d'une personne.

MODERATOR: Laine Drewery.

Q: Mr. Clark you said on a couple of occasions today that the government would find it hard to resist

making changes in policy if there were unanimous...if there was a unanimous report from this committee. Are you not concerned then that it's possible you may end up in a situation a year from now being forced to back track on a number of things whether it's SDI or whether it's defence policy, that you may be forced to back track on issues that are becoming government policy.

CLARK: Sure, if we are wrong and if there is a process that indicates that the public...that a parliamentary committee after consulting the public, has come to the considered view that we are wrong, then a government, I would think, would have to seriously consider changing its policy. I don't find anything, you know, remarkable. What would be more remarkable would be if I said that if a government was wrong and embarked on a policy and a committee came in with a unanimous persuasive view after public consultation that said we were wrong, that we were going to ignore it. I mean that would invalidate the process. I'm trying to make the point that not only are we launching this process, we intend to respect it. Now, I can't predict what our...what the position of my colleagues in Cabinet would be with regard to a recommendation who's...that hasn't happened yet, from a committee. I'm trying to indicate my disposition and the disposition of the government and that is to take the process very seriously because if we don't, I think we lose more than the value of the recommendation that might be in question.

MODERATOR: John Brady indicates we have time for one more question.

Q: You suggest in the paper, Mr. Clark, that ODA can

serve at least four (inaudible). The NGO community has rejected that and said that it leads both to bad aid and bad trade. Are you suggesting that trade will not become the master of aid?

CLARK: No, I'm not suggesting that at all. I'm suggesting that there should be discussion of those questions as of others by the public. But I think that on our record to date we have demonstrated a very close adherence to the traditions of Canadian development policy. There is an important trade question. There was a proposal by the former government of a trade aid fund. Those are matters which have to be considered and what we are saying is that instead of considering them in the privacy of External Affairs or...we are now going to open up the process and not simply encourage public and Parliament to take part but also encourage public and Parliament to take part with some expectation that there will be response to what they recommend.

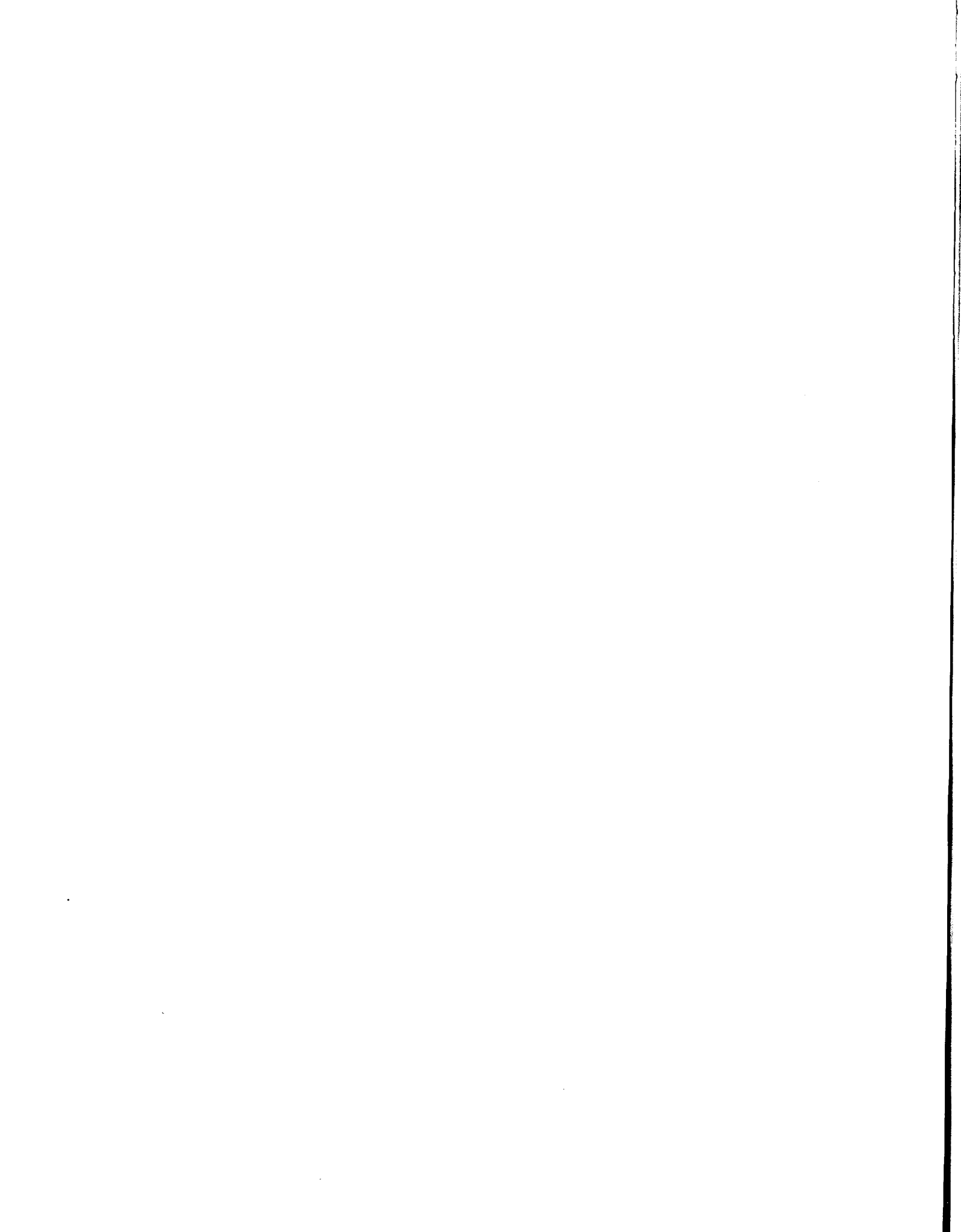
MODERATOR: Thank you very much Mr. Minister.

CLARK: Thank you.

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PART II / PARTIE II

TRANSCRIPTS OF ELECTRONIC MEDIA COVERAGE/  
TRANSCRIPTION DE LA COUVERTURE PAR LES MÉDIAS



TELEVISION / TÉLÉVISION

A) CBC (TV) - Transcripts

Programs:

- 1) CBC National, May 15, 1985
- 2) The Journal, May 15, 1985
- 3) Midday, May 16, 1985

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TO/A Distribution DATE May 23, 1985

FROM/DE Press Office/Service de Presse

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SUJET Green Paper

PROGRAM(S)/  
ÉMISSION(S) CBC TV National - May 15

SSEA BOOK

MINA/  
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SFF CPL  
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CBC: In the House of Commons today, opposition MPs ridiculed the government's decision to review Canada's foreign policy and they are still refusing to go along with it. The NDP and the liberal won't take part in the parliamentary committee hearing, not until the Tories promise to hold off making any deals with the United States on Star Wars and on Trade. David Halton reports.

DH: When the opposition leaders went into the Commons this afternoon, they had already decided to threaten a boycott of the plan parliamentary committee on Canada's foreign policy.

?: Why bother having a special committee, spending a year discussing the matters upon which the government has already made a decision. Why bother.

CBC: Jean Chrétien pushed the same argument that the government would have made up its mind on two key decisions whether to join Star Wars and what kind of trade deal to seek with the U.S. long before the committee report next year.

JC: When they tell us that we will have a committee and at the same time they intend to make the decisions on a daily basis and making a farce of the participation of the Canadian public.

CBC: Chrétien and other opposition MPs got a scathing refusal from Deputy Minister, Erik Nielson, when they demanded that the government postpone decision on Star Wars and U.S. trade until the committee reports.

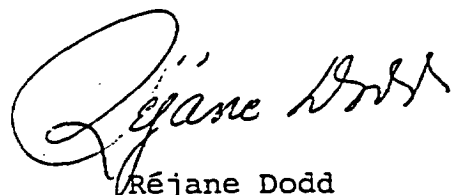
EN: The world doesn't stand still while the parliamentary process continues, government has to govern.

CBC: Later liberal leader, John Turner, said the liberals are in dead earnest about boycotting the committee.

JT: This committee obviously, is irrelevant and we don't intend to participate in irrelevant hearings across the country and comit in effect a fraud on the Canadian people that the two most important subjects on the agenda are not even open for discussion on this committee.

?: I'm delighted that the liberals have reached that decision today to not participate in what is really a charade. A mochery of Parliament.

CBC: But if the foreign policy committee is a mockery of parliament, the opposition parties themselves will be violating parliamentary tradition if they go ahead with the boycott. Its almost unprecedented in Canada for political parties to refuse to take part in a parliamentary committee. David Halton, CBC News, Ottawa.

A handwritten signature in cursive script that reads "Rejane Dodd". The signature is written in black ink and is positioned above the printed name and title.

Rejane Dodd  
Media Relations Officer

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PROGRAM: EMISSION:	THE JOURNAL	DATE: DATE:	MAY 15, 1985
NETWORK / STATION: RESEAU / STATION:	CBC/CBOT	TIME: HEURE:	10:20 PM

GREEN PAPER ON FOREIGN POLICY

CBC: The Green Paper that's now been released marks the first time since 1970 that the government has undertaken a broad review of foreign policy. With me is the Right Honourable Joe Clark, Secretary of State for External Affairs.

Mr. Clark, it's nice to keep asking Canadians how they feel about every topic, what do you want to do with this job? Reportedly you wanted this post very much, you must think that Canada should say something in the world and that you'd like to do the saying for awhile.

JOE CLARK: I think that there was a very valuable Canadian tradition that became identified with Lester Pearson that got lost a little bit not because of the weakness of Pierre Trudeau but because of the strength of interest in Mr. Trudeau. And I think that one of the important things that I can do is bring us back on to that track. Now we have to do it at a time when the world's changed, I mean, this is no longer the small United Nations or the relatively simple international economy that Mr. Pearson and C.D. Howe were involved in, it's a very different world.

CBC: A lot of the foreign policy activists who come here to Ottawa to this office to lobby you think they see in you a kindred spirit, that you want to be bold, as they want to be bold but that you're not allowed to.

CLARK: Oh, I'm given quite a bit of latitude. Maybe I'm not allowed to by myself, I mean I have...if there's some boldness, there's some caution in me too and I...what I want to do is be effective and we've got a very difficult situation that's on point in regard to Nicaragua and to Central America. It would be easy for Canada simply to stand back and condemn the American policy with who's elements we disagree. I mean they regard it as an east-west question, we don't. But...and we've disagreed with them when the issue like the embargo comes up. But to take a sort of a root and branch condemnation of American policy means that if there's any chance to influence them on Contadora, if there's any chance to influence them on some other things, we lose that. And so I suppose my instinct to be bold, that people might think they say, is going to be moderated by that cautious desire to be effective as well.

CBC: But they're already saying that your Green Paper could have been issued by the Minister of Finance or by the Minister of International Trade. They think it's about trade, that it's not about what they think is your real agenda. They want you to do something tomorrow about SDI. They want you to lead the fight against apartheid. They want you to establish an embassy tomorrow in Managua. They think that that's what you



you want to do too. Are they right or are they wrong?

CLARK: Oh, I want to do some of those things. I mean  
I want Canada to be effective in, let's take UNESCO.  
I want Canada to be effective in preserving or advancing important  
issues, sometimes small issues where we can be effective. I think  
we can be in UNESCO. I think it's going to be...take some patience  
and some work and some dedication, that's...

CBC: Alright but what about the tougher ones on the list?  
A lot of people want to know what you're going to  
do about SDI. You've said that the government is going to have  
to make a decision whether or not we're participating in that research  
or not...

CLARK: Can I...I'll come to that...

CBC: ...That's a terrible hot potatoe, how are you going  
to handle it?

CLARK: Well, can I come back for a moment to trade because  
there's no question that that is an influence, that  
that is an emphasis that we have deliberately brought in. If you  
want to talk about other things, we will, but I think that it's  
going to be essential for the effective conduct of any kind of  
Canadian international policy for us to recognize those economic  
realities. Now, SDI, we'll take a decision that I hope will be  
effective. I haven't...I don't have a predisposition at the moment,

or at least I don't have a decision taken. I have some...I have a predisposition, I don't have a decision taken. The issue before us right now is a relatively narrow question as to whether or not we will be involved in the research. The broader question, I guess, the one that really concerns people is whether there should be an SDI program at all. I think there should be. I think the Soviets are involved in research that if it were occurring in the US would be called SDI. I think also it's very important to recognize that we're having this discussion in the context of the Geneva arms talks and that the question of SDI is very important in that context. So I... we are doing now what I would have us do. We're supporting the prudence of research and we're taking a cold hard look at whether or not it makes sense...

CBC: But surely the hot potatoe is, do we participate in the research?

CLARK: Well, why is that such a hot potatoe? I mean it's a tough question but...

CBC: I don't know, you tell me. I mean we haven't got a policy statement.

CLARK: No, because we're looking at exactly what the invitation means to us. We want to know, for example, if this is an invitation to take part in some research, some technological developments that will be very important for Canada's future or if we're being invited to take part in the less important part of the research. Those are germane questions. The real question,

I think, is...to my mind, the real question on all these issues is whether Canada is going to be content with speaking or is going to be try to be an actor and I want us to be an actor. I want us to have influence on events. It's going to be smaller than it would be if we were Americans or if were Soviets, because there are limits upon our influence. But I don't seek for Canada the role of giving advice to others - from time to time we'll do that. I seek for Canada a role of trying to be effective where we can be effective.

JDC:                   When I mentioned SDI, I mentioned it in a list  
                          and I didn't want to focus you just on that, but  
I said these foreign policy activists want you to establish an embassy in Managua immediately, they want you to lead the fight on disinvestment in South Africa. They want you to force that government to change its apartheid policies. They don't think you should be talking about trade.

CLARK:                 Well, let's look at the question. You're raising  
                          two questions - one, can any Canadian foreign minister force the government of South Africa, single handedly force the government of South Africa to change the apartheid policy? Obviously not. What we can do is be part of a process and gradually perhaps play a role of some leadership in that process, we want to do that but that involves making some decisions that are bound to be controversial about what is the most effective way to do that. We're looking at that now. Managua, an embassy in Managua, frankly I think it would be an interesting symbol but not a lot of help. It would be far more use to the people of Nicaragua for us to spend what

we would spend on an embassy in one of the development projects in which we're engaged in in Nicaragua.

CBC: Is part of your problem and part of your reason for launching this Green Paper process not that you don't know what any number of Canadians feel about these issues, but that all Canadians don't feel anywhere near the same way?

CLARK: That could be but let's look at the positive side of that. One of the most...

CBC: Are you conceding that this is a very divisive area?

CLARK: No, I don't think it is particularly divisive. I think...in fact I think the problem for foreign policy in the past has been to get an audience in Canada. I think that's been the problem. I have a view that is perhaps not widely shared, we'll see... I have a view that we've turned a quite important corner in the country over the last, somewhere in the last ten years, in terms of our self-confidence and our identity and I think that some of the worries we used to have about who we are and where we stand regarding the Americans are much less acute now than they used to be. We agree on a lot, first of all, we and the Americans do, secondly there is no danger that it is...there's no doubt that there's a danger for any country that is not as strong as they are to be involved with somebody...somebody strong as they are undoubtedly strong. But I think that...I don't fear Canada losing identity or purpose in the American...in the American orbit, that

is always possible. I think it is less possible, a less lively danger now than it used to be. It may be that now that we no longer have the unifying force of the United States to fear, that there may be some positive things, some things that we can do in the world that we can unite around.

CBC: But you mentioned some places where you say Canada's had influence. Could you say how you've changed American foreign policy? I mean...

CLARK: No, just a second now...

CBC: ...the Democrats and Republicans seem to like quiet neighbours in the north.

CLARK: I'm not saying we've had influence. I'm saying that we've been able to exercise our independence on those issues. We have not been stopped from doing that and we may have influence, it's the first step. And those...you know, you look back at...we tend to look at Lester Pearson, to take that example, in terms of...from a distance he didn't do great things, he set about doing little things and he did them step-by-step-by-step and they ended up to be the peacekeeping idea in the United Nations. These things don't happen with a sudden swoop, they do happen gradually.

CBC: What image of Canada are you running into as you travel abroad? The...one Fleet Street daily

called us lately, "the great white waste of time".

CLARK:           Ha! Ha! I'm not running into that. I'm running into a...there is a sense of our...this sounds like one of speeches...there is a sense of our influence as a moderate country and I think that there is a respect for Canada. There's some questioning about what a new government is going to do but I think that we've been able to demonstrate that we intend to carry on in the ways that have won us respect. One of the things that's tough for a Canadian to recognize, when you have the responsibility, is that there are some very near limits to what we can do and that what makes sense...

CBC:             What are those limits?

CLARK:           Oh well, we're a medium power, we are not a super power. At the Bonn Summit, one of the most dramatic things that happened was to watch the President of the United States come into a ballroom full of other people because the President of the United States, as undoubtedly Mr. Gorbachev, when they come into a ballroom, come in sort of emanating power, there's just no question that they are powerful and it's not a question of them having better public relations people to get the French television cameras around them, it's that they are powerful...that is a reality. Another part of that reality is that we are not...I don't want to say...well we're not in that league, we are a different kind of country. Now there are things that we can do by reason of that smaller power that they can't do and it's countries like ours that can afford to take some, I suppose, some risks that the super

powers can't but that also have an influence that being relatively free of power brings you that can do some things. There is, applying to us, something that one can call moral authority if you don't try to make too much of it. I guess that's a pretty important phrase. We have moral authority if we don't try to make too much of it, if we apply it judiciously.

CBC: Are Canadians too intimidated by Uncle Sam? I mean could we be...

CLARK: We're too preoccupied with Uncle Sam I think. I, at least...the people who claim to set opinion in the country, I think are too preoccupied with Uncle Sam. I think that the country is much less preoccupied with Uncle Sam as someone who's trying to dominate us. I think that they are worried about drawing near to power because there's always a danger that you'll lose your influence and identity there.

CBC: Mr. Clark, thank you so much.

CLARK: Thank you.

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PROGRAM: MIDDAY  
EMISSION:

DATE: May 16, 1985  
DATE:

NETWORK / STATION: CBC - TV  
RESEAU / STATION:

TIME: 12:10 PM  
HEURE:

CLARK INTERVIEW ON GREEN PAPER ON FOREIGN POLICY

CBC : Earlier this week External Affairs Minister Joe  
(Keith Morrison)

Clark released his long-awaited discussion  
paper on Canada's foreign policy. The paper considers everything  
from free trade to questions of Canadian support for President  
Reagan's star wars plan. But critics argue the government has  
already set the course of our foreign policy clearly in the  
direction of Washington and that the green paper is merely  
a stalling action.

External Affairs Minister Joe Clark joins us now  
from Ottawa. Mr. Clark, what do you make of that criticism,  
which is made fairly constantly now since you presented the  
green paper to discuss foreign policy which the criticism says  
has already been made?

CLARK : It is being made by the two opposition parties  
and I suppose that they have their political  
reasons for doing that. I hope that they won't hold to that



course because what they are doing is in the first instance denying Parliament the opportunity to discuss the broad range of foreign policy. Secondly, perhaps more importantly, they are denying that opportunity to the public of Canada which for the first time in history by the process we are proposing would have a voice directly in foreign policy decisions. And thirdly and the most curious part of their position is that if they would let us go ahead with the committee that we want to establish now we could begin immediately public discussion of Canada's response to the invitation to take part in research in the strategic defence initiative. We could begin immediately public discuss of trade questions. In other words, we could begin immediately those questions they say they want to discuss if they would let us establish the committee. But they won't.

CBC :            Now, however, your own timetable is suggesting, your own suggestions were that those kinds of issues would be decided before discussion of the green paper certainly was concluded.

CLARK :            Of course, before it is concluded. I mean, some of those decisions will be taken before the end of next May. The government of Canada can't stop. But I have also made the point consistently that naturally a government is going to want to take account of public opinion as it has been expressed as we go along the process of making decisions. Let's take the question of SDI. What is at issue here is a narrow question as to whether or not Canada accepts an invitation to

take part in the research under the SDI project. We got an expert in Washington now trying to get a precise definition of the invitation. He reports some time in June. That will...

CBC :           Who will he report to, Mr. Clark?

CLARK :           He reports to the Prime Minister and then into cabinet. That is one of the factors that we then base our decision on.

CBC :           If I can stop you there, and I don't take the thing away from you - but the fact is that the experts who are talking about SDI do not report to External Affairs, that the issue of SDI is not being decided by External Affairs, it being decided by the Prime Minister, that matters of Canada's relations with the United States in matters of defence and trade were probably already decided on September the fourth, the one area of Conservative Party which has been perfectly clear coming from Mr. Mulroney who has taken a very personal and direct hand in that policy. Now it leaves you in a situation where you have got a green paper to discuss the policies but the criticism is they have already been decided.

CLARK :           They haven't been decided, that is the point. The criticism is false. And let's start with that. And specific decisions on specific elements of trade policy or of defence policy have not been taken. And while the report goes to the Prime Minister, as most reports do, and while all

decisions require the final approval of the Prime Minister, as most decisions do, this is very much an open question. And return to what I was saying about SDI, the question at issue now, the narrow question at issue has to do with whether or not we accept an invitation. We get a report back on what that invitation is some time in June. We then consider that and other facts, through the summer, maybe making a decision in the summer or in the early fall. I would like to have the benefit of the advice of Canadians through the public hearing process as to what they think about it. The NDP and the Liberals are denying Canadians the right to give that kind of advice.

CBC :           The NDP and the Liberals do represent Canadians and can therefore be, one assumes - called upon to make those kinds of comments.

CLARK :           Exactly. And that perhaps is what is at issue here. Perhaps the MPs, the spokesmen for foreign policy in the Liberal and the NDP Parties do not have enough confidence in their position that they do not want to hear from the public. Perhaps they would prefer to be the people who spoke on those issues rather than letting the people of Canada speak. I am quite prepared to hear Mr. Axworthy...

CBC :           ...and that is that the federal government is afraid to take its own positions because, you know, because it wants to go to the public, study things for a while.

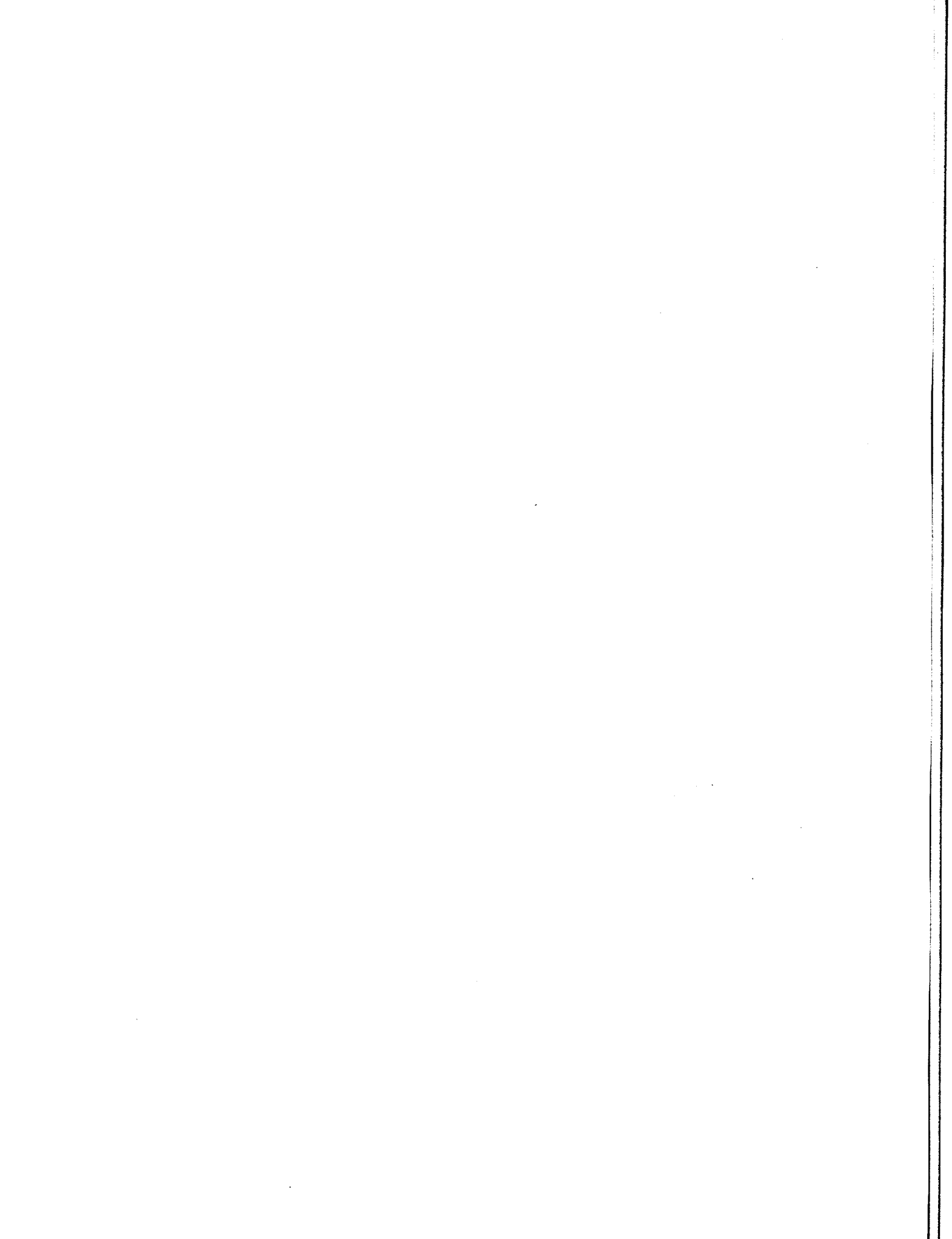
CLARK : Oh no, I hear that and I make the point that to speak of areas in my jurisdiction - we had a major decision to take regarding the famine in Africa, we took it. We had a major decision at take, a tough one, with regard to the embargo in Nicaragua, we took it. We had a major decision to take as to whether or not we supported the concept of research into strategic defence initiatives, we took it. We are not ducking, we are taking decisions, we are acting on them. What they are saying...

CBC : We have got to go. Thanks very much. And I appreciate your coming in to talk with us.

CLARK : Thank you.

CBC : Midday will be back in a moment.

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TELEVISION / TÉLÉVISION

B) CTV (TV) - Transcripts

Programs:

- 1) Canada A.M., May 14, 1985
- 2) Canada A.M., May 15, 1985 (7:13 A.M.)
- 3) Canada A.M., May 15, 1985 (7:43 A.M.)
- 4) CTV National News, May 15, 1985

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CTV: Mr. Munton, should we be looking at our foreign policy largely in economic terms? Is that the right approach?

DM: Well, I think the paper will, in fact, be broader than just focus on economic things but I think that will be a main emphasis. I think the paper will also probably deal with defence or with security questions but will try in some way to integrate that with the economic so that there is a central theme of some sort that will serve as a basis, as a direction for foreign policy. I think that that sort of a theme is very important. I think a new government ought to try to identify its basic objectives and its basic thrust in the foreign policy area in that way. And so I would think and I would hope that the paper would be broader than just the economic.

CTV: You mention defence. What is your thinking on that? What could be included in this paper on the defence issue as it relates to foreign policy?

DM: Well, I don't think we should get our expectations up for something that would be approaching a major change in foreign policy. That is not really in the cards in any case. I have a great deal of sympathy with foreign ministers in general. We tend, I think, too often to think of foreign policy making where a foreign minister would make foreign policy as akin to writing a play where the foreign minister can choose the characters, choose the setting and arrange the plot according to what he wants. In fact, I think foreign policy making is often more like being an actor where someone else is choosing the other characters, choosing the setting and largely setting the plot. For that reason, I don't think we should expect major changes at home.

CTV: Mr. Wood, would that not particularly apply to Canada given our position within the world's stage, as it were, that we are very much reliant on what other countries are doing, what other powers are doing.

BW: Well, I think in a sense Don Munton is letting them off the hook a little too easily here - that, sure, we can't dictate the world, we are a middle power, not a superpower, and even they can't dictate the way the world's going to unfold anymore. But I think we do need a theme, to go back to something Don said earlier, and how a power like ourselves has an influence on the world is

a little bit more than improvising and ad hocery and I think, in fact, they hinted at something, this new government in their first speech from the Throne, hinted at such a theme in the first statement of foreign policy intentions where they said, our kind of influence in this kind of changing world is most effective when we join with others in international cooperation through the multilateral system particularly, that is, the World Bank, the United Nations, in every area, including economics, in fact, especially in economics. That's how we can maximize our performance and maximize our interests. Now, I'd like to see them stick with that rather than slip off into a kind of ad hoc response to every situation, every region in the world, when in fact that's a very strong Canadian tradition, of course. It's one that Mr. Trudeau in his foreign policy review downplayed a little bit, but the Mulroney government, in its first statement, in fact, reinforced the Pearsonian assumptions.

CTV: All right. Now you're saying that you would like to see that, would you expect to see that?

BW: Well, they said it in their first speech from the Throne, so if it's missing this time, I think that would be something of real concern and a change in direction from at least their philosophical starting point. I also think it would be very bad because I do think that it gives us a rudder, a way of handling all our problems, at least a framework within which to fit and, of course, it's a different starting point from that that now prevails in Washington. The American government, at this stage, is not multilateralist, not at all, as Stephen Lewis correctly said last week, and I think that we need to be nudging them in the right direction and bringing American society back to some of its strong multilateralist roots.

CTV: If the emphasis, however, is on trade, does that not mean, as you mentioned the U.S. is not in a multilateral frame of mind but rather a bilateral frame of mind, does that not mean that we're going to have to get closer to the States and, therefore, maybe compromise our former Pearsonian kind of approach to world affairs?

DM: Well, I would think that the review, because we have a new government, will likely be critical of what's been done in the past. Clearly the Prime Minister and the Secretary of State for External Affairs have been critical of the previous government for managing very badly the

relationship with the United States, and I think that will be an emphasis, the emphasis will be on managing the relationship better, on cooperating with the United States. I think what we've already seen and what I would expect to see in the Green Paper, what I hope would be in the Green Paper as well, could be an emphasis on some of the traditional values in Canadian diplomacy which, as Bernard Wood implied, we saw more of in the Pearson era than in the Trudeau era. Mr. Clark has already placed quite an emphasis on Canada playing a mediator role. Now that's the kind of language we haven't heard for fifteen years or so at the very least. I think we exaggerated the extent to which we played that role in the 60's because, in part, it makes us feel good, but I would expect to see some of that sort of thing coming back in. I would also add that I think Bernard Wood, in terms of his interests on North-South questions, is going to be disappointed. I don't know if he shares that view.

CTV: Before I ask you about that in particular, Mr. Wood, would you agree that it is going to be more difficult if Canada, from an economic point of view, a trade point of view, gets closer to the U.S. for us to maintain the kind of role that we've had in the past, the peacekeeping role, that sort of thing?

BW: No, I don't think that is necessarily the case at all and I think that the U.S. relationship obviously is a dominant one and one that has to be handled with great delicacy. Repairing that the tone of that relationship was obviously a top priority and they have done that very strongly. But with respect to trade and economics in particular, you know, the Americans and our government have both been very clear in saying that we are both committed to much stronger multilateral trade liberalization, in other words, to keep the world open for trade and financial movements, the movements that have made us all rich, not all of us, in this continent, made our countries rich in the past thirty years. We are committed to that multilateralization. Now the problem is there is a kind of contingency plan if protectionism continues to grow in the world, if we are unable to adapt to this kind of changing world, then I feel we may shrink back into a kind of fortress North America. In that circumstance, I think all bets are off with respect to the traditional Canadian role but that's a 'worst case' scenario in a sense and we have the opportunity still, having got our relations with Washington, I would hope, on a more civilized basis, to now get back to the wider business of our foreign policy

which involves the Pacific Rim - the fastest growing region in the world - all other regions and many opportunities and many challenges.

CTV: Mr. Wood, where does all this leave aid and the North-South dialogue?

BW: Well, North-South dialogue, in fact, is a different kind of business from what it was. It is now part of the mainstream business of diplomacy in the world and indeed economic negotiations. Three-quarters of the world's population is in developing countries so it's no longer a kind of a side show or an aid game. The aid business is still, of course, critically important and there's nobody in Canada who doesn't know about the Ethiopian situation and the wider African crisis and I think that tells us that we need as much aid and as good aid as we can possibly find. Yes, I think Don Munton is right, a lot of pressures are going in the opposite direction and I hope the government will have the perseverance to stick with an aid program and, in fact, start improving the aid program because it's been sliding for some years.

CTV: On aid, in order to get more trade, though?

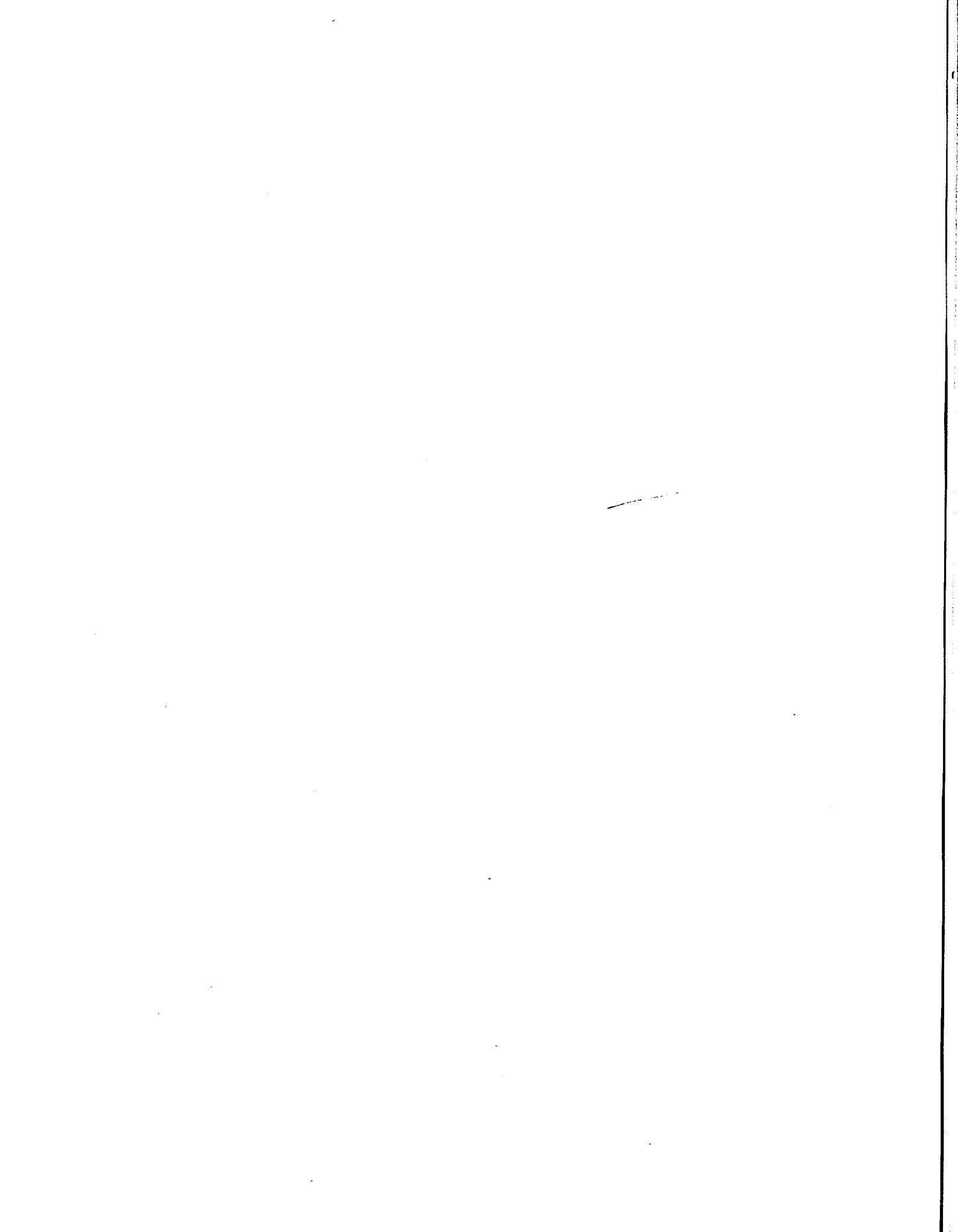
BW: Aid is a separate business from trade. The element of subsidy that they try and squeeze out of the aid program in order to promote trade is bad trade and it's bad aid and if we keep mixing that up in order to try and win favour with a few vested interests - and it's not just for trade, it's other vested interests in the country now that are trying to use the aid program for - then you get less development out of it and in the end you get much less support from the Canadian people because that's what they want from the aid program.

CTV: Gentlemen, thank you for joining us this morning.

Bernard Wood, Director of the North-South Institute, and Don Munton, the Research Director for the Canadian Institute of International Affairs.



Denis Comeau  
Deputy Spokesman  
(International Trade)



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INTERVIEW WITH JOE CLARK

CTV: The federal government has thrown Canada's foreign policy open to public debate. The green paper released yesterday stresses trade and security. Ottawa bureau chief Pamela Wallin spoke with External Affairs Minister Joe Clark about this first comprehensive review of foreign policy since 1970.

REPORTER: Mr. Clark, I guess the obvious question is why (Pamela Wallin) did you opt for a green paper which is simply a series of questions asking Canadians what they think when you and your government have an overwhelming mandate, why didn't you just tell us what you want to do for foreign policy.

CLARK: Part of our mandate is to open up the process and I think we're dealing here with two quite different processes. One is to get public participation in determining our foreign policy and the other is to demonstrate that there is room in Canadian public policy for individuals to take part.

REPORTER: But isn't that room there anyway? Would you have to go ahead and aren't you going to have to go ahead and make decisions and Canadians will respond to those decisions anyway.

CLARK: They'll respond, but this gives Canadians an opportunity to be in before the decisions are taken, to help us take them rather than to respond to them. There's nothing new about government's deciding. I mean we always have to decide and we're going to continue to do that. We've got to take a decision on the invitation of the Americans on SDI. We already had to take a decision on Nicaragua and may well have to take some others. That goes on, that's part of life. What's new is that for the first time in history we're inviting the people of Canada to take part in the discussion of foreign policy and part of what interests me about it, I mean I've always thought that there needed to be a much opening of the system, but what interests me particularly is that I think there's a much large interest in foreign policy than we have traditionally thought.

REPORTER: All right, those motives are laudable. You want to talk to Canadians, you want to give parliamentarians, both MPs and Senators a role in this process. You want to open it up, you want to let people look at it, but as you've just stated and you've stated repeated in the last few days you're going to have to go ahead and make decisions anyway so what is really the nature of that consultation?

CLARK: Well, let's look at some of the issues on which

we will not make decisions in the next year. Likely one of those decisions is where it makes sense in the world for Canada to concentrate, whether that's concentrating our trade policy or concentrating our development policy. Now we've been trying, we've been saying we've been trying to be everywhere. We have a very broad purpose in our development policy, does that make sense, or should we be focusing more exclusively on Africa, or on Asia or on South America, or Latin America. The same thing with trade. Where should we be putting our focus. Where are the new markets for Canada. We think they're in Asia and the Pacific. We might learn, after a consultation process that they're elsewhere. Those are decisions in which the public can quite genuinely help us come to conclusions about what we should be doing. And otherwise some of these questions will never get raised. I mean we have to make decisions about Nicaragua. We don't have to make decisions about whether or not Canada's aid program, Canada's development program makes sense as it stands.

REPORTER: I understand that, but you've said, let's take a look at the issues on which we don't have to take a decision, what is of interest to people of course is the decisions that you do have to make and let's look at Star Wars for example. You have to make a decision by the end of June, that is going to be long before this consultation process is probably even begun, so...

CLARK: It'll be begun.

REPORTER: It may be begun, the committee may be set up, but



what again I ask you is the point of that particular exercise. It seems to me that you're setting yourself up for the fall. If you go ahead and agree to participate in research and Canadians say no, you're going to have to backtrack.

CLARK: Well, it's the only foreign policy question in Canada, where whether or not we take part in research on SDI then there would be no need for a review because that is a decision the government has to take quickly, but foreign policy in Canada is much broader than that and indeed part of the point we're trying to make in the paper is that in the modern world foreign policy is also broader than we've defined it traditionally. It involves very directly the dramatic changes in international economic circumstances and we have to face those. The questions that used to be local are no longer local. The question of beef policy that used to be important to ranches in southern Alberta is now very much a question of international negotiation. So are they all and it's going to be easier for us to make the adjustments we have to in the world. If Canadians understand that and it's going to be more likely that we can make more intelligent policy, if people who are working in the beef industry or working in other industries that are effected or other modes are ... that are affected, have an opportunity to take part in the policy we're establishing.

REPORTER: All right, I don't want to harp on this issue, but I come back to the issue of Star Wars which is symbolic in this country of a lot of things. It's more than a decision to participate in a particular research project. It is symbolic of what will our relationships be with the United States in the

coming years, and what does your government want that to be. Is asking Canadians after the fact what they want their relationship with the United States to be really a very useful exercise?

CLARK: No it isn't and that's not what we're doing.

We're ... we have to take a decision on the Strategic Defence Initiative, but we also have to make some judgement which is a particular project, we also have to make some judgements about precisely the question you raise, what should the form of our relations be with the United States. Yes, that decision will be affected by what we do on the Strategic Defence Initiative. It has also been affected by a range of other decisions that governments have had to take over the years, but there is still a lot to decide and what we're saying is that rather than shut the public out of all the rest of things that there are to decide we should bring them in, as they've never been brought in before. I think that's a very worthwhile departure and what it may do is open up more permanently the process of public policy making in the country.

REPORTER: I guess I'm asking about this whole question of leadership and why you are not taking a direction and saying this is what foreign policy will be, what do you think, because of the other issues that are under discussion. In your paper there is a heavy emphasis on the question of trade. It's also being dealt with by Mr. Kelleher, the International Trade Minister and he in fact is going to be making a decision in the next few months on that question. Again, it seems to be an overlap. It's almost as if those committees are preempting this from being

useful.

CLARK: They're not preempting and they're not at all stopping it from being useful. Let's talk about leadership. We have exercised leadership with regard to Africa, with the help of the people of Canada, but there is no question there is leadership in foreign policy. In a small way there was leadership in foreign policy including our attitude towards the United States in the decision on Nicaragua. There was leadership in foreign policy in the convening of the summit between Mr. Reagan and Mr. Mulroney. That is all evidence of leadership on issues that emerged, on issues that were current, to which the government had to respond, but in addition to leadership there's also a duty in a democracy to encourage people of different perspectives, of different knowledge to take part in the process. There hasn't been that opportunity before and it will touch major questions, as well as questions of attitude. It won't touch them all. We're not going to be able to decide questions that have to be decided this summer or that were decided in 1978. Those questions are behind us or will be, but there is still a wide range of issues on which the Canadian government will have to decide and will make better decisions if it has the informed considered advice of the people.

REPORTER: How troubled are you by the accusations already that the process is in fact a little bit cynical, the opposition has united again, already at this early date, saying they're not sure they want to participate in this exercise, that it's a bit of a sham, that MPs are in the House of Commons, if

you want a representative sample of Canadians look at the 282 that surround you.

CLARK: Well, I will be surprised if either the Liberals or the New Democrats refuse to allow the people of Canada the right to be involved in making their foreign policy. They might decide to do that. They might after all of their talk about public debate and debate in the House of Commons refuse to establish a committee. I'd be very surprised and very disappointed if they did that, because I think it's a major departure. Regarding cynacism. What do you do about cynacism except prove that it's wrong. I can't prove that this process is going to be a useful process until the end of it and there's going to be cynacism about it at the beginning. There's too much cynacism about public affairs in Canada and in the world now, but certainly in Canada and I hope that this might be an antidote. If it's given a chance. I hope it'll be given a chance.

REPORTER: All right, I want to go back to a larger issue and I was looking through a speech that you gave, I think it was last October, in which you said, that you thought closer economic ties with the United States, if played right, could enhance Canada's voice and influence in international affairs. Are we seeing that, I know that this document is simply asking questions, but you've got to have an opinion on this. Is that your view of how we should be changing our approach to foreign policy, international relations, whatever you want to call it.

CLARK: I was trying to deal with a spook, to deal with the spook that if we had anything to do with the Americans we would somehow become less influential, more tainted in the world. I don't believe that to be... I don't believe that fear to be the case, to be true (inaudible)...

REPORTER: You believe the opposite.

CLARK: No, I think that there's a grave danger for any country to simply be swallowed up by a strong partner and what you have to do is establish your bona fides, establish your own sovereignty, your independence, your difference of view on questions like Nicaragua with the Americans, but not pretend there are differences when there aren't and when you disagree with them about Nicaragua as we do, make that point to them, politely, firmly, do our thing, continue our aid, continue our visits, don't rant and rave because that's bound to turn them against us. Now in terms of our own influence, I think we can draw influence in two ways. One, I think politeness will cause us to be heard more by the Americans than rudeness will, to put it at its most stark extremes. Secondly, I think the Soviet Union and the Soviet bloc will respect more a nation that is clear about where it stands. And we stand... we're a western nation. We're not an American nation, but we happen to share the same fundamental values, the same defensive freedom that the Americans do. We're on that side of the conflict that divides the world. We're not on the Soviet side. I think the Soviets will respect us because they know where we stand and we're not pulling punches about it and that allows

us to do other things that are important, whether it's in human rights, or in disarmament or in other fields.

REPORTER: But with the emphasis that you are putting in this paper on the question of our economic relations with the United States and it seems to be filtering out on other questions. You seem to be saying that the whole approach to international relations is going to be a bit of a dollars and cents game.

MARK: Oh, I'm saying that. Because we can't escape that. There might have been a time when we could prevent that only altruism could serve as our motive. That era is well beyond us. I'm not saying we have to have closer economic ties with the United States. I'm saying we have to have closer economic ties with the world. As a matter of fact, our view, my view, the government's view is that our greatest new growth in trade isn't going to come from the U.S. It's going to come from Asia and the Pacific, if we are smart, if we get out and become competitive, but we have a tremendous lot of Canadian interests to protect with regards to the United States. There's a mounting protectionist lobby down there and it doesn't threaten just the Japanese. By threatening the Japanese on some of their across the board protectionist measures they directly threaten jobs in Canada. We have an obligation to respond to that threat, to stop it if we can. But also an obligation to recognize how the world has changed. A debt crisis in Mexico costs Canada jobs, so Canada, if it wants to keep its jobs, keep people employed has to try to find ways as we're trying to, to

deal with the debt crisis in Mexico and elsewhere in the third world.

REPORTER: Well, Mr. Clark, I hav emany more questions, but we'll leave that for the course of the next year.

CLARK: Okay, thank you.

REPORTER: Thank you very much.

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CHRETIEN AND JEWETT ON GREEN PAPER ON FOREIGN POLICY

CTV: The government's green paper on foreign policy asks a lot more questions than it answers. Although a document is intended to be a discussion paper some critics maintain that the paper is simply a way to divert attention away from the issues at hand. This morning in our Ottawa studio we are joined by Jean Chretien, Liberal External Affairs critic and by Pauline Jewett, External Affairs critic for the New Democratic Party. Good morning to you both.

CHRETIEN: Good morning

CTV: Mr. Chretien, I'd like to begin with you. There was an awful lot of speculation before the paper was released about what it would... what would be contained in it, the tone of the paper. Were there any surprises for you?

CHRETIEN: Yes, because I thought that they were to give us some meat to feed on, you know what they come

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is the annual report of the department and they say, what do you think about it and we would like to have the views of the Canadian... on all of that with no focus on anything and in telling us right away that most of the important decisions will be made ven before, you know, we start the studying of these very items. I think it's a document that lacks focus and that what they want it's quite evident, is they want a road show to occupy the many members of Parliament to on their side to arrest us.

CTV: Miss Jewett, would you agree with your colleague?

JEWETT: Yes. I think it's ... first of all not really a comprehensive document on Canadian foreign policy such as the Minister claims it to be. It is almost entirely a treatment, an investment document. Two thirds is all economic relations with the United States and the point is I would make it as well, is that the major decisions probably on the nature of our trading relationship with the United States will be made, those decisiosn will be made long before this parliamentary committee is to report and perhaps even more important than that, the decision on whether or not we participate in Star Wars research, Mr. Clark's already said will be made June/July and what's the point of consulting the public about something after the decision is made. So I really think it's a charade.

CTV: Well, you probably heard... perhaps you heard the interview that we had with Mr. Clark just prior to this interview with you and he said that yes in fact on several

issues, on several questions decisions will be made prior to this consultation process wrapping up, but he says there are an awful lot more broader questions that Canadians have a right to have input onto.

CHRETIEN:           Yeah, but, but you know the problem is that what is... you know the issue to discuss the participation of foreign policy of Canadian in Africa or South America, it's an important issue, but what is confronting the public today is Star Wars. This is the main problem. What is the other main problem is trade with the United States. Mr. Clark... you know at the summit in Quebec City they said within six months we'll make a deal with the United States on trade. You know, why do you consult us, you... it's already two months past and by September it will be over. Star Wars we're informed that the decision is virtually made. The rest is secondary. In relation to the political agenda that confront the Canadian today.

JEWETT:           Well, there isn't very much else in the paper. It doesn't really discuss our relations with Central America. It doesn't really say anything about the significance about South Africa. Very little on human rights. It's not really a foreign policy paper. It is a trade and investment paper with Star Wars thrown in. Star Wars has two paragraphs only, but it's there and it seems to me that we should not lend our influence, our weight, our support to review of decisions which will have already been taken. It is frankly an extraordinary expensive way to try to justify decisions that the government is goign to take and I don't think one should be part of that at all.

CHRETIEN: And I think that, you know, Madame Jewett said yesterday that she would probably not participate and I think that it's a good tactics. For me, I will want to talk with my caucus leader later on this morning, but there is one factor, if we could, you know, through pressure change the agenda and have the public hearing right away, on Star Wars, I think that it's exactly what the public would like to have, but I don't think we'll get that and I doubt that you know, that it's advisable for us to give a credibility that... what it is in fact a problem of the Tories that they want to keep their members busy and have them travelling, with the number we are we cannot afford to be away from the House of Commons.

CTV: Mr. Chretien... just a second Mrs. Jewett if you don't mind. Mr. Chretien, are you saying that the price for your participation in the committee, as far as you're concerned right now, would be an immediate discussion of the Star Wars issue, is that what you're saying?

CHRETIEN: I guess it would be that. I have to discuss with my caucus. As you know... I'm starting in two weeks a public hearing with members of my party on peace and disarmament and defence policies and I'm willing to postpone that if the government want us to have, through the committee, a public hearing right now on Star Wars before the decision is made. That will be from us, you know, a valid consideration to be on the committee, but if they don't want to agree on an agenda of that sort I'm not sure that I will be there. I think that I tend to agree with Madame Jewett that we cannot be just giving a blessing to a charade.

CTV: So that's the only way that you'll participate  
Mr. Chretien.

CHRETIEN: At this point... anyway I just say that I want  
to know more about it and will ask questions of  
Mr. Clark in the House today I hope.

CTV: Miss Jewett, what about the NDP's participation.  
What will it take to get you to participate?

JEWETT: If the government were to say all right we will  
not make any decision on Star Wars research until  
the committee has had hearings, listened to the public on the pros  
and cons and reported, in a year's time. If the government were  
to say that and really enable the Canadian public to have some  
input which it hasn't really had yet, on the whole Star Wars concept,  
then I'd say fine, we'll go along with the committee, but my recommenda-  
tion is going to be, that if they don't do that, then why participate.  
Why participate in something which is simply a decision made.

CTV: Doesn't that though leave everything else as a fait  
accompli, that if you don't participate, if the NDP  
doesn't participate, if the Liberals don't participate...

CHRETIEN: Well that...

JEWETT: They won't have a committee in that case and you  
know we will have shown what a charade it really

is to have a year's expensive hearings on decisions that have already been made. And we will, I hope, have the support of the Canadian public, but my own personal wish would be that the government would say, well they're right, we haven't had any participation from the public on this incredible Star Wars doctrine, the opposition is right, we should have public participation. We will postpone our decision until we have had a report from the committee. I think there's a chance the government may realize what a pitfall they're in...

CTV: Do you really think they will Miss Jewett?

JEWETT: Well, you know, it seems to me that they have to be the first to agree that there hasn't been any really substantive discussion on the Star Wars doctrine. It's only been in the public domain for a few months and we haven't begun to have the discussion on it that we had on Cruise missile testing for example.

CHRETIEN: Yeah, you have to realize that what happened on Star Wars is when the president Reagan decided to move unilaterally, you know there was an NATO agreement and a policy called the two-track policy. One morning President Reagan, you know, get up on the stage and said it's no more the two track policy, I have the ultimate defensive tool. And he put it in the window. Without consultation with anybody. At that time, in the House of Commons the three parties, my party, the Liberal Party under Mr. Trudeau, the Tory Party under Mr. Mulroney and the NDP Party

said we don't think that we are all against Star Wars, it's an escalation. It was unanimity. Come President Reagan, push on the shoulder of Mr. Mulroney and here the 51st governor say yes, yes, yes and I'm telling you that it is a fundamental change in policy with no Canadian participation at all and we want, and I'm completely agreement with Pauline on that, we need public participation. The rest is a joke, you know and to have members travelling, that's the one thing. The fundamental problem like that have to be on the public agenda right away, not after the decision...

OTV:                   We could continue to talk about Star Wars for the next hour, for the next month as you will no doubt. Let's move away from Star Wars issue and let's talk about trade. Now, one of the points that I think is made in this paper is that Canada must become more competitive in order to maintain or improve the kind of influence that we have had in the past. Do you not agree with that premise?

CHRETIEN:           Yes, but you know, it's in verité de La Palice that we have to be more competitive. Everybody knows that. There is nothing sacred about it. It was the fundamental question when we see our foreign policies have to be meshed with trade policies. It was done two years ago when the Liberal government merged the Department of Trade with the Department of External Affairs. It's when we decided that the priority of our External Affairs policies were to be more oriented to trade. So what I say today, it's what had been done two years ago. Of course we have to keep studying and improving on that if we can, but the problem is they ask us to participate in a debate, when we all know that

Mr. Kelleher is already about to sign something with the Americans on a bilateral trade policy before we had really the time to do anything serious about it and as Madame Jewett pointed out yesterday, you know the MacDonald Commission is coming to come with a report in a few days on that. This problem has been studied since a long time and it is a time of decision. There was many committees on that. It's not true that it is the first time that the Canadian public can participate in trade discussion. This is going on since years.

CTV:                   Miss Jewett, would you agree that on this issue, on increasing trade, freer trade with the U.S. that this has left a question in the newspaper, than let's say more of a policy?

JEWETT:               Yes, I think you're right, that there is going to be either a (inaudible) of free trade with the United States in certain sectors or more likely a comprehensive trade agreement. The real problem with getting a comprehensive free trade agreement is political. There are lots of parts of this country that are very fearful for the future of Canadian industry in such an agreement and it's a regional division, it's a division within parties, it's a very tough political decision. But we've had an incredible amount, unlike the Star Wars question, we've had just an incredible amount of input. Do you know there was a committee of the Senate that sat for three years studying Canadian and American trade and the feasibility of a comprehensive trade agreement. There's been the MacDonald inquiry which is reporting

in a few days. The question here is not that we don't know what Canadians think. We know that the textile manufacturer wants to have larger quotas on the import of textiles and the same with the footwear. We know that certain western provinces lobbied for example and said no to any form of sectoral free trade, only a comprehensive trade agreement with the United States is acceptable. You see in this case...

CTV: Miss Jewett, we're almost out of time.

JEWETT: Well, we know what the public thinks on this very diverse and what we are going to have to take, the government doesn't need a committee to tell it what to do.

CTV: Thank you both very much, thank you both very much.

CHRETIEN: They have to make up their mind and they are afraid of doing so.

CTV: Thank you, we'll be right back.

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CTV: The Canadian manufacturers attitude to free trade with the U.S. seems to be very straight forward Those who can compete, are for it, those who can't, are against it. Alec Docking found examples of both, in the Manitoba garment industry, which turns out 15 percent of Canadian garment production.

AD: Bud Brownstone runs an automated computerized outerwear plant in Winnipeg, that he says can compete on an equal basis with any in the world, but he needs protection from imports from countries which pay workers only 15 to 20 cents an hour. Many Canadian industries have already disappeared he says because they didn't get protection.

BB: The motorcycle industry is gone, the bicycle industry is gone, optics is gone, cameras is gone, Ottawa deals would be gone weren't not for the protection that they are getting.

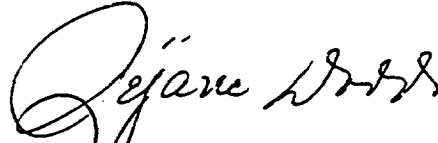
AD: While demanding protection on one hand, Brownstone is also a free trader as long as the free trade is with the United States.

BB: You are talking about free trade within an area where the cost components are roughly the same, so that the competition is fair ball.

AD: But others think free trade with the U.S. has the potential for disaster. David Hughes Company manufactures a U.S. brand of jeans under licence for the Canadian market. With free trade, the American jean plants would easily take over, leaving him and his workers out in the cold.

DH: There's just no way. They could manufacture in two days what we manufacture in a full year. We would not be able to compete on a unit cost basis.

AD: David Hughes says the politicians can talk about free trade all they like as long as caution is a key work in the discussions. Alec Docking, CTV News, Winnipeg.

A handwritten signature in cursive script, appearing to read "Rejane Dodd".

Rejane Dodd  
Media Relations Officer

CTV - NATIONAL NEWS / 17-24-55, 1955

CTV: The federal government is attempting the first overhaul of foreign policy in fifteen years. It has come up with about fifty questions on a wide range of issues. The questions are to be presented to the public at year-long hearings by a joint Commons-Senate committee. The problem is that the answers to some of the questions will be needed long before the hearings end. Pamela Wallin reports.

PW: The government promised a review of foreign policy. What it delivered was a statement on defence and trade and according to Clark, the new emphasis at External Affairs will be, what's in it for us.

(B)

CTV: The Opposition argued in the Commons today that a public review of foreign policy would be a waste of time and money. They said that important decisions will be made by the Government before a Commons and Senate Committee finishes its public hearings. Pamela Wallin reports.

PW: In the Commons, the Opposition posed a simple question.

PJ: Why bother having a special committee spending a year discussing the matters upon which the Government has already made a decision? Why bother?

PW: Joe Clark wasn't there to defend his promised consultation with Canadians, so Erik Nielsen was left to explain the exercise.

EN: Logic would compel one to the conclusion that one cannot have a discussion until one has seized out the facts. That is the purpose.

PW: The Green Paper dedicates only 2 paragraphs to Canada's participation in Star Wars research and the Government itself seems undecided on which way to go.

MrK.: The job of the team will be to provide ...

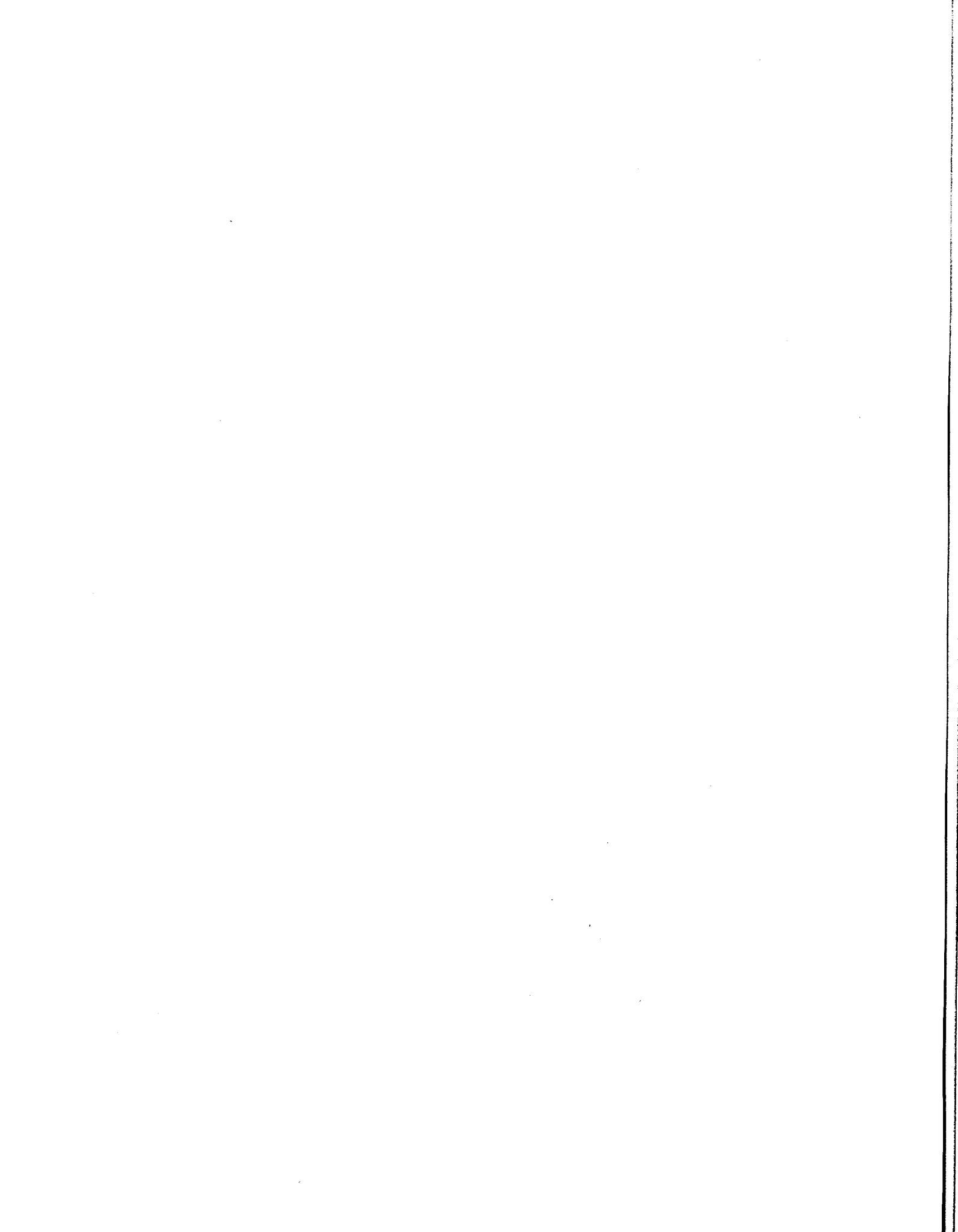
PW: Ottawa has appointed civil servant Arthur Kroeger to study the U.S. invitation, but a decision must be taken by June, long before the promised consultations begin, and on the question of freer trade with the U.S., consultation may come too late. So the Opposition says it doesn't want any part of the consultation process.

JT: Therefore, on the two most immediate issues, one on defence and one in trade, our relationship with the United States, this Committee obviously is irrelevant.

PW: If the opposition boycotts the process, Clark has a credibility problem. As for his promise that Government foreign policy will be set by the public, and not the politicians, we have yet to hear whether the Prime Minister will go along with that. Pamela Wallin, CTV News, Ottawa.



Rejane Dodd  
Media Relations Officer



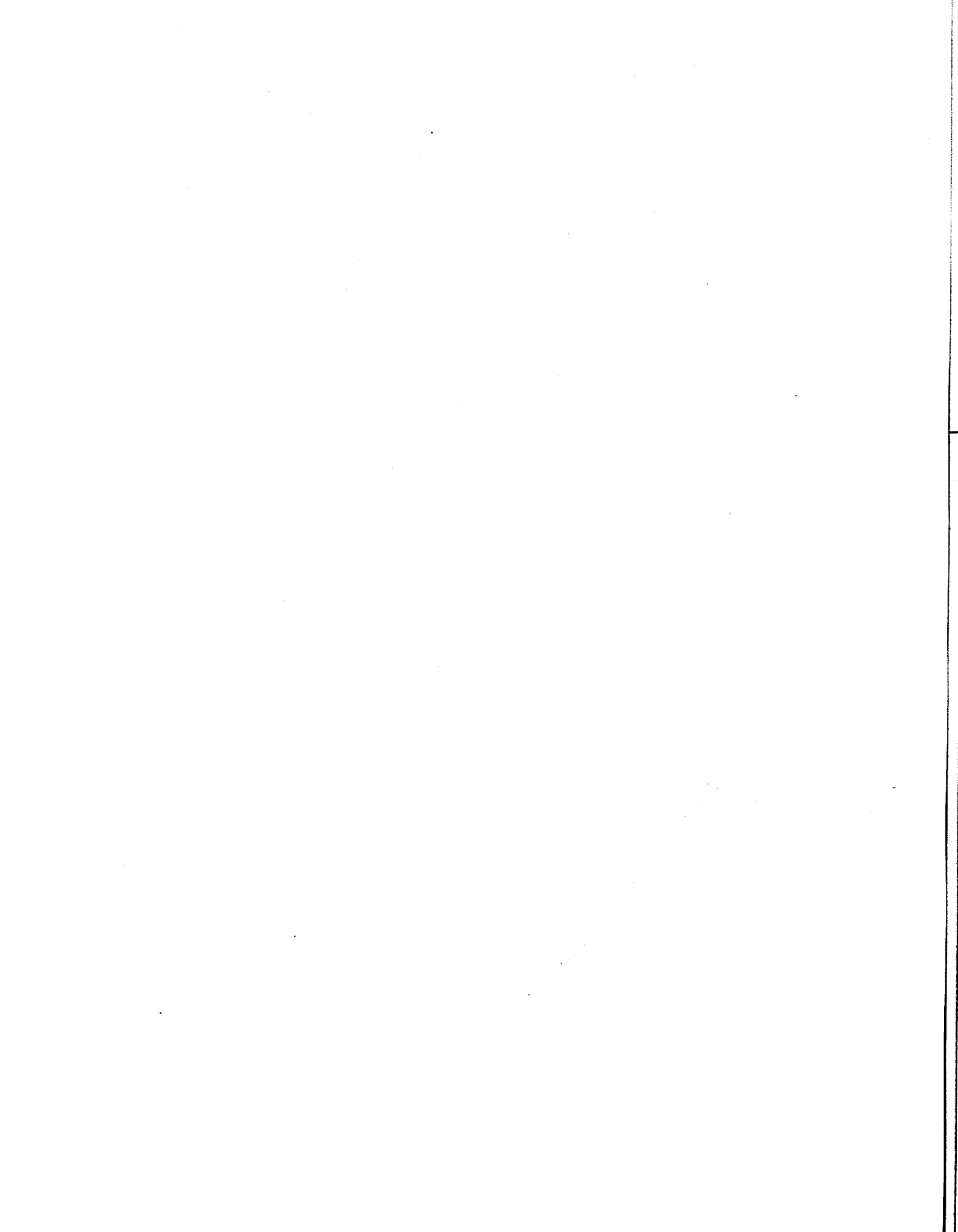
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**TELEVISION / TÉLÉVISION**

C) Global (TV) - Transcript

Program:

1) National News, May 15, 1985



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EMISSION(S) May 15, 1985

SSEA BOOK

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GLOBAL TV - NATIONAL NEWS

GTV: Here at home the government today released a discussion paper on Canadian foreign policy that asks more questions than it answers. But the so-called Green Paper does make it clear in which direction the Mulroney Conservatives are leaning. They want freer trade with the United States, a more aggressive economic stance on the world stage, and a beefed-up military. John Burke reports in Ottawa.

JB: The Throne Speech promised, and Joe Clark delivered - a discussion paper on where Canada should be going on foreign policy.

SSEA: I rise to table in both official languages, the government's Green Paper on international relations.

JB: The Green Paper is really a 'gray paper', in cover and content. In ~~the~~ ~~the~~ pages it often states the obvious, such as, we can no longer take our prosperity or security for granted. Another quote, we cannot isolate ourselves behind barriers. In general, though, the Green Paper sees Canada moving away from its old middle-power good neighbour role, develop an aggressive world salesman. Specifically, it points out the advantages of a new freer trade deal with the U.S., something the Prime Minister and President set in motion earlier this year at the Quebec City Summit.

The External Affairs Minister is hoping his paper will stimulate discussion in the country. He



wants to file the report a year from now. That does not mean that foreign policy will be put on hold in the meantime.

SSEA: There is nothing new about governments making decisions. What is new is that this process permits for the first time in Canadian history, the broad public participation of individual Canadians in the process.

JB: That's means that while this year-long foreign policy review is underway, decisions on Star Wars research, for instance, will be made by the government. For that and other reasons, both Opposition critics label the foreign policy study a charade.

Jewett: It's a junket to keep a bunch of Tory MP's from becoming restless and the government has no more intention of taking any of its recommendations than it has of flying to the moon.

Chrétien: I have a suspicion that the wishes of President Reagan will be more important than the report of the committee.

JB: As a protest, both Opposition critics are considering not sitting on this committee review of the foreign policy Green Paper. External Affairs Minister Clark had put high hopes on the project. Now, after only one day, the big build-up is a bit of a let down. John Burke, Global News, Ottawa.

TELEVISION / TÉLÉVISION

D) Radio - Canada (T.V.) - Transcription

Émission:

1) Le Point, le 14 mai 1985

M.T.T. [MEDIA TAPES AND TRANSCRIPTS] LTD.

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PROGRAM: LE POINT  
EMISSION:

DATE: le 14 mai 1985  
DATE:

NETWORK / STATION: CBOFT  
RESEAU / STATION:

TIME: 20H50  
HEURE:

Reporter: Le diagnostic est un peu plus clair. Les questions économiques ont pris le dessus sur les questions politiques dans les relations extérieures du Canada et le Canada n'a d'autre choix que de s'ajuster, en tout cas il ne faudrait surtout pas qu'il s'isole, parce que trente pour cent de tout ce que nous produisons est exporté. Il faudra donc être plus compétitif, plus productif, plus innovateur aussi et c'est même la seule porte de sortie si le Canada veut avoir quelque influence que ce soit dans le monde de l'avenir. Quant à la paix et à la sécurité, la nôtre, celle de l'Europe, celle de l'Amérique centrale et ultimement celle de toute la planète menacée par les tensions entre l'Est et l'Ouest, eh bien, il faudra faire de choix, parce que le Canada n'a pas les moyens de fouetter tous ces chats en même temps. Voilà, résumé à gros traits ce qu'il y a dans ce Livre Vert déposé cet après-midi par le ministre des Affaires extérieures du Canada, Monsieur Joe Clark, et qui a pour titre: Compétitivité et sécurité. J'ai rencontré monsieur Clark un peu plus tôt en fin d'après-midi. La première question que je voudrais vous demander c'est pourquoi vous faites un Livre Vert et non pas justement un Livre Blanc, un énoncé politique avec le mandat que vous avez eu le 4 septembre dernier, il me semble que vous seriez prêt à prendre des décisions, non?

JOE CLARK: Nous sommes prêts à prendre des décisions comme nous l'avons fait en ce qui concerne le Nicaragua, par exemple, et dans d'autres domaines, mais je crois qu'il y a deux questions ici, la première touche la substance d'une politique internationale, l'autre touche l'efficacité des institutions parlementaires et en fait, le droit des citoyens des parties des décisions publiques et je crois que nous avons une obligation d'inclure les citoyens d'avoir les moyens, le véhicule pour avoir une voix dans la détermination de nos politiques. On le pratique dans ce domaine ici, parce ça n'était jamais fait avant dans notre histoire. C'est la première euh... euh... enquête revision, revue parlementaire publique dans l'histoire du Canada.

DURIVAGE: Bon, en tout cas, déjà il y a désorientation là-dedans, ce que vous dites, en premier lieu, c'est que l'économie a pris le dessus sur la politique dans l'importance de nos relations avec l'étranger, j'aimerais qu'on parle de ces questions économiques et plus particulièrement des relations au Canada-Etats-Unis, c'est les trois-quarts de nos exportations qui vont là-bas, c'est notre plus gros partenaire, plus gros que tous les autres mis ensemble, c'est les trois-quarts de nos exportations. Vous parlez en page 33 d'un arrangement commercial, bilatéral spécial avec les Etats-Unis. Qu'est-ce que ça veut dire, ça, concrètement?

CLARK: Ça, c'est une option, une des quatre options que nous devons considérer et c'est un arrangement avec les Etats-Unis qui peut permettre un commerce sans les sortes de restrictions qui touchent le commerce entre le Canada et une autre tierce-partie ou les Etats-Unis une tierce-partie. Mais ça, ça n'est qu'une des options.

DURIVAGE: Le statu-quo ça n'a pas de sens pour le Canada? Ce n'est pas bon pour le Canada, alors là, il y a des choix qui s'offrent. Il y a, soit un libre échange total avec les Etats-Unis, on en parlera de ça tout à l'heure, ou il y a connection, cet accord bilatéral spécial, qu'est-ce que c'est ça, un statut particulier pour le Canada ou?....

CLARK: En effet, ça pu, ça pu... en effet, c'est un statut particulier pour le Canada et pour les Etats-Unis en ce qui nous concerne, mais c'est formel, dans un sens, nous avons une telle situation informelle après le grand ..... ?.... à Québec, parce qu'il y a un accord entre monsieur Reagan et monsieur Mulroney que si les intérêts d'un pays ou de l'autre est menacé par les politiques de l'autre pays, il y aura une résolution ....?... pas du chef, mais l'option peut formaliser une telle situation, mais je veux.....

DURIVAGE: Mais c'est... prenons des exemples concrets, des pactes de l'auto qui s'étendraient à d'autres secteurs des relations que nous avons avec les Etats-Unis, parce que ça, c'est un arrangement bilatéral spécial ...

CLARK: Bilatéral spécial est dans un domaine spécifique, c'est ça.

DURIVAGE: Est-ce que ça voudrait dire d'autres pactes?

CLARK: C'est possible, c'est possible.

DURIVAGE: Du vêtement? de la chaussure?

CLARK: L'ancien gouvernement a commencé des études dans les champs spécifiques, une était l'acier spécialisé, especially steel, et il y eut d'autres, euh... et nous sommes en train de continuer les études des champs spécifiques. Comme j'ai dit, c'est une option et monsieur Kelleher, le ministre du Commerce international est en train de finir en effet, les consultations avec le monde des affaires et du travail...

DURIVAGE: Et ça pourrait être une étape vers un libre échange total, un marché commun Canada-Etats-Unis éventuel?...

CLARK: Mais la chose, je crois que c'est important pour moi de souligner l'importance pour le Canada d'avoir un système multilatéral, un système de commerce multilatéral qui fonctionne et pour nous, nous devons... la question des Etats-Unis, c'est inéchappable, c'est là, c'est un grande partie de notre commerce, mais nous pensons que pour la santé du Canada, nous devons avoir une situation plus vaste, des arrangements plus vastes et en fait, nous pensons que la plupart de notre croissance future ne sera pas aux Etats-Unis mais sera probablement dans l'Asie et dans la région des marchés du Pacifique. D'après un sens, le défi pour nous en ce qui concerne les Etats-Unis c'est de maintenir les marchés qui déjà existent pour le Canada.

DURIVAGE: Avec les Etats-Unis, vous, personnellement, un libre échange total, est-ce que vous seriez d'accord avec ça?

CLARK: Ce que je veux dire, sans anticiper la politique canadienne, la politique du gouvernement et que je n'ai pas la peur de

certaines nationalistes canadiens en ce qui concerne nos relations avec les Etats-Unis, parce que je crois que le Canada est beaucoup plus mature, il y a un processus de maturité pendant les.... c'est le mot français, mature?

DURIVAGE: Oui, oui, oui.

CLARK: Un processus de maturité pendant les années....

DURIVAGE: Ça ne vous fait pas peur un libre échange total avec les Etats-Unis?

CLARK: Non, parce que je crois qu'il y aura les possibilités commerciales pour nous avec le reste du monde et je crois que nous sommes assez forts comme ...?... pour...

DURIVAGE: On ne sera pas un cinquante-et-unième état américain?

CLARK; Jamais, ça c'est pour moi, c'est, c'est...

DURIVAGE: C'est clair.

CLARK: Oui.

DURIVAGE: Passons aux questions politiques, monsieur Clark, il y en a beaucoup dont je veux discuter avec vous. Par exemple, l'initiative de défense stratégique du Président Reagan. Allez-vous vous prononcer, allez-vous attendre que le Comité vous ait fait rapport pour vous prononcer sur ces questions?

CLARK: Non, en ce qui concerne cette question-là, nous avons décidé avant le rapport du Comité,

DURIVAGE: Ah oui?

CLARK: Parce que c'est une question d'une certaine urgence...

DURIVAGE: Et si le Comité l'étudiait et concluait différemment de la décision que vous allez prendre très bientôt?

CLARK: S'il y a une décision unanime du Comité qui n'est pas d'accord avec une politique du gouvernement, le gouvernement doit considérer un changement dans la politique établie, et la chose que je veux souligner est l'importance et la possibilité du Gouvernement canadien d'agir et réfléchir en même temps et nous avons besoin, c'est pas étrange, c'est pas nouveau pour un gouvernement d'agir, la chose nouvelle ici c'est que pour la première fois dans l'histoire canadienne, il y a une possibilité pour les citoyens de jouer un rôle direct dans la formulation....

DURIVAGE: Pour ce qui est de l'initiative de défense stratégique vous voulez prendre une décision...

CLARK: Nous devons, nous avons un fonctionnaire, monsieur ...?... qui est aux Etats-Unis maintenant pour...

DURIVAGE: Quand prenez-vous une décision là-dessus?



CLARK: Pour préciser la nature d'une invitation. Je crois que monsieur Kruger pourra faire ses recommandations vers la fin de juin et le gouvernement peut prendre une décision après ça.

DURIVAGE: Pendant l'été ou en septembre?

CLARK: Oui.

DURIVAGE: Euh... l'aide au développement, c'est une question assez importante, et il semble que... en tout cas, vous poser la question, l'entraide bilatérale devrait-elle être plus directement subordonnée à la performance des gouvernements qu'on aide en ce qui concerne la gestion économique, le respect des droits de la personne et la convergence des vues sur le plan politique entre ces gouvernements qu'on aiderait et le Canada? Est-ce que ça veut dire, concrètement, qu'un pays comme l'Ethiopie qui est un pays marxiste, pourrait ne plus recevoir d'aide éventuellement du Canada? Est-ce qu'on ...

CLARK: Premièrement, c'est une question que nous avons soulevée, que nous voulons voir discuter, deuxièmement, il était question d'idéologie, ce n'est pas dans notre tradition canadienne de lier l'aide aux questions d'idéologie. L'autre question touche par exemple les questions des droits humains. Il y a plusieurs pays en voie de développement qui...où le Canada est actif côté développement ou côté des droits humains n'est pas bon. Dans le passé, nous n'avons pas pris la performance des droits humains comme une facteur peut-être...

DURIVAGE: Je vous presse un peu, mais il y a deux ou trois questions et il nous reste à peine deux minutes. L'Ethiopie, est-ce que l'aide

à l'Ethiopie pourrait être mise en cause parce que c'est un régime marxiste. Je prends cet exemple-là.

CLARK: J'en doute. C'était la position du Canada, et en pratique la position de notre gouvernement de, d'élargir l'aide canadienne en Ethiopie.

DURIVAGE: L'ONU et plus particulièrement l'UNESCO, les Etats-Unis ont quitté, l'Angleterre veut quitter, est-ce que le Canada veut rester dans l'UNESCO.

CLARK: Le Canada veut rester et nous en sommes en train maintenant d'essayer de réformer l'institution, nous venons de convoquer à Paris une réunion des représentants de plusieurs autres pays pour discuter précisément des moyens par lesquels le Canada peut renforcer l'UNESCO. C'est une autre question pour le Comité.

DURIVAGE: Francophonie. Est-ce que le Canada va y participer à ce sommet de la Francophonie.... et le Québec?

CLARK: Nous avons eu les discussions avec le Québec et quand j'étais à Bonn pour le sommet économique, j'en ai discuté avec le ministre de France, c'est possible qu'il y aura des propositions en ce qui concerne la question d'un sommet francophone. En ce qui concerne la francophonie, c'est une partie de la nature du Canada, c'est une partie de notre avenir...

DURIVAGE: Et le Québec y participerait?

CLARK: Je crois que la question est de trouver le moyen pour permettre... nous avons fait certaines propositions, le gouvernement du Québec a répondu et je crois que nous sommes en train de, au moins de le discuter dans un sens positif, dans un aspect positif.

DURIVAGE: Une dernière question, c'est celle des conflits régionaux et de l'Amérique centrale. Hier, Monsieur Arnaud de Borchgrave le rédacteur en chef du Washington Times, disait au point en ce qui concerne le Nicaragua, le Canada comme tous les pays d'Europe de l'Ouest, a un double discours. Un discours pour sa population et sa position officielle qui est celle toute contraire, celle d'être d'accord avec les Etats-Unis. Autrement, que le Canada est hypocrite.

CLARK: Euh... j'ai été à Bonn, quand ....?... la position du gouvernement des Etats-Unis, qui était déclaré par monsieur Reagan, le jour après, j'étais avec monsieur Schultz, j'ai eu l'occasion de parler avec monsieur Schultz directement, je crois qu'avant j'ai eu l'occasion de parler avec le public canadien, j'ai dit la même chose en privé que j'ai dit en public, que nous ne sommes pas d'accord avec l'action des américains en ce qui concerne le Nicaragua. Nous avons l'intention de poursuivre notre propre politique pour encourager le développement économique essentiel du Nicaragua et...

DURIVAGE: Et vous n'avez qu'un langage... Vous n'êtes pas d'accord avec les Etats-Unis....

CLARK: Je ne suis pas d'accord avec... euh...il n'est pas d'hypocrisie

canadienne, il y a une détermination chez nous de suivre les moyens qui peuvent nous garantir, nous donner une influence si possible de tout...?... les politiques des américains et ceux des aspirations des autres pays du coin. Nous pensons par exemple que l'aide que nous avons déjà offert au processus contadora est bien important.

Ça c'est une question immédiate et c'est bien important, mais le Livre Vert donne aux citoyens canadiens la possibilité de participer dans les questions pas juste immédiates, mais aussi les questions de long terme, de longues dates d'une autre politique étrangère.

DURIVAGE: Très rapidement, en terminant, ce Comité du Sénat et des communes a un an pour étudier une nouvelle politique extérieure du Canada. Dans un an, qu'est-ce qui arrive, ils vous remettent ce rapport et agissez-vous immédiatement selon les recommandations ou est-ce qu'il y aura encore du temps avant que vous preniez des décisions?

CLARK: Il y aura une possibilité pour nous d'incorporer les recommandations, notre réponse à la recommandation dans un Livre Blanc ou il y a une possibilité que nous pouvons accepter ou rejeter, mais accepter certaines recommandations immédiatement. Nous n'avons pas pris une telle décision jusqu'au moment, personnellement, je crois que c'est bien possible pour nous de faire deux choses, d'agir vite sur certaines de leurs recommandations. Je crois que ce serait important pour le gouvernement d'indiquer que nous voulons agir, que nous voulons accepter certaines recommandations pour donner une légitimité au processus, et ça c'est important.

DURIVAGE: Oui, mais d'autre part, vous pouvez aussi donner l'impression que vous ne voulez pas prendre de décision, vous voulez gagner du temps en faisant des Livres Verts et des Livres Blancs?

CLARK: Mais je crois que les actions que nous avons prises en ce qui concerne l'Ethiopie, en ce qui concerne le Nicaragua, en ce qui concerne par exemple l'UNESCO indiquent que le gouvernement est en pleine action maintenant, mais la chose nouvelle est que pour la première fois , nous avons donné aux citoyens le droit de participer.

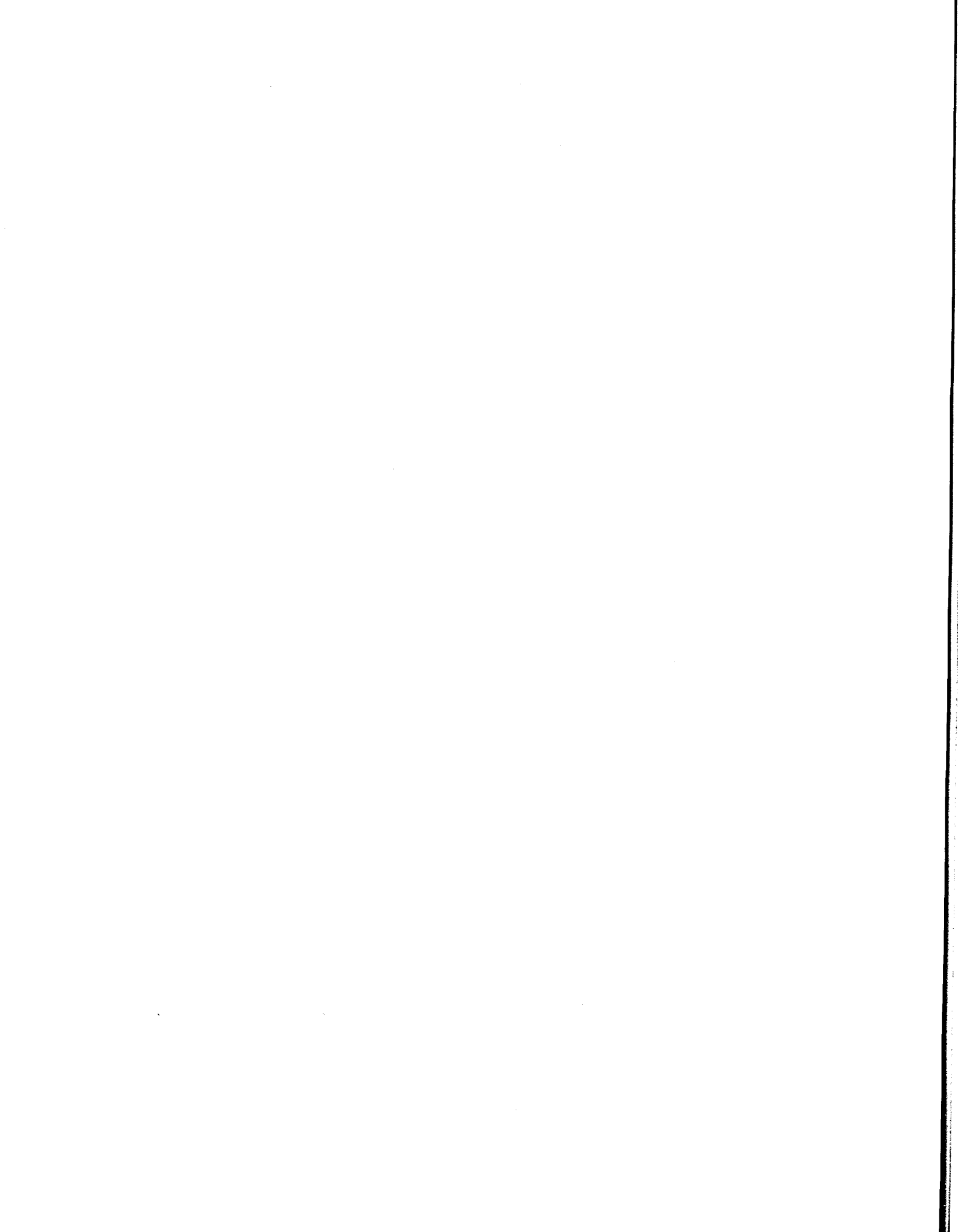
DURIVAGE: Merci beaucoup, monsieur Clark.

TELEVISION / TÉLÉVISION

E) Radio - Québec (T.V.) - Transcription

Émission:

1) Téléservice Plus, le 15 mai 1985



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PROGRAM:  
EMISSION: TELESERVICE PLUS

DATE:  
DATE: LE 15 MAI, 1985

NETWORK / STATION:  
RESEAU / STATION: RADIO-QUEBEC

TIME:  
HEURE: 18H30

ENTREVUE AVEC JOE CLARK

REPORTER: Et monsieur Clark vous avez une fillette de 8 ans, ça fait déjà un bon moment qu'elle a passé la phase du non, est-ce que ça a été difficile?

CLARK: C'était assez difficile que j'avais voyagé beaucoup, puis c'était un problème pour Maureen mais ça c'est l'approche du partenaire dans le mariage, je suis là pour les bons temps et elle est là pour les périodes difficiles.

REPORTER: Alors notre invité vous l'avez vu le très honorable Joe Clark qui fut premier ministre du Canada de mai '79 à février '80. L'automne dernier il devenait secrétaire d'état aux affaires extérieures dans le cabinet Mulroney et hier il proposait aux canadiens un livre vert sur les affaires extérieures du Canada et nous l'avons invité. Il est avec nous ce soir. Soyez le bienvenu monsieur Clark. C'est par ce livre vert est-ce que vous n'êtes pas en prêt de nous livrer pieds et poings liés aux américains?

CLARK: Plutôt je crois que c'est bien clair dans la proposition que nous avons mis sur la table du parlement et première-

... 2



ment que nous avons maintenant une occasion pour une discussion publique de nos options et ça c'est nécessaire pour garder contre les tendances du gouvernement, mais l'autre chose c'est que je crois que le message essentiel pour les canadiens et que nous avons une nécessité de déb... (?) nos relations commerciales avec tout le monde, l'Amérique bien sûr, mais nous au moins nous pensons que probablement les relations les plus importante dans le contexte de présence économique pour le Canada c'est pas aux Etats-Unis, c'est en Asie et dans le Pacifique.

REPORTER: D'accord sur le plan commercial mais il reste que le livre escamote des aspects assez importants, l'initiative de défense stratégique par exemple, deux paragraphes, un paragraphe sur l'Amérique latine, une page sur l'Amérique latine, et deux pages sur l'aide au tiers-monde de développement.

CLARK: Mais ce n'était pas un document pour les intellectuels comme toi. Les problèmes importants par exemple et ce que nous sommes en train de faire ici, essayer de faire, est d'intéresser une plus grande monde et nous avons choisi d'avoir un livre vert qui était moins large, moins encyclopédique qui peut intéresser engager l'intérêt des citoyens. En ce qui concerne la question de nos propres politiques vis-à-vis les Etats-Unis et les impasses par exemple sur l'Amérique latine, je crois que ça la relation était bien indiquée dans la position que le gouvernement a pris en ce qui concerne Nicaragua où nous n'avons pas appuyer la position du gouvernement américain. Nous gardons cette liberté.

REPORTER: Vous avez en effet cette liberté mais par ailleurs vous demandez des accords bi-latéraux avec les Etats-Unis et vous dites dans ce document que la force du Canada elle

dépend de sa force économique.

CLARK: Bien sûr.

REPORTER: C'est surtout ça? Alors justement est-ce que vous ne vous placez pas par cette demande à la merci des américains. Est-ce que cette petite résistance qu'on a à l'égard du Nicaragua, vous ne pourrez plus l'avoir?

CLARK: Nous ne pouvons pas échapper le continent. Nous sommes ici. Nous sommes les voisins des américains. Ils sont un pays beaucoup plus puissant que nous. Ça c'est une réalité. Nous avons les emplois canadiens qui seront affectés par les développements aux Etats-Unis. Mais je crois que la chose à souligner est que nous avons un autre monde aussi et c'est là où nous avons, nous n'avons pensé assez de progrès, par exemple si on parle de productivité canadienne et c'est les comparaisons avec les autres pays, ce n'était pas aujourd'hui envers les Etats-Unis que nous avons des problèmes. Il y en a aussi avec le Japon, avec les autres pays du Pacifique, des îles. Je crois que dans le passé peut-être nous avons trop de préoccupations avec les Etats-Unis et nous avons perdu une perspective sur le monde. C'est dans le monde que nous devons être actif, le monde entier, les Etats-Unis et plus que ça.

REPORTER: Oui mais il est question dans le livre vert de supprimer les barrières protectionnistes. On veut qu'il y ait une sorte de libre-échange avec les américains. Mais dans la mesure où vous accordez ça monsieur Clark vous pensez pas que on va vous imposer

ce que l'on veut en matière de défense, que ça va un peu ensemble?

CLARK: Il y a toujours un danger mais c'est important aussi à faire une distinction entre les politiques que le Canada est persuadé d'accepter par les américains et les politiques qu'on veut accepter parce que nous, canadiens, appuis les mêmes perspectives, les mêmes valeurs que les américains. Et je crois que au moins pour la période dont vous citez le ministre au gouvernement, les décisions que nous avons pris par exemple avec le système du Grand Nord, le système de radars dans le Grand Nord, ça c'était dans l'intérêt canadien, c'était pour protéger nos propres intérêts pas pour servir les intérêts des américains.

REPORTER: Il n'en reste pas moins que l'on constate que sur les grandes décisions importantes, vous venez d'invoquer NORAD (?), l'OTAN, on peut parler des Nations-Unies, là pas possibilité de marquer sa dissidence, on le peut sur des choses mineures, l'aide au développement peut-être à l'égard du Nicaragua, une petite dissidence, mais sur les choses vraiment importantes on ne peut pas se démarquer.

CLARK: Ah mais il y a une question de base ici et ça touche les fins d'une politique étrangère d'un pays. Est-ce que notre raison d'être c'est de donner, de cacher d'exprimer notre opinion, ou est-ce que notre raison d'être c'est d'agir? Je crois que nous avons une obligation de voir l'impact sur les événements et nous ne sommes pas une super-puissance, nous ne sommes pas la puissance de l'Union Soviétique ni les Etats-Unis mais nous sommes un pays avec une certaine influence et je crois que si nous voulons utiliser cette

influence les plus vont changer les choses qui sont peut-être petites. Peut-être l'UNESCO c'est petit. Peut-être Nicaragua c'est petit mais c'est les petites choses où nous pouvons faire le progrès où le Canada a traditionnellement jouer un rôle important.

REPORTER: Mais est-ce que vous, par cette démarche, n'amener pas le Canada a jouer un rôle moins important que sous Pierre-Elliott Trudeau?

CLARK: Je crois que c'est bien parti pour nous de jouer un rôle en effet plus important parce qu'il y aura je crois une plus grande emphase sur l'action et pas sur les paroles.

REPORTER: Oui mais les réserves exprimées par exemple à l'égard des systèmes de défense, vous disiez que c'était pour les intellectuels mais c'est quand même quelque chose qui pourrait se concrétiser.

CLARK: C'est ça et nous devons prendre une décision nous-même et nous sommes en train de considérer tous les facteurs et la décision canadienne sera prise par nous dans notre intérêt. Souvent notre intérêt est le même que l'intérêt des américains. Monsieur Weinberger quand il a donné l'invitation la première fois établir l'échéance, nous avons dit non nous n'acceptons pas l'échéance des américains nous voulons décider sur nos propres «time table» et c'est parce que ce que nous sommes en train de faire.

REPORTER: Mais le document parle évidemment surtout sur les questions commerciales, le sénat a passé trois ans à

étudier ces questions de libre échanges, la commission McDonald j'ai suivi ces travaux à une certaine époque, la commission McDonald va faire des rapports là-dessus. Pourquoi réétudier ça à nouveau?

CLARK: Parce que je crois que c'est essentiel d'étudier ces questions commerciales dans le contexte de politiques étrangères. Je crois que s'il y a quelque chose qui est non-traditionnel, quelque chose qui est vraiment nouveau dans le document c'est la combinaison des facteurs économiques et des facteurs politiques parce que je crois que nous ne pouvons pas avoir une politique internationale dans le domaine des politiques aujourd'hui, sans une référence sans une compréhension des forces économiques.

REPORTER: Mais il n'y a pas là de votre part, si vous permettez, une stratégie de diversion, c'est-à-dire on discute des questions économiques pendant que, comme vous le disiez tout à l'heure, on décide à propos du bouclier de l'espace, on décide à propos des accords bi-latéraux?

CLARK: Je dois faire le point que c'est pas nouveau pour un gouvernement faire les décisions. Les gouvernements doivent toujours faire les décisions. Ce qui est nouveau et que il y aura occasion pour le public d'être parti des décisions et bien sûr se sera nécessaire de faire pour nous de faire certaines décisions avant la fin du rapport en ce qui concerne les ....(?) de défense stratégiques, en ce qui concerne autres questions. Mais il y aura plusieurs d'autres questions importantes, questions qui touchent la francophonie, questions qui touchent l'Amérique latine, questions qui

touchent «the organization of american state» des choses comme ça qui peuvent être étudiées par le comité parlementaire et qui peut donner aux citoyens pour la première fois une occasion de assister dans l'élaboration des fins de politiques canadiennes.

REPORTER:           Oui mais avec votre majorité en Chambre est-il prévisible que les comités puissent énoncer des politiques différentes de celles du gouvernement.

CLARK:               Oui prévisible et souhaitable et essentiel. Parce que ne partie c'est une moyenne à démontrer la force du parlement. Comme vous le savez depuis longtemps j'ai fait le cas que j'ai constaté que une de nos grandes faiblesses c'est la faiblesse parlementaire et je crois que le seul moyen d'y remédier est avec un gouvernement qui est déterminé de faire, d'utiliser le parlement, nous avons commencé, ça prend de la coopération d'autres partis mais j'ai dit hier, après la déclaration du politique, j'ai déclaré mon intention d'agir sur un bon nombre des recommandations si je suis d'accord ou non parce que je crois que ça c'est le seul moyen de renforcer notre système parlementaire.

REPORTER:           Deux des principaux problèmes soulignés par le livre vert, c'est-à-dire le commerce international, la défense échappent un peu à votre compétence. C'est pas un peu embêtant ça?

CLARK:               Echappent de ma compétence en ce sens que, dans un sens on échappe de ma compétence sauf que toutes les choses toutes les activités du Canada au pays sont dans un sens dans ma compé-

tence.

REPORTER: Et ça ne montre pas que le ministère des affaires extérieures n'a plus d'importance qu'il avait monsieur Clark?

CLARK: Je crois que il n'a pas l'importance qu'il a eut pendant par exemple la période de monsieur Pearson, je crois que la période de monsieur Trudeau a eu comme résultat une diminution dans le rôle du ministère des affaires extérieures. Je suis en train de changer ça.

REPORTER: Merci bien monsieur Clark.

CLARK: Merci.

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**RADIO**

**A) CBC (Radio) - Transcripts**

**Programs:**

- 1) Commentary, May 13, 1985
- 2) Morningside, May 14, 1985
- 3) World At Six, May 14, 1985
- 4) As it happens, May 14, 1985
- 5) Commentary, May 15, 1985
- 6) World at Six, May 15, 1985
- 7) World at Six, May 16, 1985
- 8) As it happens, May 16, 1985
- 9) Morningside, May 17, 1985
- 10) Radio News, May 17, 1985
- 11) The House, May 18, 1985
- 12) Sunday Morning, May 19, 1985
- 13) Sunday Report, May 19, 1985



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TO/A Distribution DATE 13 May 1985

FROM/DE Press Office/Service de Presse

SUBJECT/  
SUJET Green Paper on Foreign Policy

PROGRAM(S)/  
EMISSION(S) CBC Radio - Commentary - May 13

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CBC: External Affairs Minister Joe Clark is expected to release his green paper on Canadian Foreign Policy tomorrow. Central America is a region of increasing importance on the world stage. John Kirk who teaches Latin American Studies at Dalhousie University says that Canada should not imitate U.S. President Reagan's recently announced trade boycott of Nicaragua.

JK: Our Government should have the moral courage to voice strong disagreement with Mr. Reagan as many European and Latin American leaders have already done. As well, in view of our international reputation as an honest broker, we should continue to assist the Contadora nations, but in a more energetic fashion and with much more initiative than we have to date.

Moreover, since Nicaragua will continue to be in the eye of the storm, our Government should stop relying on shoddy, often second-hand information.

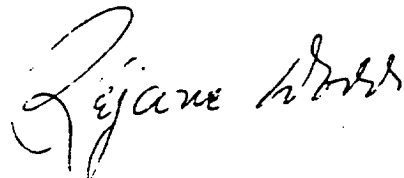
We should resurrect the very successful Parliamentary Sub-Committee examining Canada's relations with Latin America and also send a multi-party delegation of MPs on a fact-finding mission to the area. Perhaps Mr. Clark too could follow his predecessor's example and travel there himself. In addition, our pathetic representation with small offices in Guatemala and Costa Rica surely should be beefed up with an office in Nicaragua, as even Mrs. Thatcher's government has recently done. Finally, we should seek to defuse the volatile situation in Central America by creating a dialogue, a political space. One effective means of doing this is to improve aid and trade with

...2...

Nicaragua as we did very successfully with Cuba 25 years ago. This can be done by extending export credits to Canadian businesses and seeking to attract the \$140 million spent by Nicaragua last year in the United States. Sure it's inconvenient to increase the agricultural quotas from Central America at this moment, but the temporary inconvenience will have far greater political and economic pay-offs down the road. CIDA which to date has dealt fairly with Nicaragua should, therefore, increase its aid to the area. Individual Canadians who last year gave more than \$2 million in the Tools for Peace Campaign can also help by earmarking donations to non-governmental organizations, such as OXFAM, CUSO and CANSAVE, with an excellent track record in that country. 25 years ago the Conservative Government of John Diefenbaker refused to knuckle under to pressure from the White House and break relations with Cuba. Since that time, an excellent trading relationship has developed, providing a very favourable trade balance for Canadian businessmen, and allowing tens of thousands of Canadians to visit Cuba's beaches every year. Confrontationist policies by the U.S. Administration were counter-productive then and will be so again.

While we should not over-dramatize the importance of our contribution, nevertheless we should not simply sit back. What is needed at the moment is a mixture of Canadian courage and generosity to defuse this volatile situation. After all, isn't that what honest brokers are all about? For Commentary, this is John Kirk in Halifax.

CBC: John Kirk is the Assistant Professor of Latin American Studies in Halifax.



Réjane Dodd  
Media Relations Officer

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PROGRAM: MORNINGSIDE  
EMISSION:

DATE: MAY 14, 1985  
DATE:

NETWORK / STATION: CBC/CBO  
RESEAU / STATION:

TIME: 9:05 AM  
HEURE:

FOREIGN AFFAIRS

CBC: Eric Kierans joins us from Halifax, Dave Barrett is in our Vancouver studio and sitting in today in Toronto for Dalton Camp who can't be here today, Ron Atkie(?). Mr. Atkie's a Toronto lawyer and a former cabinet minister in the Clark government. Gentlemen, good morning to you all, Ron Atkie, welcome and good morning.

ATKIE: Good to be here Peter

CBC: Eric Kierans are you there?

KIERANS: Yeah sure.

CBC: Oh, and Dave, you're there?

BARRETT: Yes, right here.

CBC: I didn't hear your bubbling enthusiasm off the

mark in response to my good morning.

KIERANS: Yeah, we wanted to hear from the new boy.

CBC: Okay, Ron Atkie, the floor is yours. That's a little unfair. Eric Kierans, I think I'll start with you.

As I said before, the news the green paper goes into the House of Commons today. The Globe and Mail is reporting or suggesting or predicting that it's going to say we have gloomy economic prospects in this country and that the best foreign policy response might be in the area of trade. What do you make of that Eric and generally what are your thoughts?

KIERANS: Well generally a green paper is just... as was said yesterday in the Globe and Mail, a discussion paper. It's really setting forth a number of problems that have gone back like boots and shoes and textiles to confederation itself. You have to examine or ask yourself what is the motive. I'll say this about the government, they are masters, really as capturing the media. You know you make a leak and you have something before the report comes out, then the report comes out and then the people who didn't benefit from the leak begin to criticize the report, and the people who got the benefit, so you keep a discussion going on something that's really not all that much concerned and all that much different and you again ask yourself, what are they doing here? Well, one of the things that they would seem to be doing is undercutting what is likely to come out fairly soon I understand, or I would hope, the report of the MacDonald Commission on Canada's

economic future, and they intend I presume apparently to really duplicate, I don't know if it's going to cost 20 million or that much, but duplicate what the MacDonalld Commission has just done. That is, they're going to form another committee of MPs, senators, empowered to travel, to hold public hearings, to make recommendations to the government. You know, another junket with a lot of the boys helping to give External Affairs a very high profile in areas that are not strictly its jurisdiction. I don't know what Sinclair Stevens or Robert de Cotret are going to have to say about this interference on economic affairs.

CBC: Well, Dave Barrett, I hear you winding up.

BARRETT: Well, I'm not winding up, I'm winding down, after listening to that leak, I think we should just wrap it up and forget it. I mean what's the pessimism all about. I thought the entrepreneurs were adventurous. I thought a Conservative government had a business sense about it. I mean, what are we talking about, gloom and doom about the very stuff that keeps this nation going. Our natural resources, to suggest that's all gone, our markets are gone is to wrap up Canada. What we can do is not go back to the attitudes that our resources are going to last forever, but we can do some thoughtful planning and be prudent about the use of our resources. As far as markets go, the idea that we so narrowly focused on the United States, we forget the whole Pacific Rim. We've got to look at one of our major trading partners in Japan. We have to look to other options besides straight sales. We have to think in terms of barter. There's the whole third world

country down there that has an expanding market . As long as the United States continues to isolate itself in the world, then we should take advantage of that. If the United States starts putting embargos on trading with countries in Latin America that want to move towards self determination, you know some of those countries have been reading Thomas Payne (?) and Jefferson and getting ideas that they should have a revolution like the Americas had and that's threatening to the Americans, then those markets are potentially, they're on a barter basis. I think we should be expansive, rather than narrowing on the basis of what we think the Americans will respond to. I agree with Eric. I think it's just a stall. I thought these fellows had a plan. I thought that's what they ran the election campaign on. And to duplicate what MacDonald is doing is just... well we could franchise it. It's a whole new MacDonald's.

CBC: Ron Atkie, welcome to the club.

ATKIE: Delighted. Delighted. It's been fifteen years since we've had a serious discussion of foreign policy or at least serious questions laid out in a document that hopefully Canadians can understand. I haven't seen the document, but I understand it'll have a lot of questions in it. It may not have that many answers and clearly I think it's signaled, it will signal a greater focus on international trade, the idea of competitiveness and the economic realities that are facing Canada, some of which are not terribly good. I think we will see an attempt to reorient Canadians' thinking. I think Dave Barrett mentioned Pacific Rim and I think it's clear we've come to the crossover point where

Canada's trade with the Pacific Rim countries is greater than that now of Europe and there goes the third option which was talked about in 1970 in the Trudeau green paper, so we've come a long ways and we've gone in a slightly different direction. So I think we're going to see a lot of questions raised with a view to changing the perceptions of Canadians about where we're going in the world.

KIERANS: Well, isn't that what the MacDonald commission was supposed to be doing?

ATKIE: That's right, but they're a different group. They're an independant group. I don't think this is done in counterpoint to the MacDonald Commission at all. In fact I think this paper was to have been out some months ago and because a number of the bureaucrats continue to want to fine tune it it's been delayed a little bit. I think it will be a different type of document in the sense it will ask more questions than give answers. I think the MacDonald Commission will set up some answers which may or may not be music to the ears of Canadians. So you'll see an interesting debate focused just between the two documents, but I don't think it was deliberately planned that way.

KIERANS: But Ron, if all we do is discuss and discuss and navel gaze and navel gaze and when is somebody going to do something.

BARRETT: Goodness gracious, you know, and I'm being very polite, this is ridiculous, another paper, how stupid.



We've got a million and a half unemployed people out there. What are we going to do, feed them paper? There's some simple basic things we should be doing in this country to get people employed. We've got in the province of British Columbia one quarter of our population on some kind of government program, be it old age pension, unemployment insurance or welfare. Now that's a right wing capitalist society that produces 25 percent of the population living off the state, and a central government that adopts the same right wing capitalist philosophy that free enterprise is going to solve our problems and we've got all these people unemployed. The system is failing because of the lack of initiative, drive and commitment to making some decisions. Nine months in government it produces a paper. We're going to eat paper, put salt and pepper on it and you know, come on, what is going on in this country? Twenty-five million people and we're navel gazing as Eric says. Surely to goodness there's somebody with some gumption and some sense to sit down and make some decisions about getting this country moving forward. I don't see it happening. And allowing bureaucrats to fine tune a paper, those are the same bureaucrats who worked for the Liberals or who have been seconded to the MacDonald Commission. There's nothing brand new in saying oh woe is us. We have these problems. Come on, what is the purpose of running for office, what is the purpose of governing. Make some decisions, some initiatives, something bold. Lift the spirit of this country, but to produce a green paper with a blue ribbon. Come on.

ATKIE: Dave, this paper is not the only initiative that the government of Canada has taken in the last six

months.

BARRETT: It's true, that is absolutely true. They've hired a lot of Tories as well.

ATKIE: No, I think... let's look at the area of international trade in relationship to the United States and some of the things that Kelleher's been saying, some of the things that Kelleher is purporting to do and he's announced a timetable. He's completing his consultations this month. He's taking to cabinet next month some very serious proposals...

KIERANS: Like what?

ATKIE: ...for relations for trading with the United States, whether we're going to have a free trade in certain sectors, whether we're going to have a comprehensive trade agreement, a framework trade agreement, he's going to set out a fairly specific line of approach and I think that will be in place probably by August or September if the cabinet acts on it and after all, I don't have to tell either of you who our largest and most important trading partner is. It's the nation to the south.

BARRETT: Yeah, but you talk about... I agree with Eric.  
Like what? For instance, here we are, the nice polite voice to the north. We're talking about free trade and there's a massive attempt in the United States to bring tariffs on Canadian lumber. You know, this is supposed to be reciprocal

kind of free trade discussion. There's no free trade discussion on the basis of lumber in the States. There's a major lobby to try and put a ... slap a tariff on us that would knock out our western lumber sales right over night.

ATKIE: Well, I don't think you've got evidence that that's going to happen Dave, and you see that's part of the discussion between the two countries, between the trade representatives to avoid that happening.

KIERANS: Well, just a minute Ron, you know you talk about the bureaucrats and their fine tuning. What they're really fine tuning is exactly the kind of policy that the former government, that they drafted and the former government agreed to at Verseilles and Williamsburg and so on. In other words that we integrate our policies, monetary policy and interest rates with control of the money supply with that of the United States. We work to reducing our budget deficits by restraining government expenditures. These are all things that Prime Ministers have agreed to, only Mr. Mulroney has gone further and said we didn't do enough and then to bring our exchange rates into line and to converge as the jargon with those of the United States. Now these are the same people and what is different about all of this. I don't see anything different and I'm very much worried. Sure everybody knows that the United States is our biggest customer. That has been the problema nd since the third option didn't work, it wasn't the massive document that you...

CBC: Gentlemen, can I bust in here for a second. We're talking here about a green paper on foreign policy and External Affairs, and you three, forgiveably, I started it going that way, the Globe and Mail started that way, but you're talking about economic questions overlapping the MacDonald Commission, overlapping all kinds of other things. Surely as a country we've got a lot of other questions in the area of foreign policy. About peace keeping role, about foreign aid, about Central America, our relations there, are we not going to talk about those things?

KIERANS: Peter, Clark has already said that he's not going to talk at all about the United Nations, the North Atlantic Treaty Organization.

CBC: Those two he did say yeah. What about the three I just mentioned?

KIERANS: Well, how about Norad or anything else. These are the things that you should be talking about.

BARRETT: Or how about the Organization of American States, or human rights conditionality, those sorts of things which I suspect will be in the paper.

KIERANS: Well, it doesn't look like it because the paper has been leaked to Hugh Windsor who's a very careful reporter.

ATKIE: I thought I tried to bring in the third world country on the basis of just doing a little switch in our economic thinking on the basis of barter. I said that there's new markets opening, as long as the Americans turn isolationist because somebody wants a revolution like they had. Then those new market potentials are there on the basis of barter. We don't have to make cash deals, but we've got resources that we can barter with and we should explore that opportunity in Latin America and South America. We have a good name in the third world simply on the basis of a laissez faire attitude and an unwillingness, thank goodness, not to join the OAS. We should exploit that opportunity. We should avoid any impression that we're going to be dragged along into adventures in Latin America by the Americans. We should avoid the impression that somehow we're going to become little brother or little nephew to Uncle Sam in world affairs. We do have a good name since Pearson's time. We should be trading on that and get the economic spilloff, spinoff. I'm not opposed to any of that, but that means an aggressive independant international stance by Canada, a little bit of flag waving, nothing wrong with that, especially if it makes a few bucks for us.

KIERANS: I would feel a lot better about this paper Ron if I had felt that there was some strong input by Joe Clark himself which would reflect a Tory position, but you have suggested yourself and we all know that this has been done really by the people who have been doing this sort of stuff, the bureaucrats for years. Now, my problem is I don't expect much of Joe Clark to be in this green paper, because how much thinking has he done

lately. How much time has he been, in a room by himself to paraphrase what James Reston (?) said in that very sad article that he had written about Mr. Reagan and the amount of travelling that he's doing and the pressure on him and with his age and whatever. You know you have to think, you have to be by yourself for a while and Clark has been everywhere all over the world. I don't think he has time to do anything except pick up the copies that are given to him.

ATKIE:           There's no better way and better time to reflect than being on an airplane for long periods of time.

KIERANS:        Impossible. Impossible.

ATKIE:           I think Clark (inaudible)...

BARRETT:        I think there's a warning here from what Reagan's doing and Eric's touched on it. If you just take your mind back to five weeks ago when the whole Bitburg controversy was on, we talked about the necessity of Kohl leaning on Reagan for domestic politics and this should be a warning to the Tories in Ottawa about leaning on Reagan for domestic politics. The Social Democrats scored a major upset in those provincial elections that Kohl was worried about, that he was convinced Bitburg and Reagan's visit was going to restore his power in those local elections. The Social Democrats want them. The Greens were wiped out. There's a major shift away from Reaganism in Europe. There will be the same thing here in Canada and I would think that the green paper

should be pushed aside and there should be a Canadian paper on the basis of where we're going. Not leaning so much on the ...

CBC: Well let's...

ATKIE: Dave, you want to push that green paper before it's even released yet .I think it'll be a very useful document. An independant...

CBC: Well, do you think it will address some of those very basic questions...

ATKIE: Sure,

CBC: ...towards Central America.

ATKIE: Sure, I think it will without specific mentioning countries. I think it will go into issues. I think it will go into the questions of relations with the United States which are rather central.

CBC: (inaudible)... mention Star Wars, should it mention Star Wars?

ATKIE: I think it will, but we're being rapidly overtaken by events. I mean, after all, we were issued the invitation to participate in the research on SDI. The deadline for that invitation issued by the United States has since passed.

And...

KIERANS: They said there was no deadline. There denied that there was...

ATKIE: Well, there was a six week deadline and every western European country has missed it and we're going to miss it very deliberately. Mr. Clark has appointed Arthur Kroeger to look at the situation. We'll have a report in June. There will be a debate. There's no commitment yet from Canada to go in and if we do go in I suspect it will be very cautiously and with strings attached. So there is an independent activity going on there which is quite separate from the green paper, but which nevertheless must be dovetailed with it. The whole United Nations issue I think has been brought to the surface with the speech of Stephen Lewis, the American reaction, and the Canadian Prime Minister's support for our ambassador at the United Nations. Those questions...

CBC: Do you think he was sending a very clear signal there when he stepped in and said (inaudible)... speaks for Canada.

ATKIE: Oh yes, you're darn right. He was attacking the Heritage club (inaudible)...

KIERANS: That's right.

BARRETT: He was defending the United Nations.



ATIKIE: Oh sure, he was attacking the Heritage Club.

KIERANS: You're supposed to defend something you're a member of.

BARRETT: Of course, and the other thing is has he voted once against what the Tories want. The Tories are slavishly responding, you know, to Jean Kirpatrick's (?) image left there. I feel terrible pain and anguish for Lewis, having to ... the both the ways voting in there. It's easy to go out and kick the Heritage Club. They're not here in Canada and they're no threat to the Tories at the local level. It's Amway that's a threat to the local Tories, not the Heritage Club. You know, come on, let's be realistic about this thing. We have had a government for the past six months that has been making political love to Ronald Reagan and I don't expect anything different. Certainly not out of the leaks so far, the green paper.

ATKIE: Not a bad tactic when you're about to renegotiate your trade relations.

BARRETT: Renegotiate! They don't renegotiate anything. The Americans just roll over and we get squashed.

CBC: I'm left with one question and I want before I bring this to a conclusion this week, to hear Ron Atkie on this question which seems to me to have come directly from what Eric said a moment ago. Is Ron, can I ask you this,

is this a Joe Clark green paper? Are we going to hear Joe's real views, Mr. Clark's real views. I'd call him Mr. Clark in private too by the way. Are we going to hear Mr. Clark's real views and are they... will they give us a thrust in the kind of direction that we've heard this morning?

ATKIE: I believe we are going to see a lot of Joe Clark in this paper. I think he's had some time, contrary to what Eric's said, he's had some time to reflect. He's now been out of the office of leader of the party for a year and a half, almost two years, and he is, I think now comfortable in his position, in a Mulroney cabinet and clearly there's no question who the boss is.

KIERANS: No, you'd better believe it.

ATKIE: The relations between them are remarkably good given that you have a former Prime Minister and an existing Prime Minister in the same cabinet. And he's determined to make his mark and I think this paper will be one of the vehicles, not the only vehicle. It will ask a lot of questions, which is the Clark style, with a view to getting Canadians to honestly debate. I think this paper will be in marked contrast to the papers that came out in 1970 which were didactic in approach. Trudeau trying to educate Canadians in the world as to what we are and should be. I think Clark will be a little bit more humble than that and will try to provide a useful document that will genuinely spark a debate among the Parliamentary committee and Canadians generally.

KIERANS: Well...

CBC: Sorry, well Eric, I'll give you one quick (inaudible).

KIERANS: Look, I want to say something. There was very little of Trudeau in that 1970 paper. That was Michell Sharpe, and number two, look, you may say that relations between Mr. Clark and Mr. Mulroney are excellent, but I don't know how many more humiliations he can stand, publically and in front of all the other leaders of the world and still say that relations are good.

BARRETT: And back to the foodlines in British Columbia.

CBC: Gentlemen, I thank you all. Eric Kierans in our Halifax studio, Dave Barrett from Vancouver, in our Toronto studio this morning, Ron Atkie, sitting in this week for Dalton Camp.

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UNCLASSIFIED/SANS COTENUMBER/ FPR-0786  
NUMÉROTRANSCRIPTS/TRANSCRIPTIONS

TO/A Distribution DATE May 15, 1985

FROM/DE Press Office/Service de Presse

SUBJECT/ Green Paper  
SUJET

PROGRAM(S) / CBC Radio - World At Six  
ÉMISSION(S) May 14

SSEA BOOK

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CBC: The key to Canada's success in international relations is to improve the competitiveness of Canadians and maintain this country's present position in international markets. In its green paper on foreign policy released today, the government concludes that strengthening Canada's economic performance should be the cornerstone of our foreign policy. Stephen Boissonneault has a report.

SB: The Minister of International Trade and the Minister of Finance have already published discussion papers of their own in which they've already outlined most of the issues which Joe Clark, the External Affairs Secretary, talks about in his paper released today, and by now it's becoming tired news to Canadians. The message is we have to improve productivity and our competitiveness otherwise our influence around the world is going to diminish. The long and short of what Mr. Clark is saying is that Canada can't be taken seriously, it can't deal as an equal with a strong suit if it doesn't have the financial clout to back up its policies and defence in trade and in aid, to back up its diplomatic positions at the U.N., at the World Bank, and all the other international organizations it participates in. Although Mr. Clark gives no indication of the government's true thinking behind all of this, he has thrown the whole question of foreign policy open to public discussion but, in spite of that, he says that the government will continue to make policy decisions even though there is the public debate underway at a Parliamentary committee.

SSEA: It is always possible, always possible, that if there is a unanimous report by the

committee resulting from the circulation of this Green Paper that suggests changes in decisions that we might take between now and the submission of the report, it would be very difficult for a government to ignore that kind of unanimity.

SB: The Opposition critics doubt very much that the public debate is meaningful - they describe it as a charade. They doubt that recommendations coming from a Parliamentary committee a year from now will influence the government to change its policies. On the important question of Canadian-American relations, there's no indication of what the government will do. Although it seems to be leaning towards freeing the trade between our two countries, three options to bring this about are listed in the paper. As for other foreign policy issues such as international aid and our relations with trouble spots such as the Middle East and Central America, there is no indication that there will be any serious changes in policy in any area. Neither does it look as if there'll be any changes in defence policy. But there will be more on that in the fall when the Minister of Defence publishes a White Paper outlining the government's intentions here. Stephen Boissonneault, CBC News, Ottawa.

*Natalie Kirschberg*  
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PROGRAM: AS IT HAPPENS  
EMISSION:

DATE: MAY 14, 1985  
DATE:

NETWORK / STATION: CBC/CBO  
RESEAU / STATION:

TIME: 6:30 PM  
HEURE:

FOREIGN POLICY GREEN PAPER

CBC: Joe Clark wants to hear from Canadians about our foreign policy. The External Affairs Minister released his discussion paper on the subject today. He calls it competitiveness and security. The document raises questions about our trading relationship with the United States. It also asks Canadians to consider how much they're willing to spend on defence. The special joint committee of senators and members of parliament will hold public hearings on these and other questions. It will then make policy recommendations to the government a year from now. To start the national dialogue we've reached. Bernie Woods, Director of the North-South Institute in Ottawa and Stephen Clarkson, a political economist at the University of Toronto.

ELIZABETH GRAY: Gentlemen, what have we got here? Do you detect in the green paper some signals about any sort of radical departure in foreign policy? Bernie Wood, you've at least had a chance to skim through it.

BERNIE WOOD: Well, the sense I have when I look at it is that

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all the building blocks are there but they're kind of scattered around on the playroom floor. Compared to the Trudeau foreign policy review, in a sense I think they've done a little bit better for the starting point although the proof is really going to be in the pudding.

GRAY: Stephen Clarkson it's...so far I know you've just had a second hand briefing on this, what's your sense?

BERNIE CLARKSON: Well I think the point about the green paper is that the foreign policy change...when you ask, is there a radical change? The radical foreign policy change took place on September the 4th with the election of the government who's leader is our most American Prime Minister ever, a real (inaudible) who's run a branch plant and approaches foreign policy as if he was still doing the same kind of thing.

WOOD: I don't buy it...

CLARKSON: Finding Canadian interests...pretty well the way the Americans see them in investment policy and energy policy and even on acid rain. So that has made a lot of the basic policies thrust decisions already in which this more general paper is much less important and perhaps will be very unimportant.

GRAY: You don't agree Bernie Wood, you started to say.

WOOD: I guess if Stephen is writing off the green paper and all (inaudible) to follow, then...and sort of judging the direction of the Mulroney foreign policy from that background the Prime Minister and a couple of early steps, then I regret that he's not going to make his input in the process because I see a lot of other strands here and unquestionably the Prime Minister has made a top priority restoring the atmosphere of some amicability with the US. Whether or not he's gone too far in substantive terms is a matter of debate but, you know, I just don't think our foreign policy can be turned around to that point - to the point that Stephen's implying that radically. I mean this is a big lusty democratic country and there are a lot of strains and interests that are going to be felt, a lot of Canadian values that are going to be.

CLARKSON: Sensible but I think the government has turned it 'round. It certainly reversed its priorities. It doesn't define our international relation strategy in general and then say well, what should be our policy with the United States. It's done the exact opposite.

GRAY: Well hang on a second. I want to just look at some of the building blocks you talked about Bernie Wood. What is this indication that perhaps what we need is a comprehensive treaty with the US - what's that mean.

WOOD: Well, in fact that's not coming through quite as strongly here. They're talking about the multilateral





CLARKSON: I think that this report sounds as though it's sounding the themes of Pearsonian internationalism and so it represents an attempt to maintain a continuity by Department of External Affairs with its earlier policies. But then symbolically one can talk about Stephen Lewis etc. but the substance of what the Canadian government has done is radically changed its stance internationally and really this isn't...having a document that says we haven't turned our back on the world, though we have the politicians in power who's world is defined by the United States and that's in particular of the Prime Minister and he has played a very important role in this by taking over the American relationship as his special baby to nurse, establishing the very close personal relations with Mr. Reagan, going to New York to make his economic house speech, disarming FIRA, ending the NEP, saying that acid rain isn't, you know, such a big problem, and that I think is the basic shift and everything else is going to be just, I think verbiage because it's a very fundamental change.

GRAY: Are there things noticeably missing from this paper?

WOOD: Yeah I think with the emphasis that comes through as a continuing theme and as Stephen has said, a kind of Pearsonian echo on strengthening the multilateral system, the philosophy there but I think they should be by now getting a little more specific about what specifically we can do. You know it's no good any longer for example in UNESCO to say well, we're going to stay and we're going to reform and improve from within, how begins to be the question and there are things that

Canada can be doing there, you know, putting more Canadians in those organizations, backing them up with management improvement schemes, any number of relatively small maybe unglamorous things, but to go beyond just banging the table and saying reform because if we keep on doing that we'll be drawn into the kind of confrontation tactics that others have taken.

CLARKSON: Elizabeth, one thing that doesn't seem to be there is any analysis which would justify the position that the paper is taking, namely that Canada has lost international power over the last ten years and I haven't...of course Bernie's read the paper, I just heard the summary of it, but it sounds to me quite extraordinary that the Department of External Affairs and its Minister would take that position...

WOOD: Just to...

CLARKSON: ...Has in fact been very effective in new ways in the last ten years and internationally I'm thinking of the achievement of the Laws of Sea conference to get what it wanted despite American resistance, for instance, about control of our Maritime boundaries and in the Arctic, our participation in the economic summit since 1975 and in being a fairly major aid donor...

WOOD: I read it a little bit differently Stephen and what they say when you look at the laws of power, they're putting a lot of emphasis on the competitiveness issue and raising that concern about Canada's competitiveness and activity as a

nation that depends on trade, and saying, you know, if we can't cut the mustard in economic terms, then we're not going to be very powerful in the world. But the other one they cite I think is much less convincing which is military power. There they harp back of course to the immediate post war period and say in relation to that what we don't have...what we had now, I think that is not a very creative approach to saying even in security terms in the world what can Canada contribute. And I agree with you some of the other things we do and have done and could do even better do amount to a major security contribution in the world. not necessarily counted in traditional war heads and missiles and so on.

GRAY:                   How is this likely to fit into the whole amorphous process that seems to be going on in Ottawa. There are an awful lot of other reviews, are there not? I mean there's Erik Nielsen in general, there are other External Affairs reviews, Trade Minister Kelleher has two going on, there's something to happen about aid and something about Canada in South Africa. I mean, you know, none of that stuff is being addressed directly here.

CLARKSON:               I think Elizabeth the way to understand this government is to realize that it came into power without a strategy about what to do when it got power. It had a terrific election strategy but once in office on September the 4th it didn't have a clear definition of what its goals were. So I guess what they're doing is buying time but the risk is that, as you say, with all these other reviews taking place and apparently the military

paper will come out of the white paper, in other words as firm policy not as a green paper for discussion, there's likely to be quite a lot of overlap and even conflict between them.

WOOD:                Yeah I tend to agree on that point Stephen, that I think there is some artificiality of the situation, that the defence decisions, many more of them have been taken. The export options paper has got its own track and in fact this paper acknowledges decisions taken on that and on export financing earlier. Those are worries and trends because in a sense you could be left with only the rhetoric at the end but some very substantive decisions all taken. And I'd like to see, you know, the defence issues meshed into this wider issue of security as it's conceived in this paper.

GRAY:                Well is the fact that South Africa is not addressed here that there isn't much on Central America, just to take those two, does that...can you take from that that Joe Clark himself is not that happy with this green paper, he's trying to effect policy in other reviews, in other places?

WOOD:                He says in this one on South Africa, for example, they come down saying well, you know, do we gain more or less by isolating South Africa, that kind of question which in the US context now would be seen as the merits or problems of constructed engagement. I think that they should be in a hurry to go further than that and do better than that and the fact that he has talked to...in recent weeks about something else (inaudible)

may be a recognition that they realize there just isn't enough because that's an issue that is...

GRAY: Well then why isn't it in the green paper?

WOOD: I guess you better ask him about that.

GRAY: ...Just wondering if either of you have a sense of how much of this is really his?

CLARKSON: I don't know what went on in the policy paper drafting process, it obviously went through a number of drafts and it went through a number of postponements since we were expecting it in February.

WOOD: And I gather from what we've heard that that certainly was because of a lot of conflict and rolling back and forth, so it could be that this was emasculated at various stages. But you know we've seen much worse in that regard in the past and much of what was in the Trudeau foreign policy reviews was far worse in a sense because they had all that compromise built in but they came out as finished products. At least some of this can be excused when you say, well this is questioned and there's supposed to be a process to follow and if Canadians really care very strongly about some of these issues, they can be heard.

GRAY: Stephen Clarkson you're obviously not as optimistic.

CLARKSON: Well I feel, no, that I would be more optimistic because I have a great regard for Mr. Clark as a politician with integrity and real intelligence and some experience, I would be a lot more encouraged if he was still commanding a department that had a primary role in the political process but that is no longer the case. And I would be more encouraged if the Prime Minister hadn't on several occasions made it clear that he didn't think much of Mr. Clark's opinion and the positions he's taken. So we're talking about a discussion paper put out by a minister who's unfortunately been usurped in the political process. So I think it will hopefully generate some public discussion with the House of Commons committee that's going to deal with it but I wouldn't expect actually to lead to substantial policy changes.

GRAY: Gentlemen, thank you both very much.

WOOD: Okay, thank you.

CLARKSON: Okay Elizabeth.

GRAY: Bye-bye.

CBC: Bernie Wood is Director of the North-South Institute;  
Stephen Clarkson is a political economist.

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PROGRAM: EMISSION:	COMMENTARY	DATE: May 15, 1985 DATE:
NETWORK / STATION: RESEAU / STATION:	CBC - RADIO	TIME: 8:15 AM HEURE:

COMMENT ON FOREIGN POLICY GREEN PAPER

CBC : The discussion paper on Canada's foreign policy tabled in the House of Commons yesterday by External Affairs Minister Joe Clark is provoking a mixed reaction from interested observers. John Segler is a professor of international studies at Carleton University. He says that Clark's paper tends to take a view of Canada's role in the world that is much too narrow.

SELGER : The title of the Canadian government's new green paper on foreign policy, Competitiveness and Security, tells much about its content. We are far from the vision of the Pearson internationalist years when Canadian diplomats played an active role in a host of international institutions devoted to the development of a viable international community. The focus in this paper is on Canadian national interests. And they are only defined as maintaining Canada's economic competitiveness in world markets and in enhancing our security by strengthening our military commitments. The international environment is depicted as unfriendly and increasingly threatening.



The causes listed are many. Increased rivalry among the world's leading industrial powers, the loss of our privileged nature resource position due to third world competition, Moscow's relentless military buildup in pursuit of its ideological and political goals and the weakness of the U.N. due to changes in membership.

In this view Canada is on the decline and we will need to marshall our limited resources to concentrate on policies which advance our national interest.

Among the world's regions, priority is given to Europe because that is where east and west meet in direct military confrontation. But the paper suggests greater emphasis be placed on protection of Canadian sovereignty. The hidden agenda throughout this document seems to be the strengthening of North America to face the threats of an increasingly hostile world overseas.

In the arguments for closer economic integration with the United States emphasis is on the need to move quickly in order to offset growing protectionism in the United States.

This stated aim of the document is to promote discussion and debate on Canadian priorities in adapting to an increase in the turbulent international environment. The document is full of tables and summaries and provides much useful information on Canadian performance internationally. It is tough-minded and pessimistic.

Will the paper stimulate debate and promote discussion? How motivational is the idea of Canada's self-

interest as the principle criteria for defining policy? Will fear of falling behind promote greater activity and effort? The document argues that we have lost influence because we have declined in world economic and military power. But influence to accomplish what? Many observers have criticized the Reagan administration for its loss of vision in stressing American self-interest at the expense of leadership of a broader international community. Are key middle powers such as Canada, which have been committed to a vision of an international community, now to abandon their efforts, to build a coalition of the reasonable which is even more necessary in an increasingly fragmented world? We can only hope that answers to these fundamental questions will not be lost in the coming debate on the green paper. For Commentary, this is John Sigler in Ottawa.

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FPR-0820

TRANSCRIPTS/TRANSCRIPTIONS

TO/A Distribution DATE May22, 1985

FROM/DE Press Office/Service de Presse

SUBJECT/  
SUJET (A) Green Paper

PROGRAM(S)/  
EMISSION(S) (A) CBC - World at Six - May 15

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CBC: The Federal Government is under attack for its Green Paper on foreign policy. The Opposition is boycotting a special Commons-Senate Committee set up to study the Green Paper. The Government says the Opposition is abdicating its responsibility in the parliamentary process. More from Ken McCreath.

KM: The Green Paper is being called the Dick & Jane Primer. It uses simple language to talk about the complex problems of foreign affairs. By sending it off to a Committee the Government delayed possible recommendations for a year. But before the year is up, the Government is expected to make decisions about trade, particularly freer trade with the Americans and about President Reagan's controversial Star Wars Defence System. Liberal External Affairs critic Jean Chrétien called the process a farce. Deputy Prime Minister Erik Nielsen prefers to call it a unique process.

EN: What the Honourable Member has said, is that they are adopting, as the official opposition, the (inaudible) abdication of responsibility, which is to be expected from the NDP, mainly the abdication of various responsibilities to participate in the parliamentary process.

CBC: Mr. Nielsen handled all the opposition questions because the Prime Minister and External Affairs Minister Clark weren't in the House today. At one point, NDP critic Pauline Jewett accused Mr. Nielsen of being as insulting as he could possibly be.

EN: I personally didn't mean to be insulting (inaudible). I thought that in my normally abrasive fashion, I was being kind in responding to her questions. She

really should see me when I'm insulting.

CBC: Liberal leader John Turner says decisions on trade and Star Wars will come long before the Special Committee reports.

JT: Therefore, on the two most immediate issues, one on defence and one on trade, our relationship with the United States, this Committee obviously is irrelevant and we don't intend to participate in irrelevant hearings across the country and commit in effect a fraud on the Canadian people that the two most important subjects on the agenda are not even open for discussion on this Committee.

KM: Mr. Turner called the committee review process useless. The NDP's Ian Deans uses different adjectives. He says it's a lame duck committee. Ken McCreath, CBC News, Ottawa.



R. Dodd  
Media Relations Officer

UNCLASSIFIED/SANS COTENUMBER/ FPR-0822  
NUMÉROTRANSCRIPTS/TRANSCRIPTIONS

TO/A Distribution DATE May 22, 1985  
FROM/DE Press Office/Service de Presse  
SUBJECT/ Green Paper - Parliamentary Committee  
SUJET  
PROGRAM(S)/ CBC - World At Six  
EMISSION(S) May 16

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CBC: A threatened boycott by the two federal Opposition parties may be crumbling. Both the Liberals and the New Democrats were refusing to take part in a special committee review of Canada's foreign policy. They didn't like the fact that some controversial foreign policy decisions would have already been made by the government before the committee could make its report. But after a round of negotiations across the Commons floor today, it looks as though the Opposition is wavering. Ken McCreigh has this report.

KM: The government released its Green Paper on foreign policy earlier this week. It's been condemned by the Opposition. The paper suggests a special Parliamentary committee hold hearings on foreign policy and report back in a year. The Opposition was upset because the committee wouldn't make recommendations until after the government made decisions on things like the American Star Wars proposal or on free trade. The Opposition was after External Affairs Minister, Joe Clark, again today. Then, NDP House Leader, Ian Deans, came up with an offer.

ID: Will the Secretary of State, take out of his report, the question of Star Wars, refer it now to an all-party committee with a reporting date on the date on which Parliament returns in September. If he will do that, we will participate.

KM: It was an offer Mr. Clark couldn't refuse.

SSEA: Certainly I would have no objection at all to the committee giving priority to questions on which the government has to make decisions quickly so that we will have the benefit of the advice of the people of Canada and the Parliament of Canada before we have to take those decisions. I would have no objection to that.

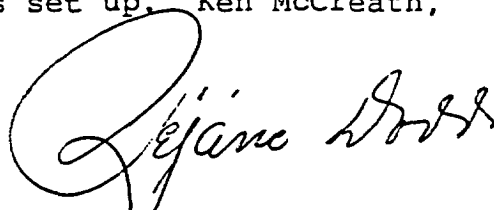
KM: Mr. Clark needs the Opposition. He can't set up a special Commons committee without all-party approval. Last month the Americans gave NATO allies six weeks to make up their minds about taking part in Star Wars. Mr. Clark rejects that deadline.

SSEA: I'm saying that we have to make a decision sometime in the next three to four months on one aspect of the question: the invitation from the Americans. It would be very helpful to us to receive the views of Canadians as one element on which we base our judgement.

KM: Mr. Clark doesn't promise he'll wait for an interim committee report before answering the Americans. That's what NDP Leader Ed Broadbent wants him to do.

EB: And if Mr. Clark has said that outside the House, is prepared to state it again tomorrow in the House of Commons to make it very clear that that's government policy, we would certainly see that as genuine progress and we would participate.

KM: The Opposition apparently feels the boycott was a little strong; after all, the Liberals and the New Democrats have points they want to make about foreign policy and they can't unless the committee they threaten to ignore, is set up. Ken McCreath, CBC News, Ottawa.



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PROGRAM: AS IT HAPPENS  
EMISSION:

DATE: MAY 16, 1985  
DATE:

NETWORK / STATION:  
RESEAU / STATION: CBC/CBO

TIME: 6:30 PM  
HEURE:

FEDERAL GREEN PAPER ON FOREIGN POLICY

CBC: Canada is open for business and now Canadian foreign policy is up for discussion. External Affairs Minister Joe Clark issued invitations to a public debate in the form of his discussion paper on foreign policy but if reaction in the House of Commons and in the press is any measure, Clark's Green Paper is getting poor reviews. We reached External Affairs Minister Joe Clark in Ottawa.

ELIZABETH GRAY: Mr. Clark, people don't seem to be terribly excited about your Green Paper, are you disappointed? Do you want people to be excited about foreign policy?

JOE CLARK: Well, I'm not sure who you're speaking of as being not excited. There've been some critical reviews and that's in the nature of things. What I want people to be, with regard to foreign policy, is involved. I think we found, with the response of the African famine that there is a much broader interest than the traditional interest in foreign policy and what I'm trying to do with this process and make full use of the...if

you will, the traditional foreign policy community but also reach beyond them.

GRAY:               When you talk about the African famine and the response to Ethiopia, it's a good example because it was astonishing, one gathers it astonished the government and everybody else, that response. Those were ordinary Canadians, a lot of them unemployed who were giving a lot of money. That's what I mean about the Green Paper, it doesn't give much encouragement in its language and a sense of passion to those kinds of people. There's even an implication that, you know, foreign aid dollars can only go so far. It's a bit of a downer.

CLARK:              That's your interpretation. Certainly I did not seek to put out a paper that would inflame passions. I sought to put out a paper that would engage debate. The African famine was extraordinary in part because it did directly engage the passions of people in a way that they could do something about. The challenge in foreign policy is to have that combination where passions are aroused and there is a possibility of practical action.

GRAY:               Do you suppose that perhaps expectations for this were higher and in fact people may think that what you're looking at is not much beyond the A, B, C's...I'll give you an example on South Africa for instance. The Green Paper asks, is foreign investment part of the problem or part of the solution? On the OAS should we join...where does Canada stand on this issue? Those are kind of questions that have been around a long time and



they go no further.

CLARK: That's the point. They've been around a long time in the interested community, they have not been around a long time in the community that has not been engaged in foreign policy discussion and has not had the sense that it could count. I talked earlier about the Canadian foreign policy tradition in terms of what was done during the Pearson years. That, by the way, was done step-by-step not dramatically or in one swoop. There's another Canadian tradition. That's the Canadian tradition of very active, direct citizen involvement. Our missionaries, our traitors, our business people, a large, large proportion of Canadians have been active, well before there was a Department of External Affairs, in countries around the world, particularly in developing countries. I think that somehow in the last few years that sense of the interest of the ordinary people, the people who contribute to collections in churches, that interest has tended to get lost a little bit.

GRAY: The people who, you know, who belong to church groups and who go to meetings and the people you were just talking about, the grassroots community who are interested in foreign policy issues...

CLARK: Who can become interested.

GRAY: But a lot of them at that level already are and for example on the question of South Africa, and it's not a question of changing that government, you know, that

country's government will change or not by itself, but I would think a lot of them are asking why it takes so long to formulate guidelines for investors in that country.

CLARK: Yes but I think that it's also precisely in the community...in the church community, say, that is interested in South Africa, it is worth...very much worth making the point that the paper makes, that there's an open question as to whether investment is part of the problem or part of the solution because that is a very real question. There is a quick, almost unthinking answer, which is to say that if investment comes from this country we can control it, we can employ embargoes and those sorts of things. The world knows that things don't work that way and what I want to do is use the occasion of the public hearings to have serious consideration of, for example, with South Africa, what options we have other than the traditional prescriptions regarding what Canadian companies should do there.

GRAY: But what, you know, why should Bata Shoe pay workers in Quasulu(?) less than the acknowledged South African poverty line and be subsidized by the South African government to do it?

CLARK: That's not the question Elizabeth.

GRAY: It's one of a lot of them.

CLARK: Ah yeah but the major question, the elemental question

there is what kind of policy should we be pursuing which we ask Bata Shoe to adhere, that is going to in fact make progress against apartheid? And we're not out to get Bata Shoe, we're out to get apartheid, that's the issue and what I want to try to have...what one of the results I hope that will come from this process of public debate across the country is that these questions in all of their amplitude, in all of their complexity, will be discussed more broadly than they have been.

GPAY:                There's an invitation here for public debate and the Green Paper takes two themes as key, one is trade and the other is security, and then it turns out that they're already being shaped elsewhere by other ministers. Now it's hard for people to take this invitation seriously if indeed that's what's happening and it's, as you well know, disturbed a lot of the members of the opposition.

CLARK:              Well, again our evidence is that people are taking the invitation seriously, people are asking for copies of the report in large numbers and indicating their interest and taking part. The two opposition parties, at least up until... their positions seemed to soften this afternoon, we're going to boycott the hearings.

GRAY:                Has that changed now or is it clear?

CLARK:              ...So, I mean I did my best in Question Period today, I asked them why they were acting in a way

that denies the Canadian public the right to take part in foreign policy decisions. What's at issue here is whether or not there will be an influence on questions regarding the Strategic Defence Initiative and others and my position has always been very clear - I want to hear from Canadians on the Strategic Defence Initiative before we have to make the first of the series of decisions we have to make which has to do with accepting the US invitation to research. I don't propose to delay that decision until the committee report is in a year from now.

GRAY:               Can we just look very briefly at the whole process which is more complex than just this Green Paper? How is this paper going to mesh with all the other policy reviews and as far as I can tell there are about five but I may have the number wrong, headed by different ministers, different cabinet committees?

CLARK:              Your question has to do with the interconnection of events and I suppose also with...the question is to whether we are asking this committee to look into matters which are already closed, put them...we take them in order. With regard to what's already decided, what we've decided on the defence and strategic side is that we think it is prudent that the Americans should carry out research into a field where we believe the Soviets are carrying out research, that's all that's been decided so far. We have received an invitation from the Americans to take part in that research, we're considering that, that'll happen in the next three to four months. Then, five or six years from now, assuming that the hypothetical proposal of SDI turns out to make sense,

there may or may not be major strategic questions for Canada to decide. Those decisions will be taken well after the report of this..,of the joint committee that I'm trying to get established. So there is in fact a wide range of opportunities for Canadians to be involved in the large number of questions that are open on the Strategic Defence Initiative. Same thing on trade.

GRAY:                 Just on that Mr. Clark, it may even be a curiosity on the trade, one of the options that the Green Paper proposes is some sort of comprehensive trade agreement with the US. Hard on the heels of your Green Paper we have the western premiers coming out in marvelous and unusual agreement on a common market trade arrangement, is this a coincidence? Did Peter Lougheed have an inside track or what? Is it the same kind of thing?

CLARK:                As far as I know it's a coincidence and if there is agreement between a group of premiers and a federal policy, long may it endure. But, no, so far as I know, that is simply a coincidence. The position of some of those premiers is not surprising, is not new. The fact that there's a consensus is important. And I guess the point I want to make is that it comes back to the fact the world won't wait for us. There are on the trade questions some clocks ticking. We can't...and to put at its coldest, if we simply said, no we're not going to make any trade decision for two years, none at all, if we said that, the...what that would cost us is quite literally thousands of Canadian jobs because there would be US protectionist action brought in that would affect our access to those markets. So that's the pressure that we're operating under.

GRAY: Mr. Clark, thank you very much.

CLARK: Thanks very much.

GRAY: Good-bye.

CLARK: Bye.

CBC: External Affairs Minister Joe Clark spoke to us  
from Ottawa.

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PROGRAM:: MORNINGSIDE  
EMISSION:

DATE: May 17, 1985  
DATE:

NETWORK / STATION: CBC - RADIO  
RESEAU / STATION:

TIME: 9:05 AM  
HEURE:

DISCUSSION OF GREEN PAPER

CBC : To Ottawa now and our regular Friday report.  
Jeff Sallotte and Mike Duffy are in our studio there. We lead into the green paper, by Joe Clark - it hasn't received a very warm response, has it Jeff?

SALLOTTE : Well that wasn't one of the exciting things because it failed to mention kind of the two major foreign policy items on the Mulroney government's agenda. That is trade with the United States, or closer trade links, and the whole question of Canadian participation or not to participate in the research on star wars initiative. So, Joe Clark once again is an External Affairs Minister who is finding his position being undercut because - well first off, the trade issue is being dealt with right within the Prime Minister's Office. He considers it a very high priority, Mulroney does, and so his people are dealing with it instead of the people at External Affairs. The star wars things, of course, is being handled by Erik Neilsen over at the Department of National Defence. So Joe Clark has this green paper that deals with trade with all kinds of other places but not our

largest trading partner.

CBC :                    There is nothing concrete about star wars in the paper. But just this morning there are stories that Mr. Clark is now saying that he wants Canadians to contribute to the discussion over the project.

SALLOTTE :                Yeah. I wonder if this is Joe's way of trying to get back in on the action on this. The two opposition parties have said they were going to boycott the special committee on foreign policy review because it didn't deal with star wars. Now yesterday Clark was saying that we do want to hear from Canadians, the average Canadian on this and that the appropriate forum would be this committee. But we can't have the committee if the opposition parties don't participate. I think that is probably a bit of a red herring, I mean, with their massive majority and all kinds of other vehicles open to the government they can get a good pulse, good public pulse on this any way.

CBC :                    Mike, do you think the opposition parties will now take part in the hearings?

DUFFY :                    Oh, I think that the door is open to a compromise. And I think there is a bit of a red herring here. The fact is is that we have a foreign policy review because the government needed things to put into the Throne Speech last fall so a review of National Defence and foreign policy were thrown into the mix. But by the time any item in this town comes through the



bureaucratic grinder it comes out as being a kind of pabulum. That is what we have seen here. The fact is that it is in the opposition's interest to take part and it is in the interest of all of those groups that are opposed to closer trade relations or closer defence relations with the United States to appear before these committees. And in fact it seems to me from discussions with people close to the Prime Minister the issue for Joe Clark and I think in a way he has been set up on this is the fact that where other contentious issues have come up which could embarrass the government, for example the task force on public broadcasting will hold private hearings. It is not being done by a parliamentary committee, it is not being done in a way that those who are great supporters of public broadcasting will have an opportunity to make their views known in public - it will be done in private.

CFC :                   Although the co-chairman, Jerry Caplan, has said that he will hear briefs from any Canadian who wants to submit one.

DUFFY :                   Absolutely - of course they will hear from anyone who wants to, but what I am saying is it will be done in private and so that there will not be the massive news coverage that you will get at a Commons-Senate committee on foreign relations in which every interest group that is opposed to what the government plans to do will have an opportunity to appear in public. So Joe has got a political...the Prime Minister's Office is saying, holy cats, why do we now have to go ahead with this.

They have put themselves in the corner and they are now sort of blaming Clark for it, which was - to my mind it was all generated by the Throne Speech. So they are saying... (inaudible)...hearings will be done in private, with Joe - one, he can't get first agreement on the committee and two, when he does it is going to give mostly the opponents of the government's proposals an opportunity for a public forum.

CBC :                   Okay, a decision on star wars could take three or four months. It just leaves me wondering whatever happened to that 60 day deadline.

DUFFY :                 Well that was unrealistic. Reagan's people backed off right away.

SALLOTTE :             ...it was, all of the western European countries said look, we can't decide something like this. And as a matter of fact I think now that we are hearing from countries like France which have said they aren't interested at all and the British Foreign Minister raising serious questions about it - I would not preclude the possibility that in the final analysis Canada would back out on this thing.

DUFFY :                 You have to remember in this town it takes months to decide the smallest kinds of issues. And so the opposition is having a bit of a political field day going after Clark on this. The fact is these decisions take a long time while the public hearings are under way - there is absolutely no

reason and with this government especially paying so much attention to the polls, there is every reason to believe that in fact they will pay a lot of attention to what the public says to this committee. So that those who want to stop this sort of thing in fact, and the opposition parties, have their very best shot at doing it in the committee rather than not participating at all.

CBC :                   Jeff, you touched on this just a bit earlier the fact that Mr. Clark and External has lost some ground to the Departments of Trade and Defence. Is the paper this week do you think going to do anything to put them back in the mainstream of policy debate?

SALLOTTÉ :               No, I mean it has generated a lot of attention. There is no doubt that Joe Clark would like to keep the attention focused on his own portfolio and his areas. But because, you know, the opposition parties aren't dumb. They can read this thing as well as anybody else. They know that the real meat is not there, that it is elsewhere. So I don't think we are going to see this as the vehicle for Joe Clark re-emerging.

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SUBJECT/ Foreign Affairs Review - Star Wars  
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PROGRAM(S)/ CBC Radio News  
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SSEA BOOK

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Quinn (2)

CBC: The dispute over the U.S. military project commonly known as Star Wars is still blocking the federal government's attempt to set up an all-party committee to study foreign affairs. The Minister for External Affairs says three months is plenty of time for Canadians to reach a consensus on whether to take part in the research program into the use of weapons in space, but the Opposition isn't convinced and it won't lift its threat to boycott the committee. Ken McCreath reports.

KM: Today was a lot like other days have been since the government released its Green Paper on foreign affairs. NDP Leader Ed Broadbent went after External Affairs Minister Joe Clark.

EB: Why doesn't the government request the proposed committee to make an interim report on the Star Wars proposals of its mandate before the government itself makes a decision on Star Wars?

KM: The Green Paper proposed a special Commons-Senate committee to study foreign affairs. It won't report until a year from now, long after the government makes up its mind about the American Star Wars research program and on free trade. Both Opposition parties have threatened to boycott the committee.

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SSEA: My question to the leader of the New Democratic Party is will the NDP stop boycotting the joint committee, will they stop opposing the right of Canadians to be heard on the Strategic Defence Initiative.

KM: The Opposition will go along with the special committee study if the government orders an interim report on Star Wars by September. Mr. Clark isn't about to dictate to the committee if it's set up.

SSEA: If the committee is formed and if the hearings are held, and if there are three months of public participation which I am proposing, a consensus will emerge before we have to make the decision. That's very clear.

KM: Something else is very clear. Mr. Broadbent won't lift the threatened boycott.

EB: We won't participate unless there is a commitment from the government that it will accept a report, an interim report, on Star Wars before it makes its decision. Otherwise it's a whole sham.

KM: Mr. Clark hoped the whole dispute will die down after the long weekend. Considering the mood of the Opposition, that appears to be a faint hope indeed. Ken McCreath, CBC News, Ottawa.



Réjane Dodd  
Media Relations Officer

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PROGRAM: THE HOUSE  
EMISSION:

DATE: MAY 18, 1985.  
DATE:

NETWORK / STATION: THE HOUSE  
RESEAU / STATION:

TIME: 9:10 AM.  
HEURE:

GREENPAPER ON FOREIGN POLICY

CBC: First the Green Paper on Foreign Policy.

CLARK: I have tabled today in the House of Commons a Green Paper entitled, "Competitiveness and Security".

CBC: And so came forth Joe Clarks' Green Paper on Foreign Policy. Readers of its forty-three pages will learn - quote - "conflict dominates the politics of the Middle East". And, quote - "Africa is a vast and diverse continent". And of Canada, the paper states - quote - "We are an Atlantic Nation we are a Pacific Nation, we are an Arctic Nation". As you can tell, the Green Paper is mostly a collection of resounding platitudes. But the point of it is, in fairness, not to inform, but to ask questions. Questions for the Canadian public to answer about what kind of foreign policy they want their country to have. However, while the debate goes on, the government will be making significant foreign policy decisions, as usual, including whether to get involved in Star Wars.

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CLARK:

If there were no public process of discussion, there would be a decision by the government in any event

with regard to the invitation for the Americans to participate in the strategic defence initiative study, so what is new is not the decision, but the fact that Canadians will be allowed to, allowed encourage, given a vehicle, to take an active and decisive role in discussion of Canadian foreign policy.

CBC:                   The Opposition says why have this report asking questions and a Parliamentary Committee trying to find out the answers, if government decisions about them will be made first. The NDP's Pauline Jewett, to Deputy Prime Minister, Erik Nielsen.

JEWETT:               Why bother having a special committee, spending a year discussing the matters upon which the government has already made a decision. Why bother? Why put that enormous expense on the back of the taxpayer when the government has decided on it's defence policy or will by fall with its White Paper. When it's decided on its trade policy, or will by fall, according to the Quebec City summit. When it's decided, or about to decide on Star Wars, will the Minister tell me, why bother?

NIELSEN:              Those decisions have not, in fact, been taken, and again, I would encourage the Honourable Member to approach her task as a Member of Parliament with specific responsibilities in the area of foreign policy in a positive way and participate in the parliamentary process by participating in the work of that special committee.

CBC:                   And John Turner was after Joe Clark on a similar

line, about the free trade question.

TURNER:           What is the point of asking this country whether we want free trade with the United States, as one of the options, when the Prime Minister and the President of the United States, have already signed a joint declaration at Quebec City, moving us towards freer trade. I mean, does the document really mean anything? Which is the valid document? The communique of the Prime Minister and the President, or this document, or both or neither?

CLARK:           Mr. Speaker, the Right Honourable Leader of the Opposition, might not want to hear from the people of Canada. We do want Canadians to take part in this process.

CBC:           Initially the Liberals and the NDP said they wouldn't even participate on the parliamentary committee unless Star Wars was the first subject up and that the government waited for their report before making a decision on whether to get involved. Joe Clark hasn't exactly promised that, but he has left the door open.

CLARK:           Certainly I would have no objection at all to the committee giving priority to questions on which the government has to make decisions quickly so that we will have the benefit of the advice of the people of Canada and the Parliament of Canada, before we have to take those decisions. I would have no objection to that.



CBC: So, that's where things stood when Mr. Clark and I talked in his office in the historic East Block on Parliament Hill.

CBC: Well, Mr. Clark, the Green Paper has certainly had, you know, terrible reviews at least, around here. Have we missed something?

CLARK: I suppose it depends who you talk to Michael, whether it's had terrible reviews. I was surprised at the attitude of the two Opposition parties and I trust that they will move back from that and not let themselves be caught in a position where they're denying the public right to discuss foreign policy. I wanted to put out a vehicle for the public discussion of international policy and I also wanted to make the case, which I think we have, that you can no longer treat international political questions separately from international economic questions.

CBC: But I know there are things that you hold very dearly, I mean questions of human rights and refugee policy and so on, and they weren't in the report, I mean Jean Chretien says it has no guts and where the things that you feel strongly about, when you read that?

CLARK: One thing, I can't let this pass, what would you expect Jean Chretien to say. I mean, there was going to be a political response by the two parties and I am much less surprised by colourful language than I am by their threat for a while to kill the process. I come back to the fact that

we wanted to make a point drawing attention to the economic realities that underly Canadian, that have to underly any successful foreign policy. Where are the questions that are of particular interest to me, er, there's certainly occasion for them to be discussed, there's occasion for refugee policy to be discussed. For relations with the Commonwealth to be discussed. All of those things. There is also the reality, as we've been saying in the House of Commons, that while the review is going on, so is policy going on. So is decision making going on, that has to happen. And I suppose issues that I feel strongly about have come up already. The broad popular response to the African famine has come up already and we've been able to manage it in a way that I think showed some affectiveness. The, I didn't choose to have the Americans impose an embargo on Nicaragua, but it demonstrates what I trust will be an even-ended approach to questions where our interest and American interests diverge, critical questions where they diverge.

CBC: As you say, the decision making does go on and I presume the decision making will go on on Canadian involvement in Star Wars research before this task force process winds up. So, why don't you go along with the Opposition's suggestion to turn this subject over to the special committee first, let them report back, perhaps before the government makes it's decisions. Is that a suggestion that you could live with?

CLARK: I think that I've proposed a process that does not have the government interfering in the work of the committee and yet allows us to have the benefit of advice on research in SDI, before we have to make a decision. And that also doesn't

bind the government to artificial time frames.

CBC:                   You've travelled recently at some length in the Soviet Union and, as a result of that experience, has your view changed, developed, at all, on Canadian participation in the SDI research?

CLARK:                 We, my delegation, raised questions in the Soviet about Soviet research, which we have reason to believe is going on and we put the questions in ways that raised specific kinds of research. They did not deny them. That leads me to believe that they are going on, so if anything, that adds to my view of the prudence of the Americans being prepared to be effective in fields where the Soviets are preparing themselves to be effective. We should take a cold hard look at this and make an educated, an educated decision on our timetable.

CBC:                   It'll be our timetable, as you say in deciding an approach to Nicaragua and the American embargo. I thought at the beginning that you were taking exception to the American embargo, and then I thought by the end of the week maybe your position had softened a bit on that.

CLARK:                 I take exception to the American embargo. I think it is a mistake. I called officials back at the beginning of this week and had some detailed discussions with them about what the range of options were. Bearing in mind that our purpose is not to anger the Americans, I don't like what they've done, but if we've learned one lesson it is that the way to at

least cause them to reconsider what they're doing if we disapprove of it, is not to go out of our way to anger them, and if our actions that we take for other reasons on their merit, have the effect of angering them, we live with that, but there's no point of going out of our way and sticking a finger in their eye. So we have to look at what there is to do in Nicaragua.

CBC: . How are you finding the portfolio itself? Of course last time you were in government you were Prime Minister and had the final say on everything. In External do you find it a bit theoretical and how much do you feel you have to look over your shoulder to the Prime Minister's office?

CLARK: I don't find it theoretical at all. There are some concepts that I have had to become acquainted with in the last six or seven months and that happens to anybody whatever portfolio you move into. That isn't a choice, that isn't a factor of portfolio, that's a factor of being in office and not in opposition. I don't have to look over my shoulder to the Prime Minister I have to bear in mind always that he is the Prime Minister and that now, as in 1979, it's the Prime Minister who has the right and the duty to ultimately decide. I believe that I have a lot of flexibility in the portfolio. When initiatives have been proposed on which I had a dissenting view, my dissent has been fully taken account of and I'm, I tried to have a situation in 79, where my Minister, Flora MacDonald, had a lot of latitude. I have as much latitude as Flora had.

CNC: Joe Clark, Minister of External Affairs, thank you  
for being on The House.

CLARK: Thank you.

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PROGRAM: SUNDAY MORNING  
EMISSION:

DATE: MAY 19, 1985  
DATE:

NETWORK / STATION: CBC/CBO  
RESEAU / STATION:

TIME: 9:00 AM.  
HEURE:

GREEN PAPER

CBC: In forty-three pages and fifty-six questions, the Canadian government this week unveiled a foreign policy discussion paper. The Opposition immediately denounced it as simplistic. Calling it a "Dick and Jane" primer. The paper confirmed the already established thrust of Conservative government thinking toward closer trade and defence ties with Washington. A foreign policy shaped by economic self interest. In our Ottawa studio we are joined by two retired Canadian diplomats. George Grandy is a former ambassador who served in seven postings, including Norway, South Africa and Sri Lanka. John Halstead is a former ambassador with six overseas postings to his credit, including Bonne, Brussels, Tokyo and London.

Gentlemen, this discussion paper asks many more questions than it answers. What kind of shift in Canadian foreign policy do you think it indicates. Mr. Grandy.

GRANDY:

I think there's a bias there in favour of the status quo, if you wish, with a little more quo

if that means Washington.

CBC:                   And, Mr. Halstead.

HALSTEAD:            I think there is a difference on emphasis certainly with regard to defence. I see here more importance given to defence and a direct relationship between defence and the search for more effective influence in the world. I think that the emphasis on trade is not really new in itself, but there are perhaps two new important features in the way it's treated here. One is the course with relation to the Canada/U.S. free trade agreement, that is new, and I think there's also a new feature in the connection between trade and the domestic elements of competitiveness. Productivity, R & D, investment, technological education and so on. This I see as a more explicit tying of these elements together.

CBC:                   By making these elements explicit, Mr. Grandy, is the government making a salesman out of Canadian diplomats?

GRANDY:              Well, as far as I'm concerned, Canadian diplomats of any consequence were always salesmen. I remember, oh, ten, twelve years ago when I was in Norway, I spent a great deal of my time selling twin otter aircraft.

CBC:                   And were you successful at it?

GRANDY:              Yes.

HALSTEAD: Well I agree with that too. I think ambassadors have always been salesmen. Traditionally they sold their government's foreign and defence policies to the government to which they were accredited. Now-a-days they are selling much more than foreign and defence policies. In fact, they're selling national products across the whole spectrum of national life. Economic, scientific, technological, cultural and they're selling it to a wider audience. Not only to the government to which they are accredited, but to the public at large and to the media.

CBC: The government's discussion paper seems to push Canada closer yet to the U.S. orbit, economically and militarily. Mr. Grandy, do you think that the government is perhaps weakening Canada's role and particularly reputation, among other nations?

GRANDY: I don't think so, no. If we are to be closer to the United States, whatever that means, I think that will be viewed by any other sensible government as a natural thing for a country in Canada's position to do.

HALSTEAD: I don't have any problem at all with the proposition that the U.S. is, and will remain, our most important ally and partner by far and this complex relationship requires careful management. I think what bothers me is, first the psychological effect on Canadians of living in the shadow of the United States, then the trend toward doing more and more of our business with the United States, our total business with the United States and then the lack of leverage because of the disparity of power and



I don't think the Green Paper really comes to grips with these problems. To suggest that free trade with the United States is a good idea, but it doesn't come up with solutions to the problems which would be created by reducing diversification of our trade still further and thus cutting down our room for manoeuvre.

GRANDY: But John, surely a paper of this sort, you know what a Green Paper is, we've both written bits of them down through the years. A Green Paper is not supposed to come up with solutions.

HALSTEAD: No it isn't George, but I think it should come up with an analysis of the pros and cons of the various options that it's putting out and I don't feel it's doing that adequately.

GRANDY: It's not always possible is it? They're supposed to have a year long review here, which incidentally, I think is far too long a period for a review of any sort.

HALSTEAD: Well, it may be, but I don't feel that the analysis of the pros and cons of the options is sufficiently detailed I must say. And I think this is going to prove to be a disadvantage to the paper.

CBC: Well both of you gentlemen in your long and distinguished careers as diplomats in the service of Canada, have seen the Canadian foreign policy role described as that of an honest broker, a helpful fixer and so on, do you feel that this Green

Paper and perhaps this government intend to divert Canada from that tradition?

HALSTEAD: I think that what's more likely to harm Canada's role as an honest broker or a middle man is any perception and I don't suggest there is, but any perception first that we may be playing someone else's game rather than our own, and second that we may not be pulling our weight or playing the game in the groupings to which we belong. In any case, I think the scope for being an honest broker and a middle man is restricted by a number of realities which we need to bear in mind. First of all we aren't neutral in the East/West equation and, therefore, we can't play a third force role in my view. I don't think we can be a mediator between the United States and Europe either, because that's not desired, but we could play a role as an interpreter.

CBC: Well gentlemen, if you could reflect back over your almost, I guess in both cases, more than thirty years of service to Canada through External Affairs, how would you say that the role of Canadian diplomacy has evolved. Mr. Grandy.

GRANDY: Well, I think it's probably more realistic now. Right after the war, as you know, I think we had an inordinate amount of power for a country of our importance in the world and that was for obvious reasons. We had emerged from the war as a very strong country economically, hardly touched at all by the war and we had some very, very able civil servants and diplomats, notably, Mike Pearson. So we did tend to get involved in anything and everything of importance at that time in the inter-

national field. Over the years we have been brought down to size if you will, partly because other countries like Germany have assumed their proper role in the post-war world and then along came the last Liberal period and I don't want to be political, but it's true, that our emphasis on NATO declined considerably in the last decade. Now I have the feeling that we are going to pull our weight a little more in the defensive field and NATO, in NORAD and I think that's all to the good.

HALSTEAD: I think there is a tendency on the part of Canadians to look back at the sort of golden age of Canadian diplomacy after the war. There were some characteristics of the Pearson years where the emphasis was on multilateral institutions and on our helpful fixer roles as a middle power in close co-operation with our war-time allies. In the Trudeau years there was a new order of priorities with a domestic orientation and an emphasis on economic and social programmes over defence and on North/South to some extent over East/West. Today the emphasis seems to be on relations with the United States and on the search for greater competitiveness and more effective influence. I'm afraid that if one puts one's priority on excellent relations with the United States rather than putting it on the effective management of the relationship in such a way as to serve the interests of both parties, one runs a risk of reducing one's bargaining power.

CBC: And do you believe that we are reducing our bargaining power with the United States in the current circumstances?

HALSTEAD: I do.

CBC: Mr. Grandy.

GRANDY: I don't. I'm a free trader from way back and I am not one of those who thinks that this will derogate from our sovereignty.

HALSTEAD: Well I didn't say derogate from our sovereignty, I said reduce our bargaining power. I'm also a free trader, but I'm in favour a free trade across, not only across the board with one country, but across the board with as many countries as possible and that I think is where the rub is. If you have free trade with a country with which you do four-fifths of your trade, then I think it stands to reason that the degree of dependence on that market becomes greater not less and that reduces your bargaining power. I think that's only logical.

CBC: Well, gentlemen, thank you very much. George Grandy, and John Halstead. Thank you for talking with us this morning.

HALSTEAD: Thank you.

GRANDY: Thank you.

CBC: Former Canadian diplomats, George Grandy and John Halstead were in our Ottawa studios.

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PROGRAM: EMISSION:                      SUNDAY REPORT	DATE: DATE:                      MAY 19, 1985.
NETWORK / STATION:    CBC/CBO RESEAU / STATION:	TIME:                      5:00 PM. HEURE:

GREEN PAPER ON FOREIGN POLICY

CBC:                      David Halton is the CBC's Chief Political Correspondent, he's in Edmonton this weekend with the Prime Minister. David, we'll get to the Prime Minister's trip to the west in just a moment, but first, on the Green Paper. Are the Liberals and New Democrats likely to carry through with their threat to boycott those hearings on foreign policy, or will there be a compromise?

HALTON:                      Well not much sign of a compromise so far, Larry. Neither of the Opposition parties are satisfied with Clark's offer to hold off a decision on the Star Wars issue until the Committee can hold public hearings on Star Wars. What in fact both the Liberals and NDP are insisting on is that the Committee must have the power to issue an interim report, not only on Star Wars, but on the prospects for new trade arrangements with the U.S. before the government makes decisions in both those areas. So far Clark has refused to grant that demand.

CBC:                      But David, aren't there some dangers in that boycott

for both the Liberals and the NDP?

HALTON: Well not only for the Opposition parties, but also in a sense for the government as well. There's a lot of high stakes brinkmanship involved, if you like, Larry. If the Opposition parties refuse to take part in this committee it won't sit at all. That will, of course, open them to charges of violating their parliamentary responsibilities and being the spoilers in the whole process. But on the government side, of course, if the committee doesn't sit, in that event the whole foreign policy review process will come crashing to a halt.

CBC: David, on the Green Paper itself, it is a short document, about forty-three pages, but apparently has caused a great deal of wrangling in the cabinet and it's been criticised both inside and outside parliament. Certainly I found a lot of disappointment Larry with the paper among independent foreign policy experts. Their view is that the paper tends to state the obvious. That Canada, for example, can no longer take for granted its prosperity or its security, rather obvious bland phrases like Canada is an Arctic, Pacific and Atlantic nation. Africa is a vast continent. Also a lot of disappointment I think among foreign policy experts that key areas of foreign policy such as the Middle East and South Africa are dismissed in a few bland paragraphs.

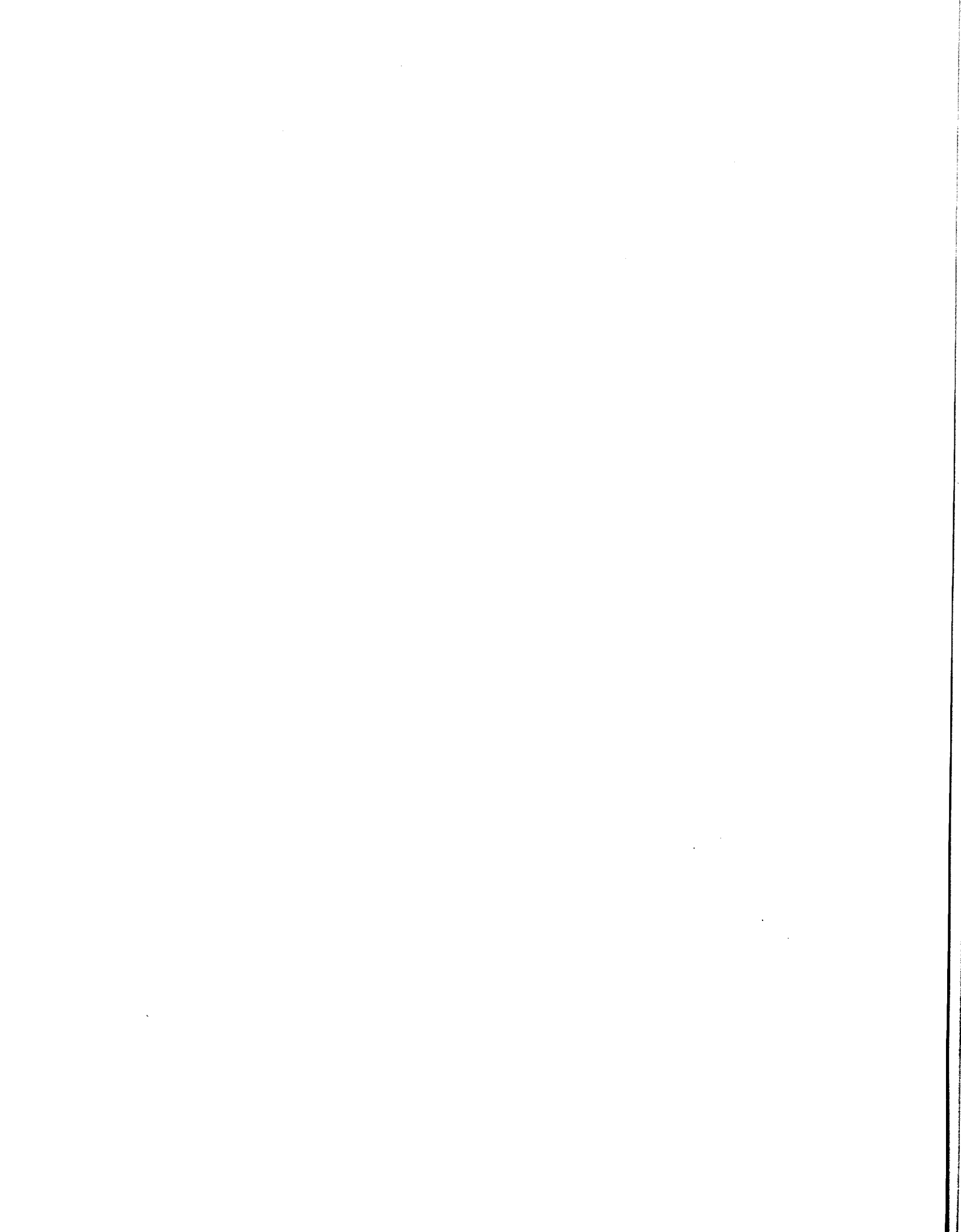
CBC: And David, the paper also seems to take Canada further away from Pierre Trudeau's vision of a country less

dependent on the United States, more in tune with the countries of the Pacific rim and more involved in the North/South dialogue?

HALTON: Well I think that's right. There's a very pro-American thrust underlining the whole document.

A lot more emphasis on the Soviet threat than any Liberal government in recent years would put into any kind of paper comparable to this. On the other hand, Larry, Clark isn't breaking with what you might call the "Pearsonian" tradition in foreign policy. Canada's role as a middle power, as a helpful fixer in world trouble spots, what you might say is that we're too over-extended in our foreign policy commitments right now, we've got to choose our priorities much more carefully.

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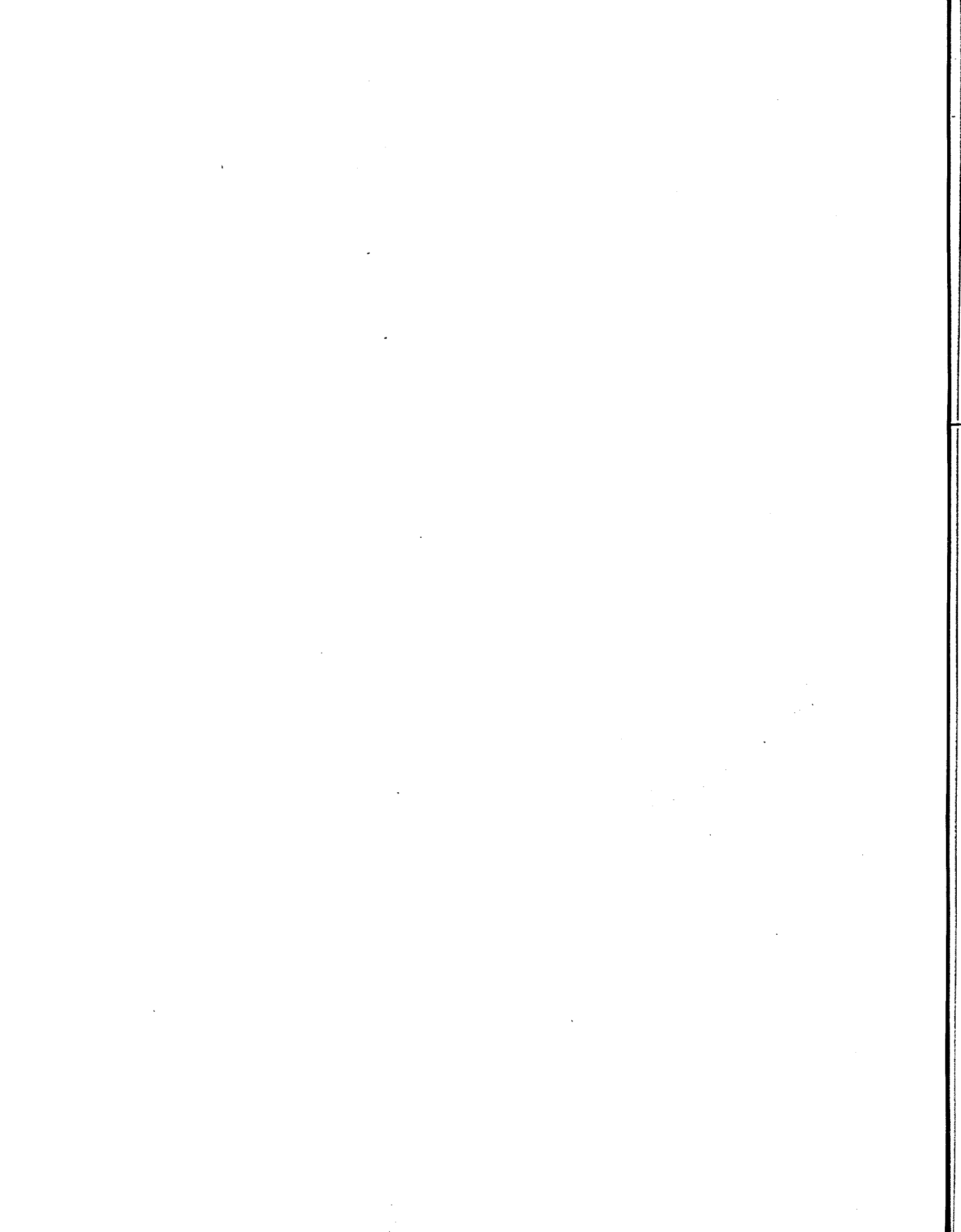


**RADIO**

B) CKBY (Radio) - Transcript

Program:

1) Commentary, May 15, 1985



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PROGRAM(S)/ CKBY Commentary - May 15, 1985  
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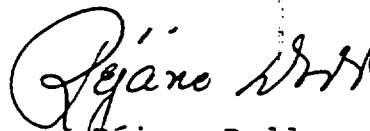
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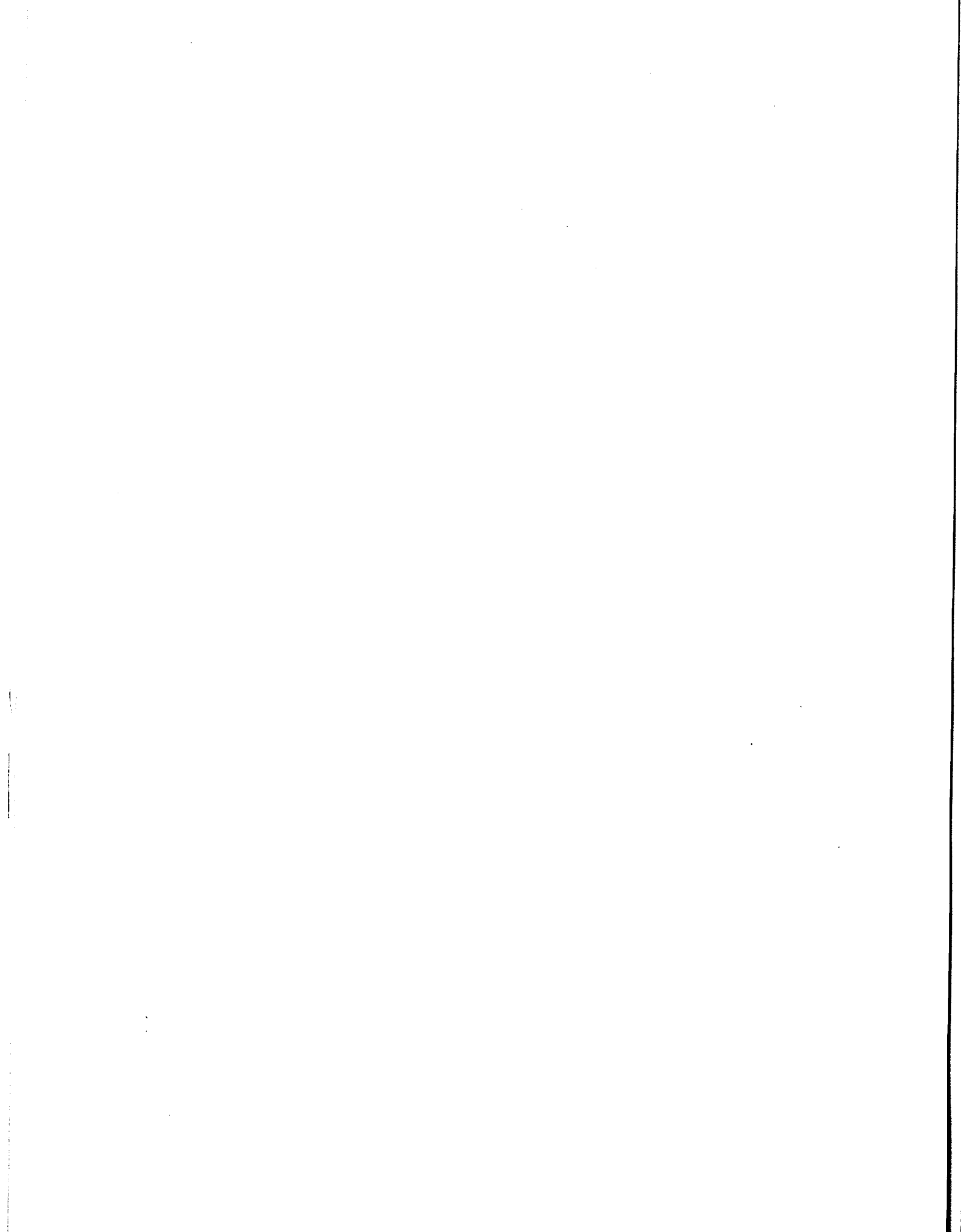
SFF CPL  
CPE CPP

CKBY: And now with his daily comment, here's Charles Lynch.

CL: If you want to know just how flatant the federal government is about the state of Canada's finances, you don't have to wait for next week's budget, you just have to read what the government says about our future foreign policy. What it says is that we are in danger of starving to death if we don't put all our efforts into the development of our foreign trade. That means exports and it means above all developing the closest possible relations with the United States. There is nothing new about that. The Trudeau government had come to the same conclusion and had turned the External Affairs Department away from diplomatic cookie pushing and into counting house diplomacy, with the accent on anything for a buck. The Mulroney government is going to enlarge that role to the point where our diplomats will almost be wearing signs on their backs reading «Buy Canadian». The biggest push will be in the United States, our main trading partner, a country who's economy keeps ours going. The trouble is it keeps a lot of other economies going to and the americans are getting fed up and preparing to impose embargoes on exports from other countries, to bring their trade into something like balance. If they do that to us, we are really in trouble and that's why we are cuddling up to Uncle Sam now, so he won't close the door on us when he does it to the rest of the world next year. Foreign Minister, Joe Clark, says he wants us to ponder these things, but there really isn't much to think about. The government is taking us down the american road and hoping for the best, hoping that there will be good news and jobs, just around that corner. I'm Charles Lynch.



Réjane Dodd  
Media Relations Officer



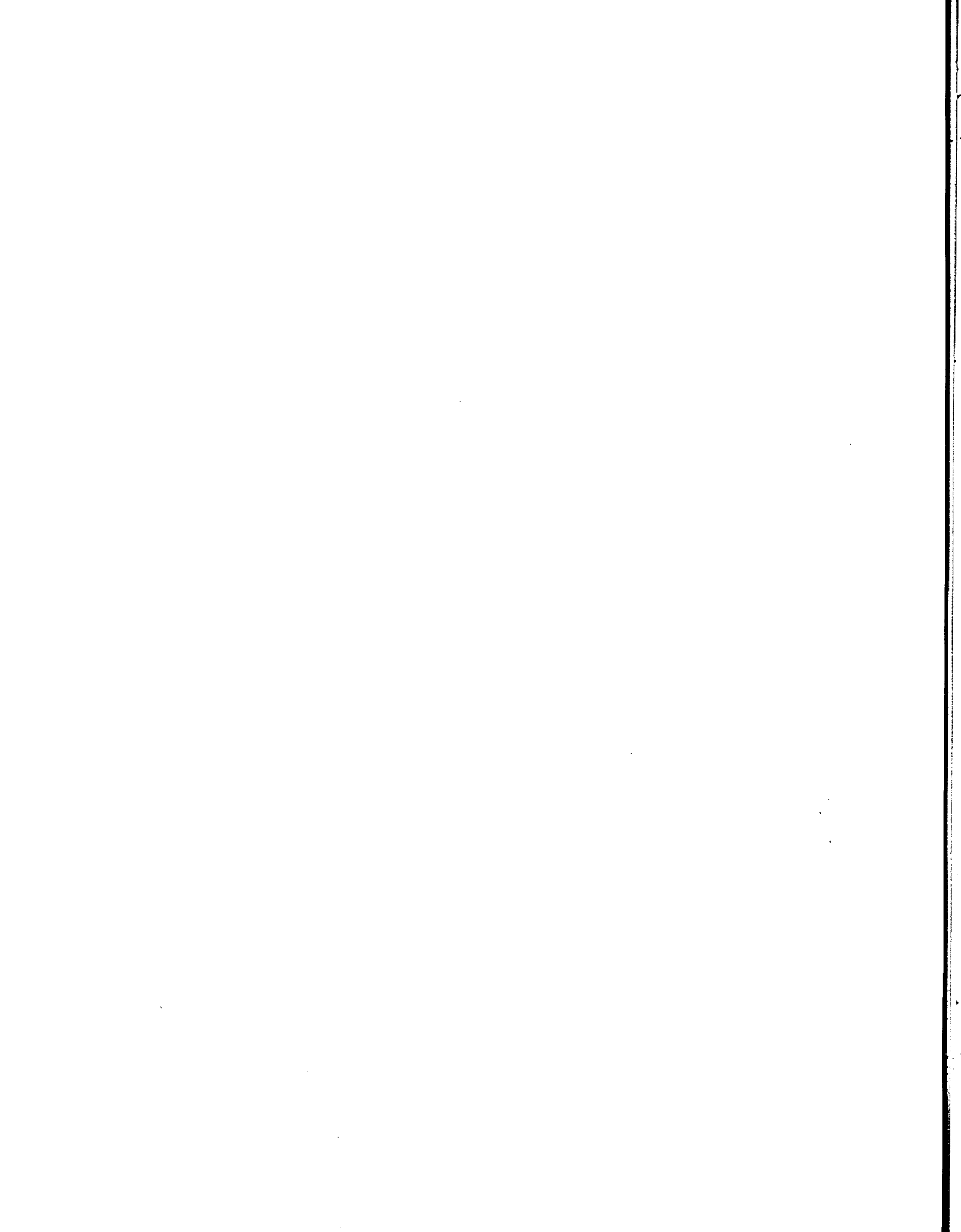
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**RADIO**

C) Standard Broadcast - Transcript

Program:

1) Capital report, May 18, 1985



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STANDARD BROADCAST NEWS

CAPITAL REPORT  
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GUEST: EXTERNAL AFFAIRS MINISTER JOE CLARK

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INTERVIEWER: WAYNE BROWN

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DATE: 18-5-86

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RELEASE: 18-5-86

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FOR MORE INFORMATION: STANDARD BROADCAST NEWS, 150 WELLINGTON STREET  
SUITE 400, OTTAWA, ONTARIO 238-6585

STANDARD BROADCAST NEWS--CAPITAL REPORT--JOE CLARK INTERVIEW

THIS IS WAYNE BROWN ON PARLIAMENT HILL. THIS PAST WEEK, EXTERNAL AFFAIRS MINISTER JOE CLARK TABLED THE GOVERNMENT'S DISCUSSION PAPER ON FOREIGN AFFAIRS. IN SOME WAYS, THE PAPER FOCUSES AS MUCH ON CANADA'S FUTURE TRADE OPTIONS AS IT DOES THE TRADITIONAL FOREIGN POLICY QUESTIONS. THAT PAPER NOW GOES TO A SPECIAL ALL-PARTY COMMONS-SENATE COMMITTEE. IT IS TO SPEND ONE YEAR STUDYING THE REPORT AND MAKE SPECIFIC RECOMMENDATIONS. TO DISCUSS THIS AND RELATED MATTERS, OUR GUEST TODAY IS THE EXTERNAL AFFAIRS MINISTER, THE RIGHT HONOURABLE JOE CLARK. MR. CLARK, AS YOU WELL KNOW THE OPPOSITION HAS BEEN VERY BUSY THE PAST FEW DAYS ATTACKING THE SETTING UP OF THE COMMITTEE. THEY'RE QUESTIONING YOU KNOW, WHAT'S THE POINT OF IT ALL, WHEN YOUR GOVERNMENT ALREADY PLANS TO DECIDE TWO MAJOR QUESTIONS BEFORE THE MPS MAKE THEIR RECOMMENDATIONS. AS YOU KNOW, THE TWO DECISIONS WOULD BE CANADA'S PARTICIPATION ON STAR WARS RESEARCH AND ITS APPROACH TO TRADE WITH THE UNITED STATES. SO IF I CAN REPEAT THEIR QUESTION, IT IS SIMPLY, WHAT IS THE POINT OF THE PAPER AND THE COMMITTEE? YOU'VE ALREADY SAID THAT YOU'RE GOING TO MAKE SOME MAJOR DECISIONS BEFORE THE MPS GIVE YOU ANY RECOMMENDATIONS.

JO: WELL I SHOULD MAKE IT CLEAR THAT WHAT IS NEW IS NOT THAT GOVERNMENTS MAKE DECISION. GOVERNMENTS ALWAYS HAVE TO MAKE DECISIONS. WHAT IS NEW IS THAT WE ARE INVITING THE PUBLIC AND PARLIAMENT TO BECOME INVOLVED IN THE DISCUSSION AND SETTING OF CANADIAN FOREIGN POLICY. AND WITH REGARD TO THE TWO ITEMS THAT YOU RAISED, THE STRATEGIC DEFENCE INITIATIVE AND TRADE, WHILE IT MAY BE THAT WE HAVE TO TAKE SOME OF THE EARLY DECISIONS ON SOME OF THOSE QUESTIONS IN THE SUMMER OR IN THE EARLY FALL,



THE FINAL DECISIONS ON BOTH SDI AND TRADING MATTERS ARE GOING TO BE DECISIONS OVER TIME. WHAT I'D LIKE TO DO, IS GET THAT COMMITTEE GOING VERY QUICKLY, SO THAT THE GOVERNMENT WILL HAVE THE BENEFIT OF THE VIEWS OF PARLIAMENTARIANS AND OF THE PUBLIC WE HEAR, AS BEING AMONG THE FACTORS WE CONSIDER BEFORE WE COME TO A DECISION ON WHETHER OR NOT WE ACCEPT THE AMERICAN INVITATION ON SDI OR ON TRADE QUESTIONS. BUT YOU SEE THE LIBERAL AND THE NDP POSITION, AT LEAST AS I UNDERSTAND IT, IS THAT THEY DON'T WANT PARLIAMENT TO HOLD HEARINGS. THEY DON'T WANT THE PEOPLE OF CANADA TO HAVE THE CHANCE TO EXPRESS THEIR VIEWS ON SDI OR ON TRADE OR ON ANYTHING ELSE. I THINK THAT THAT JUST MAY BE A PASSING PHASE. I HOPE IT IS, BECAUSE FOR TOO LONG, WE'VE HAD POLICY DECISIONS RUN BY A LITTLE ELITE HERE IN OTTAWA AND WE NEED TO HAVE THE OPPORTUNITY FOR ORDINARY CANADIANS AND CONCERNED CANADIANS TO TAKE PART IN THE PROCESS. WE'RE OFFERING THE OPPORTUNITY, THE LIBERALS AND THE NDP SEEM TO BE OPPOSING IT. BUT THAT MAY CHANGE.

WB: WELL AS YOU POINTED OUT, THE OPPOSITION PARTIES ARE WARNING THAT THEY MAY BOYCOTT THAT COMMITTEE, REFUSE TO SERVE ON IT. AND ONE OF THE THINGS I'M NOT CLEAR ABOUT AND I'D LIKE TO ASK YOU, IS CAN YOU EVEN SET UP THIS COMMITTEE, IF THE OPPOSITION REFUSES TO SIT ON IT?

JC: NO. THEY'RE NOT TALKING ABOUT BOYCOTT. THEY'RE TALKING ABOUT KILLING A COMMITTEE. THERE WOULD NOT BE A COMMITTEE IF THEY CHOSE NOT TO BE PART OF IT. THAT WOULD MEAN WE WOULD HAVE TO LOOK FOR SOME OTHER WAY TO HAVE A PUBLIC DEBATE OF FOREIGN POLICY ISSUES. I'VE GOT TWO INTERESTS HERE WAYNE: ONE IS TO MAKE SURE THAT THE PUBLIC IS FINALLY

ALLOWED IN TO DISCUSSION OF FOREIGN POLICY QUESTIONS. THE OTHER IS TO MAKE USE OF PARLIAMENT. I THINK THAT WE'VE, THROUGH THE LONG LIBERAL YEARS, WE'VE NOT USED PARLIAMENT ENOUGH. THIS SEEMED TO ME TO BE AN OPPORTUNITY TO ACCOMPLISH BOTH THOSE GOALS TOGETHER AND THAT'S VERY MUCH WHAT I'D LIKE TO DO. BUT IF THE LIBERALS AND THE NDP CONTINUE TO REFUSE TO LET PARLIAMENT LOOK AT THIS QUESTION, THEN WE'LL HAVE TO LOOK AT SOME OTHER MEANS.

MR: WELL WHAT DO YOU DO NOW? YOU'VE SAID IF THEY DON'T PARTICIPATE IT KILLS THE COMMITTEE. I PRESUME THE LAST THING YOU WANT IS THE KILLING OF THAT COMMITTEE. SO WHAT DO YOU DO NOW TO GET THE OPPOSITION TO PARTICIPATE? DO YOU, I DON'T KNOW...DO YOU HOW TO SOME OF THEIR DEMANDS WHICH SAY DON'T MAKE SOME OF YOUR DECISIONS UNTIL THE COMMITTEE HAS REPORTED?

JC: WE CAN'T DO THAT AND THEY DON'T EXPECT US TO DO THAT. LET'S TAKE ANOTHER EXAMPLE THAT HAS NOT COME UP IN THE DISCUSSION SO FAR. TWO WEEKS AGO THE GOVERNMENT OF CANADA HAD TO TAKE A DECISION ON NICARAGUA. WERE WE GOING TO RESPOND TO THE AMERICAN EMBARGO AND WHAT WERE WE GOING TO DO. I HAD TO MAKE THAT DECISION AFTER TALKING TO THE PRIME MINISTER, IN 40 MINUTES. AND WE DID AND IT WAS IMPORTANT THAT OUR POSITION WAS KNOWN FROM THE MOMENT IT BECAME AN ISSUE. THERE'S NOT AN OPPORTUNITY ON MANY OF THESE QUESTIONS TO HAVE BROAD PUBLIC CONSULTATION. AND SO WHAT THE LIBERALS AND THE NDP ARE SUGGESTING IS SOMETHING THAT THEY KNOW WON'T WORK. THEY'RE PLAYING POLITICS WITH IT. AND YOU ASK ME WHAT WILL HAPPEN. I HOPE THAT THEY WILL RECONSIDER THEIR POSITION AND RECOGNIZE THAT WHAT THEY ARE DOING IS

FIRST, DENYING PARLIAMENT THE CHANCE TO DISCUSS FOREIGN POLICY ISSUES. SECOND, DENYING THE PUBLIC THAT OPPORTUNITY. AND THIRDLY, DENYING THE GOVERNMENT THE BENEFIT OF THE ADVICE ON QUESTIONS LIKE THE STRATEGIC DEFENCE INITIATIVE; ON QUESTIONS LIKE TRADE, THE ADVICE THAT WOULD COME, IF WE COULD GET THAT COMMITTEE ESTABLISHED QUICKLY AND BEGIN THE PUBLIC HEARING PROCESS.

WE: WE TALKED EARLIER ABOUT STAR WARS AND WHEN... YOU REFERRED TO IT BRIEFLY I THINK... WHEN TO EXPECT A DECISION WITH RESPECT TO STAR WARS. THE OTHER DAY, NEW DEMOCRAT PAULINE JEWETT SAID WELL, OBVIOUSLY WHAT THE GOVERNMENT WILL DO, IS ANNOUNCE THIS DECISION DURING THE SUMMER, WHEN THE HOUSE OF COMMONS IS NOT SITTING AND THERE ARE NO OPPOSITION MPS AROUND TO CRITICIZE THE DECISION. WHEN DO YOU EXPECT THE DECISION TO BE MADE? AND DID I UNDERSTAND YOU CORRECTLY TO SAY THERE MIGHT BE SEVERAL STEPS TO IT? AND CAN YOU GUARANTEE THAT THAT DECISION WILL NOT COME WHEN THE HOUSE OF COMMONS IS NOT SITTING?

JC: CAN'T GUARANTEE THAT, UM, BECAUSE WE DON'T KNOW WHEN THE DECISION WILL COME, EXCEPT, YOU'LL REMEMBER WHEN THE... WE'RE TALKING HERE ABOUT A RESPONSE TO THE AMERICAN INVITATION TO TAKE PART IN STAR WARS RESEARCH. THAT'S THE QUESTION THAT IS AT ISSUE NOW. AND YOU'LL REMEMBER WHEN THE INVITATION WAS FIRST ISSUED, THE U.S. SAID WE'VE GOT SIXTY DAYS TO REPLY. WE SAID OH NO WE HAVEN'T, - WE'RE NOT ACCEPTING YOUR FALSE DEADLINE. NOR WILL WE ACCEPT OTHER PEOPLE'S FALSE DEADLINES. WE'LL MAKE THE DECISION WHEN WE HAVE THE INFORMATION. WE HAVE A SENIOR PUBLIC SERVANT DOWN IN WASHINGTON NOW, WHO'S GATHERING INFORMATION ON WHAT EXACTLY WE'RE BEING INVITED TO JOIN. I THINK THAT PROBABLY HE WILL REPORT

SOMETIME IN JUNE. THAT WILL BE ONE OF THE FACTORS THAT WE CONSIDER AS WE MAKE OUR DECISION ON THE NARROW QUESTION AS TO WHETHER OR NOT WE TAKE PART...CANADA TAKES PART...IN RESEARCH. THAT'S ONE QUESTION REGARDING SBI. THAT HAS TO BE TAKEN SOMETIME THIS SUMMER OR EARLY FALL. THE BROADER QUESTION ON SBI, THE QUESTION...THE STRATEGIC QUESTIONS AS TO WHAT WE DO WITH THE PROJECT IF IT TURNS OUT TO MAKE SENSE, THOSE WON'T BE TAKEN THREE OR FOUR OR FIVE YEARS. THEY'LL BE TAKEN A LONG TIME AFTER THE PARLIAMENTARY COMMITTEE THAT I'M TRYING TO ESTABLISH AND THAT THE OPPOSITION PARTIES ARE TRYING TO PREVENT, A LONG TIME AFTER THOSE COMMITTEES HAVE MADE THEIR REPORT.

WE: STILL WITH STAR WARS...YOU MENTIONED MR. KROEGER AND HIS PEOPLE DOWN IN WASHINGTON, FINDING OUT WHAT ALL THIS WOULD MEAN FOR CANADA... DO YOU HAVE A FEAR THAT THE U.S. WOULD ATTACH SUCH HEAVY SECURITY CONDITIONS...WOULD PUT SUCH HEAVY SECURITY ON SUCH RESEARCH THAT IT WOULD ELIMINATE CANADA; PERHAPS OTHER FOREIGN COUNTRIES BUT SPECIFICALLY CANADA FROM GETTING ANY OF THE GOOD STUFF, ANY OF THE GOOD CONTRACTS. IN OTHER WORDS, MAYBE THERE'S NOTHING THERE FOR US TO GET IN TERMS OF TECHNOLOGICAL SPIN-OFFS ETC?

JC: EXACTLY. THERE MAY BE NOTHING THERE FOR US TO GET IN TERMS OF TECHNOLOGICAL ADVANTAGE. AND THAT'S PRECISELY THE KIND OF INFORMATION THAT HAS TO BE PART OF ANY DECISION WE MAKE. THAT'S WHY...THAT'S WHAT DR. KROEGER IS DOWN TRYING TO DETERMINE. IN THE PAST, THE AMERICANS, NATURALLY, HAVE TENDED TO KEEP MOST OF THE REALLY POTENT TECHNOLOGICAL ADVANCES TO THEMSELVES. I SUPPOSE ANY COUNTRY WOULD. BUT IF THAT'S GOING TO BE THE RULE, ON THE SBI QUESTION, THEN OBVIOUSLY WE'LL BE LESS

INTERESTED. THERE ARE A NUMBER OF OTHER FACTORS. THERE ARE STRATEGIC AND OTHER QUESTIONS THAT HAVE TO BE LOOKED INTO. BUT IT'S NOT A QUESTION THAT CAN BE DECIDED ON THE BASIS OF PREJUDICE OR VERY SUDDENLY. IT HAS TO BE DONE ON THE BASIS OF EVIDENCE. NOW WE WANT TO HAVE THE BENEFIT OF AS MUCH EXPRESSION OF PUBLIC VIEW AS POSSIBLE; CONCERNED INFORMED PUBLIC VIEW ON THESE QUESTIONS. WE'RE PROVIDING A MEANS TO HAVE THAT PUBLIC VIEW EXPRESSED BY PREPARING TO PUT IN PLACE A COMMITTEE AND THE LIBERALS AND NDP, AT LEAST AS WE TALK, HAVE REFUSED TO GO ALONG WITH THAT COMMITTEE. THEY DON'T WANT THE PUBLIC TO BE HEARD ON SDI. I THINK IT'S A VERY STRANGE POSITION AND I REGRET IT. AND...INDEED IT'S SO STRANGE I HOPE THEY'LL MOVE AWAY FROM IT.

W3: HAS THE U.S. GIVEN US ANY INDICATIONS TO WHAT THE SECURITY ARRANGEMENTS WOULD BE? AND YOU MENTIONED THERE IS THE CONCERN... THEY TOLD US THAT, LOOK NO, THERE ISN'T THAT MUCH THERE FOR YOU, HAVE THEY SAID THAT?

JD: I DON'T KNOW THAT BECAUSE I HAVEN'T SPOKEN TO DR. KROEGER IN DETAIL ON THESE MATTERS, SINCE HE BEGAN HIS INQUIRIES. BUT WE'LL HAVE A BETTER IDEA OF THAT WHEN HE REPORTS, SOMETIME IN JUNE.

W3: LET'S LOOK AT ANOTHER MAJOR ASPECT OF THE FOREIGN POLICY PAPER. IT LAID OUT SOME TRADE OPTIONS WITH RESPECT TO THE U.S., WE CAN KEEP GOING THE WAY WE ARE, WE CAN HAVE A...NOW LET GET THE TERMINOLOGY RIGHT, COMPREHENSIVE FREE TRADE AGREEMENT WITH THE U.S., WE CAN HAVE SECTORAL, SPECIAL SECTORAL ARRANGEMENTS. IS THAT HOW WE PUT IT FOR VARIOUS SECTORS?

OR WE CAN KEEP DOING WHAT WE'RE DOING. AS YOU KNOW, THE FOUR WESTERN PREMIERS AGREED THIS PAST WEEK, THAT WHAT THEY WANT, I BELIEVE, IS COMPREHENSIVE FREE TRADE WITH THE U.S.. WERE YOU SURPRIZED, FIRST OF ALL, THAT THE MANITOBA PREMIER, HOWARD PANLEY WENT ALONG WITH THAT? I THINK THAT IT'S THE FIRST TIME HE'S SAID THAT, ALTHOUGH I COULD BE WRONG. AND DOES THIS SORT OF PUSH THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT TOWARDS THAT OPTION?

NO: IT'S OBVIOUSLY SIGNIFICANT. AND I SUPPOSE THAT THE GOVERNMENT OF ONTARIO, ONCE ONE IS ESTABLISHED AND WORKING AND HAS THE OPPORTUNITY TO CONSIDER THESE QUESTIONS FROM THE PERSPECTIVE OF THAT GOVERNMENT, WILL ALSO HAVE SOME VIEWS, AS WILL OTHER PROVINCES. BUT I THINK IT'S QUITE SIGNIFICANT THAT THE WESTERN PROVINCES HAVE EXPRESSED VIEWS THAT APPEAR TO BE, APPEAR TO BE UNANIMOUS. I THINK THAT'S HELPFUL TO THE PROCESS. WHAT I WANT TO DO AND WHAT WE'RE TRYING TO DO THROUGH THE PROCESS THAT JIM KELLEHER, THE TRADE MINISTER, GOT STARTED TWO OR THREE MONTHS AGO, A MORE PRIVATE AND SELECTIVE PROCESS AND THE PUBLIC DEBATE THAT I'M TRYING TO ENCOURAGE HERE, I WANT TO NOT ONLY GET VIEWS, BUT ALSO HELP CANADIANS UNDERSTAND THE DEGREE TO WHICH ISSUES THAT WE USED TO REGARD AS LOCAL ISSUES, HAVE NOW BECOME INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC ISSUES. THERE WERE STORIES ON THE NEWS THE OTHER NIGHT ABOUT HOG EXPORTS TO THE UNITED STATES. WHAT IT USED TO BE BACK IN RURAL ALBERTA, WHERE I GREW UP, THAT RAISING HOGS WAS LOCAL FARMERS BUSINESS. NOW TO A SUBSTANTIAL DEGREE IT IS ALSO A BUSINESS OF INTERNATIONAL TRADE. AND THAT'S THE WAY THE WORLD HAS CHANGED. WE'VE GOT TO BEAR THAT IN MIND AS WE LOOK AT ALL OF THE ECONOMIC SITUATIONS IN THE COUNTRY. THE OTHER POINT THE PAPER MAKES OF COURSE IS, THAT WHILE

WE HAVE A VERY IMPORTANT, INESCAPABLE ASSOCIATION WITH THE UNITED STATES, ONE WHERE WE HAVE TO WORK TO PRESERVE THE JOBS WE HAVE AND THE ACCESS TO THEIR MARKETS THAT WE HAVE, THERE IS ALSO A MUCH WIDER WORLD FOR CANADA TO BE ACTIVE IN. AND THAT'S A WORLD IN WHICH WE'VE BEEN FALLING BEHIND MORE DRAMATICALLY THAN WE HAVE BEEN IN OUR RELATIONS WITH THE UNITED STATES. OUR OWN VIEW IS THAT THE GREATEST OPPORTUNITY FOR NEW GROWTH AND NEW JOBS OVER THE NEXT SEVERAL YEARS IS GOING TO BE IN ASIA AND IN THE PACIFIC. AND WE HAVE TO BE GIVING MORE EMPHASIS, WE THINK, TO THOSE REGIONS AND TO THE NEED FOR AN INTERNATIONAL SYSTEM THAT MOVES THE WHOLE WORLD TOWARDS A MORE FREE TRADE SITUATION RATHER THAN A MORE PROTECTIONIST SITUATION.

MR: ONE LAST QUESTION OR TWO, IF I MAY, ON ANOTHER SUBJECT I GUESS, QUITE DIFFERENT...PATRONAGE. AS YOU KNOW YOUR BROTHER AND SISTER-IN-LAW HAVE BOTH BEEN GIVEN GOVERNMENT, I GUESS I CAN CALL THEM PATRONAGE ASSIGNMENTS. YOUR BROTHER GETS LEGAL WORK FOR THE CALGARY OLYMPICS, YOUR SISTER-IN-LAW HAS BEEN APPOINTED A TEMPORARY MEMBER OF THE PAROLE BOARD. NOW I BELIEVE I'VE HEARD YOU SAY THAT YOU HAD ABSOLUTELY NOTHING TO DO WITH EITHER OF THOSE APPOINTMENTS. BUT AS YOU KNOW, THE OPPOSITION LIKES TO ATTACK APPOINTMENTS MADE TO MINISTERS' RELATIVES. SO LET ME CLARIFY. DID YOU HAVE ANYTHING TO DO WITH THOSE APPOINTMENTS? AND SECONDLY DO YOU FEEL THAT THE OPPOSITION ATTACK IS A LITTLE UNFAIR? IN OTHER WORDS, WHAT I'M ASKING IS, DO YOUR RELATIVES HAVE JUST AS MUCH RIGHT TO THOSE JOBS AS ANYBODY ELSE?

JC: I HAVE...HAD NOTHING TO DO WITH EITHER APPOINTMENT. I DIDN'T KNOW ABOUT THEM UNTIL THEY WERE MADE. I BELIEVE THAT OF COURSE MY RELATIVES,

IF THEY'RE COMPETENT, SHOULD NOT BE DENIED THE OPPORTUNITY TO PUT THEIR TALENTS TO WORK SIMPLY BECAUSE THEY HAVE THE MISFORTUNE TO BE RELATED DIRECTLY OR BY MARRIAGE TO ME. IN PETER'S CASE, PETER HAS BEEN A LAWYER WITH THE SECOND-LARGEST LAW FIRM IN CALGARY FOR A LONG TIME AND IS, I THINK IT FAIR TO SAY, WELL RESPECTED IN HIS PROFESSION. MARCIA, MY SISTER-IN-LAW WAS RECOMMENDED BEFORE THE ELECTION BY THE SERVING MEMBERS OF THE BOARD. IT QUITE LITERALLY HAD NOTHING TO DO WITH POLITICS. NOW NO-ONE WILL BELIEVE THAT, BUT THOSE ARE THE FACTS. AND CERTAINLY IT WOULD BE, I THINK, IN MARCIA'S CASE, FOR EXAMPLE, MOST UNFAIR TO THE PAROLE BOARD, AS ITS CHAIRMAN SAID, IF THEY WERE DENIED HER SERVICES BECAUSE SHE HAPPENED TO MARRY MY BROTHER.

MR: BUT LET ME TRY THIS. WOULD THEY BE IN THOSE JOBS IF THE CONSERVATIVE GOVERNMENT WERE NOT IN POWER AND YOU WERE NOT THE EXTERNAL AFFAIRS MINISTER? WOULD THEY HAVE BEEN GIVEN THOSE JOBS BY A LIBERAL GOVERNMENT?

JO: MARCIA'S NAME WAS RECOMMENDED BEFORE OUR GOVERNMENT CAME TO OFFICE, CONSEQUENTLY WHILE THERE WAS A LIBERAL GOVERNMENT IN OFFICE. THE FIRM WITH WHICH MY BROTHER HAS BEEN ASSOCIATED DID A GREAT DEAL OF WORK FOR THE PREVIOUS GOVERNMENT AND IS DOING SOME WORK FOR OUR GOVERNMENT.

MR: WHEN YOU WERE PRIME MINISTER, I KNOW YOU DIDN'T HAVE ALOT OF TIME TO MAKE APPOINTMENTS, BUT DID YOU... I BELIEVE YOUR SISTER-IN-LAW HAS REFERRED TO THIS, WAS THERE A DELIBERATE EFFORT IN THAT TIME



NOT TO APPOINT SUCH PEOPLE TO SUCH JOBS? OR PERHAPS THERE JUST WASN'T TIME, I DON'T KNOW.

JO: WELL, I, NO...THERE WAS NO DELIBERATE EFFORT. I SUPPOSE THAT WHAT HAPPENED SINCE I WAS THE PRIME MINISTER WAS THAT I KNEW ABOUT A WIDER RANGE OF APPOINTMENTS THAN A MINISTER DOES NOW. THOSE APPOINTMENTS WERE QUITE LITERALLY, NONE OF MY BUSINESS, THEY WERE NOT IN MY DOMAIN, AND THEY WERE CONSEQUENTLY MADE WITHOUT MY KNOWLEDGE. IT HAPPENED THAT ONE OF THEM CAME BEFORE A CABINET COMMITTEE ON WHICH I SIT, BUT I WAS AWAY AT THE TIME IT CAME UP.

WE: MR. CLARK YOU MENTION TIME...WE'RE OUT OF TIME. THANK YOU FOR BEING OUR GUEST TODAY. YOU'VE BEEN LISTENING TO AN INTERVIEW WITH CANADA'S MINISTER OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, THE RIGHT HONORABLE JOE CLARK. THIS IS WAYNE BROWN ON PARLIAMENT HILL.

**RADIO**

D) Radio-Canada (Radio) - Transcriptions

Émissions:

- 1) Présent, 8h15, le 15 mai 1985
- 2) Présent, 12h10, le 15 mai 1985
- 3) Le Magazine économique, le 18 mai 1985

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PROGRAM: EMISSION:	PRESENT	DATE: DATE:	LE 15 MAI, 1985
NETWORK / STATION: RESEAU / STATION:	RADIO-CANADA/CBOF	TIME: HEURE:	8H15

LIVRE VERT SUR LA POLITIQUE EXTERIEURE

CBOF: Livre vert sur la politique extérieure canadienne, l'avenir du Canada passe par les Etats-Unis. Notre invité ce matin est le député Gerry Weiner, secrétaire parlementaire du ministre des Affaires extérieures. Le document présenté par monsieur Clark étudie principalement deux axes de la politique extérieure canadienne, la sécurité et la compétitivité et il met l'accent surtout sur la compétitivité c'est-à-dire sur la capacité pour le Canada de se maintenir dans la course des pays industrialisés. Monsieur Weiner, est-ce que ça veut dire que sans points économiques, le Canada n'a pratiquement aucun point politique dans le monde?

WEINER: On ne veut pas dire ça. Vraiment le papier ce n'est pas une analyse de nos relations où les problèmes économiques. C'est une série de questions que monsieur Clark veut consulter les canadiens. Ça touche peut-être une dizaine de sujets, on a peut-être 50 questions ...

CBOF: C'est une série de questions, ce qui en fait probablement un document assez neutre, du reste se sont les principales critiques qui sont formulées ce matin à son sujet, mais en

lisant tout de même à travers les lignes on s'aperçoit que monsieur Clark veut dire que pour que le Canada rattrape son retard économique il faut établir des liens commerciaux plus étroits avec les Etats-Unis. C'est bien ça?

WEINER: Mais nous sommes déjà impliqués comme vous le savez peut-être les trois quarts de nos commerces sont canado-américain. Il y a toujours des éléments protectionnistes qui s'enlèvent aux Etats-Unis et chaque fois qu'ils essaient d'imposer peut-être des tarifs sur les Japonnais ça peut causer un enlèvement du travail ici au Canada. Alors c'est toujours question sur laquelle on doit se pencher. Mais en même temps monsieur Clark a dit qu'il y'a peut-être des autres marchés qui faut faire une attention particulière notamment l'Asie, le Japon et c'est une manière de dire aux canadiens on doit penser sur tous les sujets d'une manière à trouver une position pour le Canada. Nos ressources naturelles auparavant étaient peut-être assez pour nous apporter, pour réussir, maintenant il faut faire plus il faut être compétitif pour assurer notre sécurité.

CBOF: Mais en ce qui concerne les Etats-Unis étant donné que c'est fait effectivement avec les Etats-Unis que se font les trois-quarts de nos relations commerciales et plus, est-ce que le gouvernement canadien n'a pas un préjugé favorable pour la libéralisation du commerce avec les Etats-Unis?

WEINER: Ah! je n'ai aucune idée si ces préjugés, comme vous le savez on avait des commissions, des études, monsieur McDonald vient de compléter un travail avec une commission. Ce qu'on

dit, vous avez élu un gouvernement récemment le 4 septembre avec une grande majorité, un gouvernement qui a dit on va faire des consultations avec nos citoyens et on veut écouter ce que les citoyens vont nous dire. Nous savons que si de grandes portions, nous avons faits peut-être 154 milliards d'échanges entre les deux pays, ça veut dire que c'est assez important et c'est très difficile de remplacer ça alors on dit aux canadiens faites une étude de ça, peut-être faite d'autres recherches où on peut trouver des autres marchés parce que pour survivre aujourd'hui il faut trouver tous ces moyens en même temps.

CBOF: Mais monsieur Weiner il y a des décisions qui vont être prises avant la fin de la consultation sur ce livre vert qui va se terminer en mai '86, alors plusieurs décisions vont devoir être prises sur le plan commercial, sur le plan de la défense, est-ce que cela ne signifie pas que la consultation est factis en quelque sorte puisque les décisions vont déjà être prises?

WEINER: Vous avez bien raison de demander ça à un gouvernement qui est élu, la nécessité d'agir de continuer de faire marcher le travail du gouvernement. Je suis complètement à l'aise dans la consultation on a toujours la possibilité de commencer d'agir aussi vite qu'on a des suggestions si le gouvernement pense que c'est approprié. Ils ont aussi la possibilité des fois de reculer, on peut faire deux pas en avant ou deux pas en arrière, mais je suis très clair que c'est une chance ouverte pour tous les canadiens de venir discuter avec un groupe parlementaire qui vont visiter un peu partout notre pays et vous savez que c'est la première fois peut-être depuis 15 années qu'on a un gouvernement canadien qui a entrepris une telle discussion.

CBOF: Mais est-ce que le but d'une telle discussion se n'est pas de préparer les esprits?

WEINER: Non, non, non, je ne pense pas.

CBOF: Etant donné que des décisions vont être prises avant la fin de la consultation...

WEINER: On peut faire des décisions en marchant parce qu'on a l'obligation de continuer de gouverner le pays mais aussi vous allez voir que on va avoir des possibilités de réagir si quelque chose est bien prononcé ou de peut-être à la fin de la discussion de réévaluer et de prendre peut-être une autre position, parce que ce que monsieur Clark a dit vraiment dans ce papier que rien est sacré, on veut une discussion sur tous les sujets.

CBOF: Merci monsieur Weiner.

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PROGRAM:  
EMISSION: PRESENT

DATE:  
DATE: LE 15 MAI, 1985

NETWORK / STATION:  
RESEAU / STATION: RADIO-CANADA/CBOF

TIME:  
HEURE: 12H10

ENTREVUE AVEC JOE CLARK

CBOF: Le secrétaire d'Etat aux affaires extérieures monsieur Joe Clark a rendu publique hier un livre vert sur la politique extérieure du Canada. L'objectif stimuler dans le public la discussion relative aux intérêts du pays dans le monde. Le livre vert prétend ne rien trancher mais déjà dans sa façon de poser les problèmes il indique dans quelles directions il faut chercher les réponses. Les réponses aux questions de sécurité par exemple, pas question de bousculer les engagements du pays dans Norad dans l'OTAN. Surtout les réponses aux questions économiques au coeur des préoccupations du ministre, la position concurrentiel du Canada et sa dépendance très grande part rapport au marché américain qui observe plus des 3/4 de nos exportations et qui pourrait éventuellement se refermer si on en croit les clameurs qui émanent du congrès américain. Le ministre Joe Clark nous a accordé une interview ce matin à Montréal.

REPORTER: Monsieur Clark est-ce qu'on se trompe si on lit à travers ce document que vous avez publié, ce livre vert tout au long de ce document une sorte de peur d'une régurgence du protectionisme américain?

... 2

CLARK: Oh! oui. Je crois que ça c'est une préoccupation des canadiens mais aussi des autres pays qui cherchent un système de commerce international beaucoup plus ouvert et c'est pour cette raison que nous devons agir avec nos partenaires pour établir un système international qui marche. Mais aussi prendre les actions précises canadiennes pour nous protéger contre les actions spécifiques que les américains, je crois que la meilleure solution sera d'avoir un accord international qui peut inclure les américains et c'est ça notre objectif primaire.

REPORTER: Mais de toute manière nous les canadiens pourrions arriver avec les américains à des accords bi-latéraux en la matière commerciale.

CLARK: Nous pouvons en effet et nous avons les accords bi-latéraux de deux sortes. Nous avons les accords formels comme avec le pacte d'auto, Auto Pact (?) et nous avons et c'est bien important l'accord personnel entre monsieur Reagan et monsieur Mulroney en ce qui concerne la protection mutuelle de nos intérêts. Mais ça c'est une question de personnalité, c'est une question d'un régime dans un domaine spécifique et le grave danger maintenant avec le protectionisme qui existe aux Etats-Unis et que ça peut toucher dans l'avenir les secteurs canadiens qui n'étaient pas touchés par le passé. Quand nous parlons des relations économiques avec les Etats-Unis c'est bien important d'entendre les deux mots que nous avons utilisés. Un était d'élargir notre commerce mais l'autre c'est protéger notre accès qui existe et c'est ça qui est peut-être le plus important dans le domaine, dans la perspective des emplois canadiens.



REPORTER: Notre grand client quand il s'agit d'exportations se sont les américains. C'est une question d'ordre majeur, le libre échange avec les américains pour nous c'est un objectif là à moyen terme pour les conservateurs, est-ce que pour passer au plan politique la marge d'indépendance politique du Canada est plus grande dans votre esprit ou moins grande si nous arrivons à ce libre échange?

CLARK: Une petite précision. Ce n'est pas un libre échange comme tel que nous sommes en train de discuter. Ça c'est possiblement une des options, mais c'est un élargissement de nos relations commerciales avec les Etats-Unis. En ce qui concerne l'indépendance, la marge de manoeuvre du Canada, je crois que nous pouvons la garder même l'élargir pour deux raisons si je peux les stipuler. La première est que je crois que nous avons noté au Canada pendant la dernière décennie une croissance dans le sens de l'identité sens de confiance canadienne en ce qui concerne le monde mais aussi en particulier en ce qui concerne les Etats-Unis. Deuxième chose, quand on parle d'un élargissement de nos activités commerciales nous parlons bien sûr des Etats-Unis mais nous parlons aussi d'une plus grande montre que juste les Etats-Unis et même si la plupart de nos relations actuelles sont avec les américains. Nous pensons que la majorité de la croissance économique disponible au Canada existe ailleurs, existe par exemple en Asie dans le Pacifique et je crois que c'est une question d'équilibre, j'imagine que dans l'avenir la proportion de notre, de nos relations commerciales qui sont avec les américains sera plus basse dans l'avenir qu'aujourd'hui. Alors...

REPORTER: Diversifier c'est peut-être l'objectif à long terme mais à court terme monsieur Clark je reviens là-dessus

c'est très important pour nous les Etats-Unis sur le plan économique sur le plan des échanges commerciaux tellement qu'on se demande et si je rejoins ma question portant sur l'indépendance ou la marge de l'indépendance politique du Canada, qu'on se demande si au fond votre gouvernement ne va pas tout faire, aller peut-être jusqu'à la servilité pour ne pas offenser les américains.

CLARK: L'accusation est souvent faite. C'est naturel, la preuve est au contraire et je pense par exemple des certaines questions immédiates, questions d'aujourd'hui, la plus prominante c'est la question du Nicaragua, où les américains ont pris une position nous sommes contre, nous avons indiqué que nous sommes contre, et plus que ça nous avons indiqué que nous n'avons aucune intention de respecter ce qu'ils ont fait, nos programmes de développements en ce qui concerne le Nicaragua continueront, madame Monique Vézina, ministre des Relations extérieures, sera au Nicaragua dans trois semaines. Ça c'est une chose et une chose bien importante parce que pour les américains, les questions d'amérique latine est bien claire. Deuxième chose petit exemple important l'UNESCO. Les américains ont quitté l'UNESCO nous sommes maintenant en pleine activité de renforcer l'UNESCO. C'est de petites choses mais la vie c'est une combinaison de petites choses et je crois que s'il y a eu une sévérité (?) en ce qui concerne les Etats-Unis notre flexibilité dans le cadre du Nicaragua, de l'UNESCO d'autres questions ne sera pas là. C'est délicat, c'était toujours délicat. Ça ce n'est pas une question de politique c'est une question de géographie. Et ce que nous devons faire et développer une politique qui peut prendre compte premièrement de notre indépendance, souveraineté

et deuxièmement des réalités géographiques qui existent.

REPORTER: Vous avez soulevé par ailleurs la question du Nicaragua vous dites là-dessus nous tenons une position quand même fort différente de celle des Etats-Unis, j'en conviens jusqu'à maintenant c'est exact, mais soulevons plus loin la question de l'aide au tiers monde. Est-ce que le Canada sur ce plan là n'est pas un peu hypocrite, c'est-à-dire que les façons que nous avons de traiter avec le tiers monde se sont des façons qui profitent grandement aux Canadiens, aux exportations canadiennes. Est-ce qu'il n'y a pas un peu d'hypocrisie, est-ce qu'il ne faudrait reviser un peu nos façons de faire de façon à ce que ça profite davantage justement au tiers monde qu'on prétend aider?

CLARK: C'est un grand débat. La question que vous venez de soulever c'est important. Ce n'est pas urgent mais c'est le genre de question importante mais pas urgente où j'espère là que je crois que le comité parlementaire peut nous donner pas justes les réactions des députés, des commentateurs qui étaient préoccupés pendant des années avec les questions comme ça mais aussi les citoyens qui sont intéressés par les questions internationales. J'ai été vraiment impressionné par notre expérience en Afrique, par la réaction des canadiens aux crises en Ethiopie parce qu'il y a eut une réaction beaucoup plus vaste que mes bureaucrates, mes fonctionnaires ont prévu et je crois que ça indique qu'il y a une clientèle pour les questions internationales qui sont beaucoup plus vaste que nous avons pensé du passé et ce que j'ai pu faire avec le processus du livre vert est donné cette majorité intéressé mais par la force des choses silencieux de leur donner une occasion d'influencer la politique internationale

de leur pays.

REPORTER: On vous fait une dernière question monsieur Clark on pourrait peut-être vous faire le reproche avec ce livre vert de tenter une sorte d'opération de diversions pendant que nous concentrerions nous les citoyens la discussion via le comité parlementaire sur les questions économiques par exemple, d'autre part des décisions majeures seraient prises comme celle de se ranger derrière les américains touchant l'initiative de défense stratégique par exemple.

CLARK: Deux choses là, les gouvernements doivent prendre les décisions, rien de nouveau là. Les gouvernements doivent toujours prendre les décisions. La chose nouvelle c'est prendre les décisions c'est les discussions avec le public. Ça c'est nouveau. En ce qui concerne le STI par exemple, c'est possible que nous devons prendre une décision avant que le comité ait commencé ces discussions.

REPORTER: Les américains vous bousculent là?

CLARK: Oui mais j'ai dit, j'ai démontré clairement que quand monsieur Weinberger a établi un échéance j'ai dit non je n'accepte pas votre échéance.

REPORTER: Est-ce qu'on a vraiment les moyens dans une affaire comme celle que j'ai évoqué à savoir l'initiative de défense stratégique, la guerre des étoiles comme on dit communément, est-ce qu'on a les moyens de dire non aux américains nous les canadiens?

CLARK:           Oui nous avons les décisions, la décision n'était pas prise du tout.

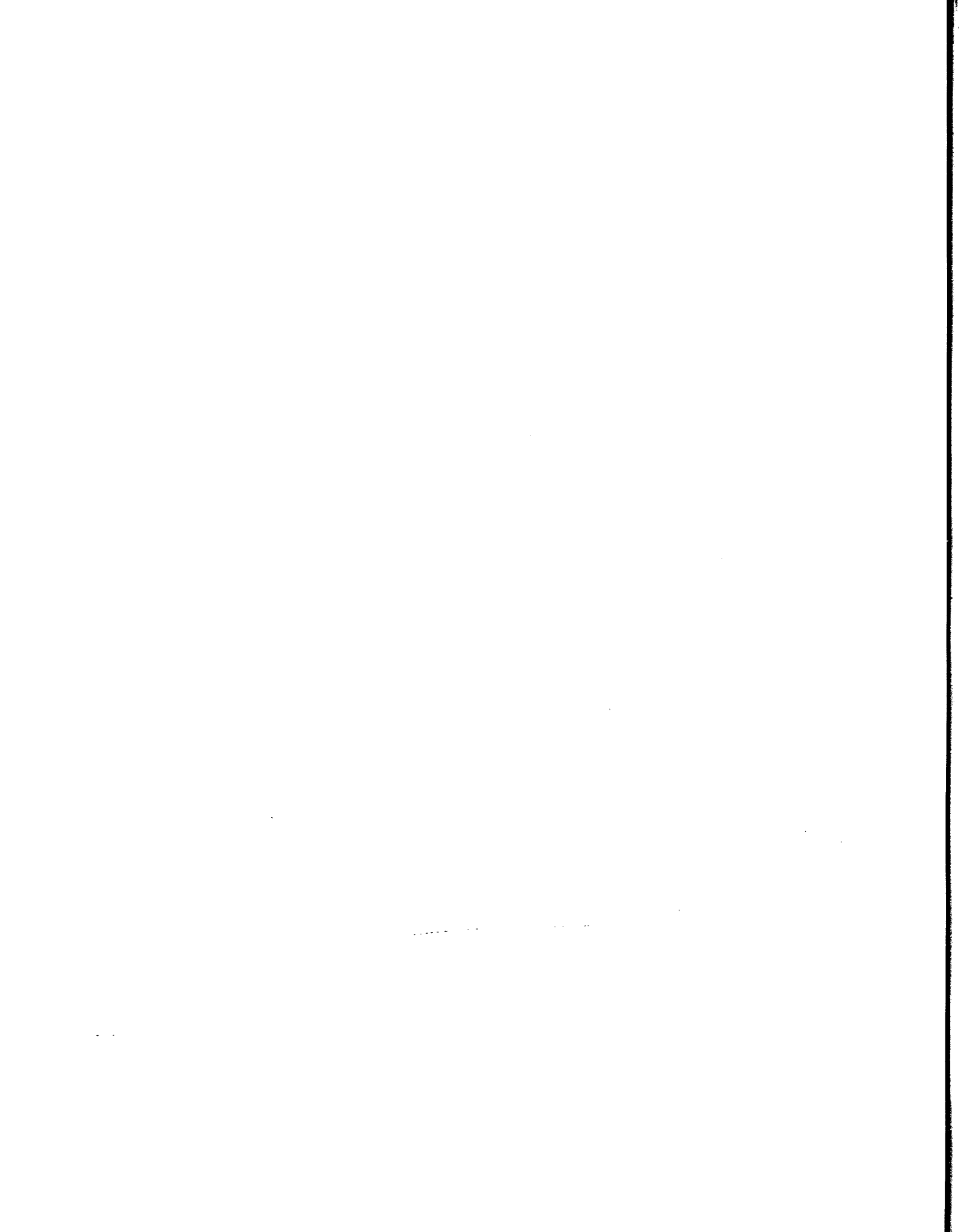
REPORTER:       Est-ce que nous sommes capable ...

CLARK:           Nous sommes capable, oui..

REPORTER:       De prendre les distances?

CLARK:           Oui nous sommes capable, la décision sera faite sur nos dans nos propres intérêts avec notre propre «time table» et nous sommes en train maintenant premièrement d'identifier les intérêts canadiens, si oui ou non il y a un grand avantage technologique, oui ou non, si oui ou non il y a une importance stratégique, nous n'avons pas les détails jusqu'au moment c'est pour cette raison que nous avons un fonctionne mal (?) à Ottawa, à Washington, mais la question est si un pays comme le Canada est libre de dire non aux Etats-Unis, la réponse est oui.

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PROGRAM: LE MAGAZINE ECONOMIQUE  
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HEURE:

ANALYSES DU LIVRE VERT SUR LES POLITIQUES EXTERIEURES

CBOF: Les relations extérieures du Canada elles sont ceux qu'elles sont mais voici tout de même un document neuf, ce livre que le Ministre Joe Clark a déposé cette semaine et qui contient entre 47 pages seulement ça me paraît bel et fort de synthèse des orientations, je cite orientations pour les relations extérieures du Canada et puis «compétitivité et sécurité».

Jean Giroux: Bien, je suis resté sur ma faim sur le plan économique, j'ai été déçu. En particulier il y a une chose que je n'ai pas compris, le tableau sur les Etats-Unis - en première place d'accord, mais pourquoi la région Asie-pacifique après le Moyen-Orient et après l'Afrique, pourtant le rebord du pacifique voilà longtemps qu'on nous dit que l'avenir c'est le rebord du pacifique. Sommes-nous vendus de plus en plus aux Etats-Unis?

.../2

CBOF: Oui, il y a une question, effectivement le document peut laisser croire que le Canada s'en va vers un statut de 51ème état d'Amérique. Moi aussi je suis un peu déçu c'est un document qui est déprimant, il est de couleur grise pour un document qui se prétend vert, c'est écrit gris sur blanc, dirait-on!

Jean Giroux: C'est blanc sal à art ça.

CBOF: Mais il y a comme même un effort de changement là dedans, et on va entendre le Ministre Clark expliquer lui-même qu'il s'agit d'un véhicule. Il veut faire réfléchir les Canadiens, il veut même un peu susciter une certaine éducation quant aux affaires extérieures, aux affaires internationales du Canada. Il faut se souvenir qu'il y a peu de temps on disait que la politique extérieure canadienne s'était d'être aimé de tous et d'être haï de personne. Bon alors là maintenant je crois que le titre...

Jean Giroux: D'être craint de personne...

CBOF: Oui, to be feared by none, c'est ça... Mais le titre lui-même «compétitivité et sécurité» ça là,



il y a une nouveauté. C'est bien la première fois qu'au Canada on lit la défense, la politique, la diplomatie - c'est ce qui s'appelle «sécurité», aux réalités commerciales et économiques internationales.

Jean Giroux: Vous voulez dire qu'on le fait, qu'on l'écrit...

CBOF: Oui, qu'on le formule, c'est ça... qu'on le formule, je crois que le Ministre veut nous faire réfléchir là-dessus. Sur l'aide, sur le dollar, sur les accords multilatéraux, sur le GAPP, sur les questions très pointues, il n'y a rien de neuf. Il n'y a pas beaucoup de propositions neuves, le Ministre pense qu'il va les susciter, que, vous voyez au parlement cette semaine à Ottawa tout le débat sur la tenue ou non des séances de travail là-dessus, mais en tout cas vraisemblablement les canadiens, auront, seront invités à réagir. J'ai rencontré le Ministre Clark jeudi; je lui ai dit: «Votre document ne m'apparaît pas neuf». Il s'est expliqué là-dessus, je lui ai dit: «Il n'y a pas beaucoup d'idées stimulantes, je ne sais pas si les canadiens vont vous en donner à vous». Il a ri. Je lui ai dit en un mot: «Ce document c'est un document un peu conservateur».

Joe Clark: Il y a comme la base du livre vert une approche qui roule au compte des traditions canadiennes, et ça c'est l'idée de base que nous devons considérer ensemble et

qui sont économiques et politiques. Peut-être pour vous c'est pas radical, mais dans les pensées traditionnelles de politiques étrangères-canadiennes cela c'est radical; et je crois que je veux dire deux choses: premièrement j'ai décidé d'avoir un livre vert qui peut poser des questions et qui puisse servir de base, un véhicule d'une vaste discussion. J'étais impressionné par la réponse des canadiens sur la crise en Afrique, et ce n'était pas juste la générosité, mais c'était que nous avons engagé dans cette lutte un grand nombre de canadiens qui n'avaient pas démontré un intérêt dans des questions internationales avant. Je crois que probablement plusieurs canadiens avec une préoccupation économique n'ont pas pensé souvent, quotidiennement, à des questions internationales avant, et j'espère que par voie des sciences sur le livre vert, nous pouvons avoir les petits entrepreneurs par exemple, qui sont bien affectés par le GATT. Nous pouvons encore les encourager de voir le problème dans un plus grand contexte. J'ai donné les instructions à mes fonctionnaires d'envoyer le livre vert, pas juste aux écoles des études internationales, mais aussi aux chambres de commerces du pays, parce que je veux engager cette clientèle dans le débat.

CBOF:                   L'Adjoint de M. Clark avait aussitôt ajouté M. Shawn Brady, et les syndicats - il ne faut pas oublier les syndicats - et c'est vrai que la consultation s'amorce entre plusieurs centres de décisions d'Ottawa avec plusieurs partenaires provinciaux, les syndicats, le patronat, les gouvernements, et pas

seulement pour les questions politiques extérieures, mais presque toujours sur les rapports avec notre voisin du sud.

Giroux:           Alors, le livre vert propose deux réflexions qui ne sont pas neuves mais urgents. La première d'abord:

CBOF:            L'économie canadienne elle est marchandée, principalement de matières premières plutôt que de produits manufacturés. Alors, les matières premières ou semi-finis on les trouve à meilleur compte dans les autres régions du monde, et là le Canada perd du terrain. Et bon, alors pour se rattraper une seule fois les produits manufacturés, notre spécialisation et notre compétitivité ne sont pas à notre avantage.

Giroux:           Et il y a un autre aspect aussi à considérer là...

CBOF:            Bien, cette économie canadienne -- c'est très clairement expliqué dans le livre vert -- cette économie canadienne elle est aussi obligée de changer - non seulement pour devenir plus compétitive, mais pour suivre le reste du monde. Notre marché est trop exigü pour assurer la prospérité de nos enfants. International, le Canada l'a été facilement, il doit apprendre à le devenir activement et rapidement.

Joe Clark:       La question de base pour nous est d'accepter que ce n'est pas possible pour nous avec un marché

assez petit d'être compétitif avec les autres pays juste sur la base de notre marché, et ce n'est pas nouveau ça, mais je crois que c'était plus facile pour nous d'éviter cette réalité, peut-être retarder rendez-vous avec cette réalité dans le passé qu'on a eu eu une certaine période, un certain sens de luxe ici au Canada. Maintenant, je crois que la situation est beaucoup plus réaliste, nous avons une situation économique qui est difficile mais souvent les choses difficiles forcent les pays, les peuples de faire face aux réalités.

Giroux:               Eh bien, on sait maintenant la décroissance du début de la décennie 80, c'est la perte d'un demi million d'emplois et puis aux Etats-Unis la décroissance elle a frappée tout aussi dur.

CBOF:                 Alors, nous sommes liés, les Etats-Unis et le Canada. 75% de nos affaires se font avec les Etats-Unis. C'est 154 milliards l'année dernière. Les Etats-Unis c'est notre grand marché, c'est aussi du fait de cette dépendance, notre principale menace. La dépendance pour le Canada c'est - il faut comprendre - que 28% et bientôt 30 de notre production doit être vendue à l'étranger, 28% doit être vendue à l'étranger, il faut comprendre ça. Comme la balance commerciale américaine est fortement déficitaire, ils achètent plus qu'ils vendent, enfin, ils achètent plus qu'ils ne vendaient, alors il y a la chambre

des représentants et puis il y a le Sénat qui sont entraînés à adopter aux Etats-Unis des mesures protectionnistes qui vont rendre nos affaires beaucoup plus difficiles. Ca c'est la menace, s'ils cessent d'acheter, d'acheter canadien, où est-ce qu'on va vendre nous, notre production?

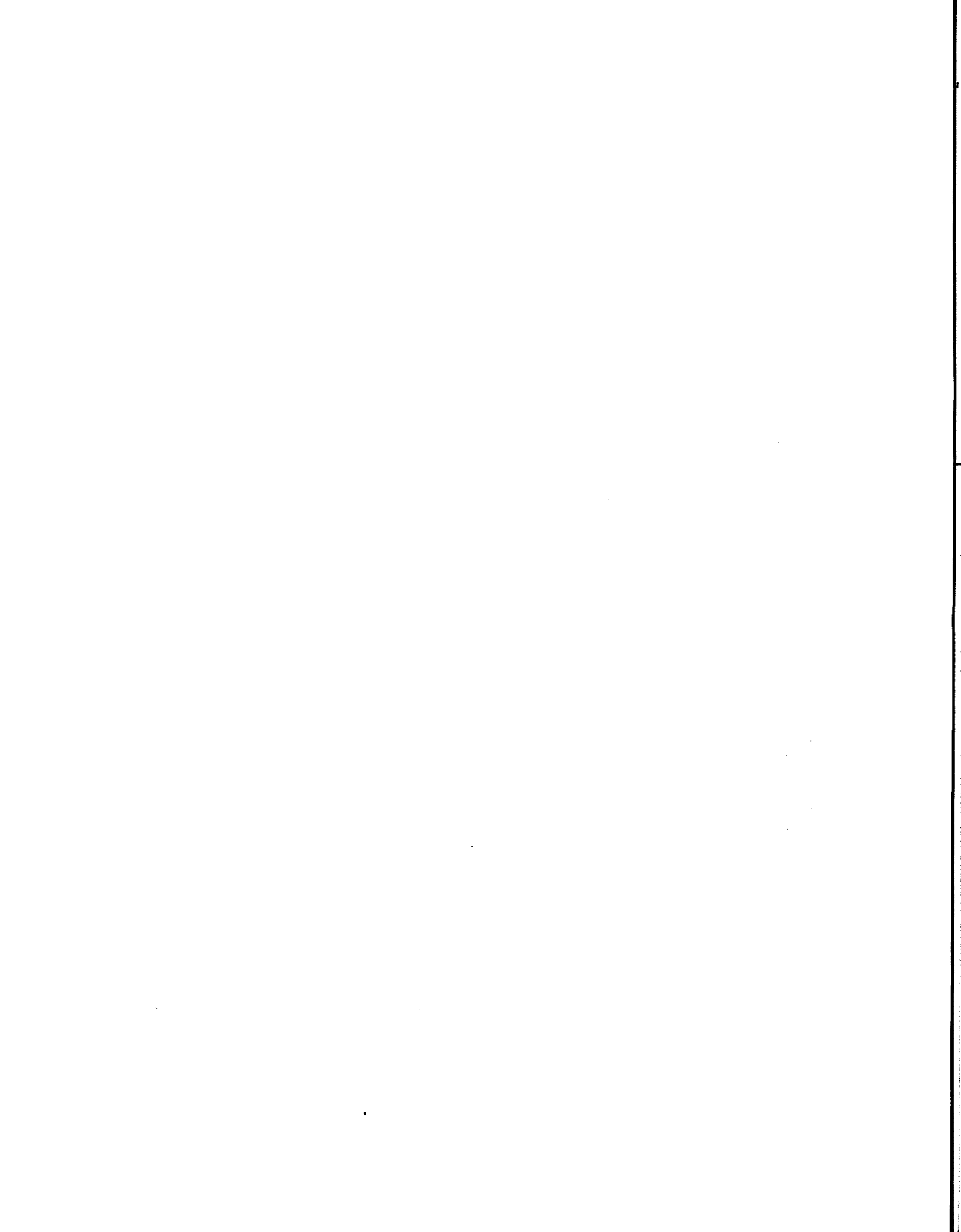
Clark: L'intérêt du Canada n'est pas du tout limité ici.

La plupart de notre commerce aujourd'hui c'est avec les Etats-Unis et ça sera encore pour une longue période de temps. Mais nous pensons par exemple que la croissance est le potentiel pour nous, le plus grand potentiel ce n'est pas aux Etats-Unis, c'est probablement dans le pacifique ou avec les pays de l'Asie, et nous devons si nous pouvons éviter la préoccupation exclusive avec les questions américaines; elles sont importantes bien sur, elles sont toujours dans les manchettes, mais dans un sens les tentatives canadiennes les plus importantes ne sont pas les tentatives vis-à-vis les Etats-Unis, mais les tentatives avec les autres marchés qui..... les vérités et qui posaient de plus grands potentiels pour le Canada.

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**SCRUM - TRANSCRIPTS / TRANSCRIPTIONS**

- 1) SSEA SCRUM (House of Commons) /SEAE SCRUM  
(Chambre des communes), May 16, le 16 mai  
1985
- 2) SSEA SCRUM, May 17, 1985



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SSEA: I indicated that I would have no objection if the Committee decided that it wanted to give priority to SDI and other questions. Indeed, there'd be some advantage to that because the Government has to make a decision on the invitation some time in the next 3 or 4 months, and I would welcome the opportunity to hear from Canadians before that happens. As things now stand, the Liberals and the NDP won't let Canadians speak. Now, they may change their position and I hope they do.

Q: (Inaudible).

SSEA: No, I can't.

Q: Legally, you can't do that?

SSEA: Legally, we need to have the agreement of the House to establish a special Joint Committee and, obviously, the next tactic of the Opposition parties who don't want the public to be heard would be to filibuster the Order of Reference. So, if they don't take part in it, there will not be an opportunity through a Parliamentary Committee, for Canadians to be heard on foreign policy. That would be tragic.

Q: But you're saying it would be the Committee's decision what the strategy ...

SSEA: It would be the Committee's decision, but they certainly know my interest in hearing from Canadians on these questions. I think it's very important that Canadians be heard and I hope the two other parties will stop opposing public participation.



Q: ... not make the decision then on SDI before the Committee has reported?

SSEA: No, no. I'm not saying that. That's not the position I'm putting forward. I'm saying we have to make a decision some time in the next 3 to 4 months on one aspect of the question, the invitation from the Americans. It would be very helpful for us to receive the views of Canadians as one element on which we base our judgment and if the Committee that we want to establish wants to take that into account, I'd welcome that. But that can't be done if the Liberals and the NDP continue to oppose the establishment of a Committee. I guess the other thing to say about SDI is that we all know that it is a long, long process. As I described it in the House, it's hypothetical. Final strategic decisions won't be taken on SDI for 4 or 5 years. That would certainly be after the report of a Committee, if a Committee gets a chance to exist. But, right now, the Opposition parties are stopping it from existing.

Q: Then, what you're saying is that you can wait until September or October if your 3 or 4 months, by my calculations, that would take us in September or October, before the Government would feel that it might have to make a decision on research?

SSEA: I'm saying that the Government will take a decision on a timetable that makes sense to Canada. If the Americans try to impose a shorter timetable, we won't accept that ...

Q: Yes, but, sir, you said 3 to 4 months, that presumably is September or October ...

SSEA: I'm assuming that some time in the next 3 to 4 months, the Government will want to respond to the invitation of the United States and I would welcome the opportunity to hear from Canadians on that and I'd really hope that the Liberals and the Opposition will let Canadians speak.

Q: Mr. Clark, you said June or July at the Committee last week.

SSEA: No. What I said to the Committee last week, when you check the record, is that we expect some time in June to hear from Dr. Kroeger. His report which is an expert report on a limited aspect of the invitation is one of the elements we'll consider. Another element we'd consider would be public opinion if the public is given a chance by the Liberals and the NDP to express their opinion.

Q: M. Clark, vous dites que vous êtes prêt à attendre le rapport du Comité, un rapport du Comité sur la Guerre des étoiles avant de prendre une décision. Est-ce que c'est ça?

SEAE: Non, je ne veux pas avoir d'échéances artificielles. Je n'ai pas accepté l'échéance artificielle des Américains et je ne veux pas accepter une autre échéance artificielle. Mais je veux avoir l'avis

du public canadien et le moyen de l'avoir est d'établir immédiatement le Comité conjoint, de permettre au Comité si c'est son choix de commencer des discussions sur la question de la défense stratégique et puis, comme le Gouvernement doit prendre sa décision, nous pourrions le faire avec l'avantage d'une connaissance des attitudes des Canadiens. Mais les partis de l'opposition ne veulent pas permettre au public de s'exprimer.

Q: Mais quel genre de délai êtes-vous prêt à leur donner?

SEAE: Ca peut prendre 3 ou 4 mois, j'imagine, pour nous de prendre une décision. Le Comité peut commencer, je crois, j'imagine une ou deux ou trois semaines après que c'est établi.

Q: Le Gouvernement pourrait retarder la décision jusqu'à septembre, c'est ça?

SEAE: Ce n'est pas une question de retarder. C'est une question de prendre les décisions quand nous sommes prêts.

Q: (inaudible) les provinces à la négociation (inaudible) un accord commercial avec les Etats-Unis?

SEAE: Je crois qu'au moins dans un sens informel, il serait essentiel d'avoir la coopération des provinces.

Q: Est-ce qu'il faut aussi les associer à la ratification, autrement dit, les provinces seraient associées à la politique commerciale canadienne?

SEAE: Je ne peux pas dire. Q: On The Journal last night, you said that you believed there should be a Star Wars program. Is that, in fact, your belief?

SSEA: I believe there should be research by the Americans into Star Wars. I said that in the House.

Q: That's not a contradiction of ...

SSEA: No, no, no. That's what I said in the House in that statement in January what-ever-it-is.

Q: So the question that has to be answered is only whether Canada gets any benefits from participating?

SSEA: Oh, that's question 1. There's a question as to whether it's in our interest for a variety of reasons to take part in the research. Then, assuming the SDI becomes a feasible proposal, there is a question as to whether it makes sense to proceed with it. That we won't be facing for 5 or 6 years.

Q: As far as the strategic question is concerned, you believe it strategically makes sense to (inaudible)

SSEA: I think it makes sense in terms both of what we believe the Soviets are doing and in terms of the fact that there are negotiations now in progress in Geneva in which the SDI question is an issue.

Q: So it's a means of forcing the Soviet Union, their feet in the fire, as it were, during any of the negotiations in Geneva?

SSEA: One can't ignore the fact that the negotiations are going on and that, undoubtedly, that they weren't going on before the Strategic Defence Initiative was proposed. But the really important question and fact is that, to the best of our knowledge, which is pretty good, the Soviets are conducting a kind of research now that if it occurred in the United States it would be called research into strategic defence.

Q: What about the very broad and strategic questions?

SB: Gentlemen, that's enough.

Q: What is your position on that? That it be a good idea to go for space-based defence program?

SSEA: We can't answer that until we know if it works and that's what we're trying ... that's what we're looking at.



Réjane Dodd  
Media Relations Officer

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TRANSCRIPTS/TRANSCRIPTIONS

TO/A : Distribution DATE May 17, 1985-

FROM/DE Press Office/Service de Presse

SUBJECT/  
SUJET Green Paper

PROGRAM(S)/  
EMISSION(S) SSEA Scrum - May 17

## SSEA BOOK

MINA/  
White  
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Mikkelborg  
Leblanc  
SCS/  
Strouts  
Storsater  
Bouchard  
FPR/  
Quinn

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Q: How old is this decision on Star Wars Research, until you get a report of some sort from this Committee?

SSEA: - We're not going to tie ourselves to any artificial deadline. What I'm interested in doing is having the Committee sit and I'd like to know why the Liberals and the NDP refuse to let the public be heard. The sooner they get on with approval of the Committee, the sooner the conversations can begin. I've made it clear that no decision will be taken by us for 3 to 4 months and I'd like the Committee to be sitting before that time. The other parties won't let it.

Q: It's the same question. I'm just not quite clear. Are you willing to give them a commitment, to say to them - we will not make the decision until we hear from you?

SSEA: That has never been part of our position and I think it would be unreasonable for us to tie a Government decision to an artificial procedure. What I've said is that right now there is no opportunity for the public to be heard on the Strategic Defence Initiative. I have proposed an opportunity that would allow, let's say, 3 months' public hearings. The Liberals and the NDP are denying that proposal. The question to ask is why are they denying that proposal.

Q: Mr. Clark, what's the big hang-up about giving them a deadline?

SB: OK, that's it, guys. That's it. The scrum's all over now.

Q: About agreeing ...

SSEA: You understand the practices of Parliament.

You understand the tradition in Parliament is that when we establish a Committee, we give that Committee freedom to establish its own agenda.

I've gone much farther than Ministers have gone in my memory, in indicating my disposition, but it's the Committee's business. It's not my business, it's the Committee's business and insofar as whether we are going to delay 5 months, 10 months, 2 years a decision on trade matters with the United States, no, I'm not going to put Canadian jobs at risk like that. No, I'm not going to put our strategic interests at risk like that. What I'm doing is offering, through Parliament, the people of Canada the full opportunity to take part in discussions of these important questions. The Liberals and the NDP for narrow political reasons are denying the people of Canada that right.

Q: Well, sir, if you're not going to allow the recommendations, wait for the recommendations in advance of your decision ...

SSEA: Look, if the Committee is formed and if the hearings are held and if there are 3 months of public participation which I am proposing, a consensus will emerge before we have to make the decision. That's very clear. That means that we'll have the benefit of that consensus.

We will also be respecting the parliamentary process. The Liberals and the NDP do not want to do that. Ask yourselves who is holding up progress on this matter? Who is now stopping Canadians from being heard?

I'm not. I'm proposing a Committee and I'm also indicating a timeframe, at least 3 months in which consensus can be built. But the NDP and the Liberals refuse to get the process started. That's where we stand and I deeply regret it. I think it's anti-parliamentary. I think it's anti-democratic. I think that it limits the breadth of the base upon which we can make our decision and I hope that over the week-end, they'll cool off a little bit, stop playing politics with this important issue, and recognize that for the first time in Canadian history, there's been an opportunity for Canadians to take part in the discussions of international relations and let us get on with it.

Q: Might this expression of consensus take the form of an interim report?

SSEA: That's a decision of the Committee. It's not my decision. I can't dictate that to them.

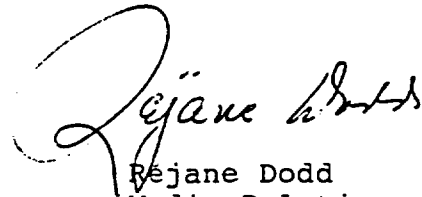
Q: No, but do you think that would be a good idea?

SSEA: That's their decision.

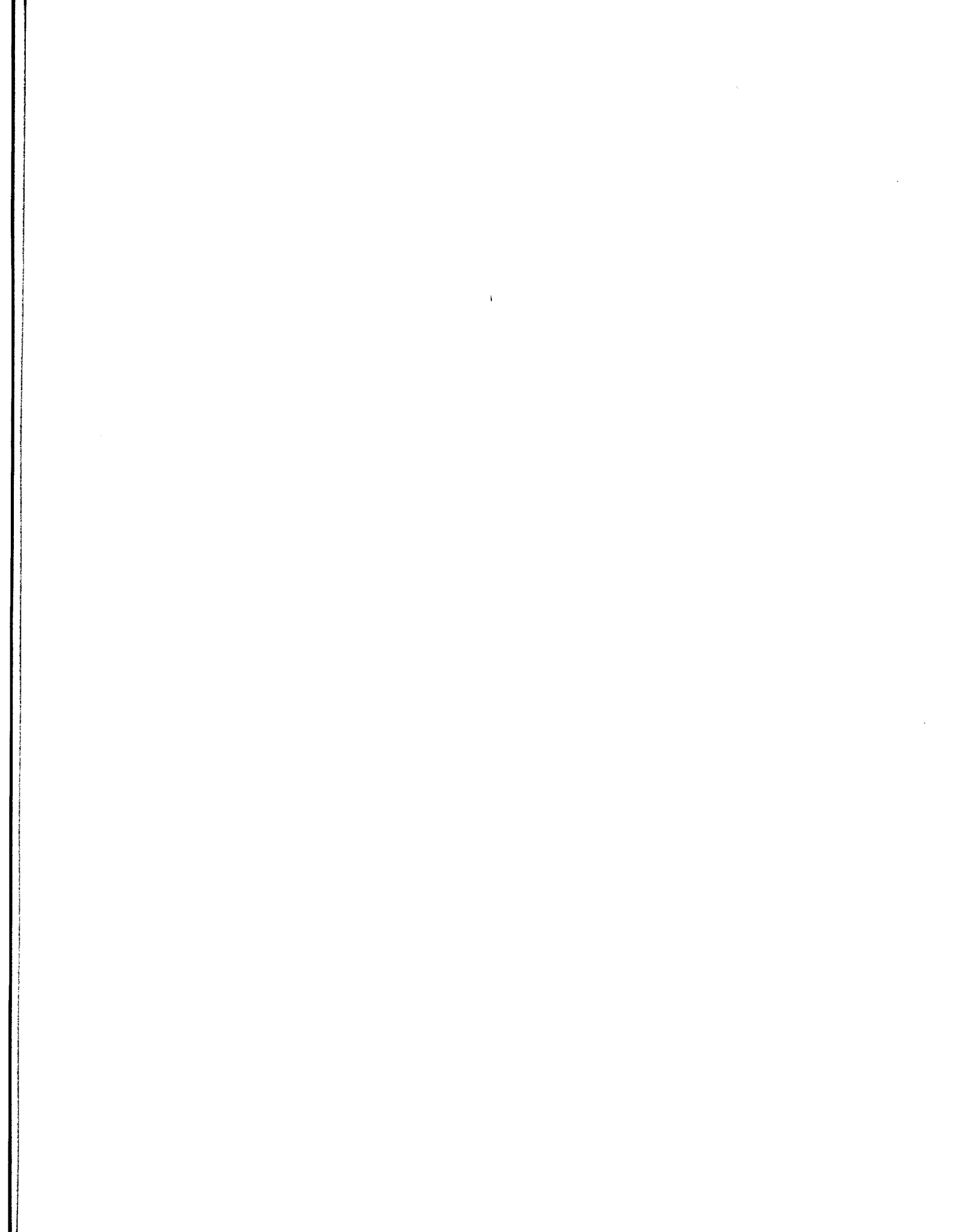
Q: Or a special pole across the country?

SSEA: That's their decision. I am establishing here, or I'm trying to, if the Liberals and the NDP would let me do it, I want to let the people in. I also want to let the Committee establish its own working rules. I've indicated my pre-disposition, indeed, my interest and so far the Liberals and the NDP keep finding new excuses. That is what's quite remarkable about this. When this began, the NDP's reason for objecting was that they didn't have enough members in the Committee.

We delt with that. Then they said there wouldn't be discussion of SDI.  
We dealt with that. Then they said there wouldn't be discussion of  
trade. We dealt with that. Now they have a new objection. I think,  
I have to question whether or not they want the people to be heard.

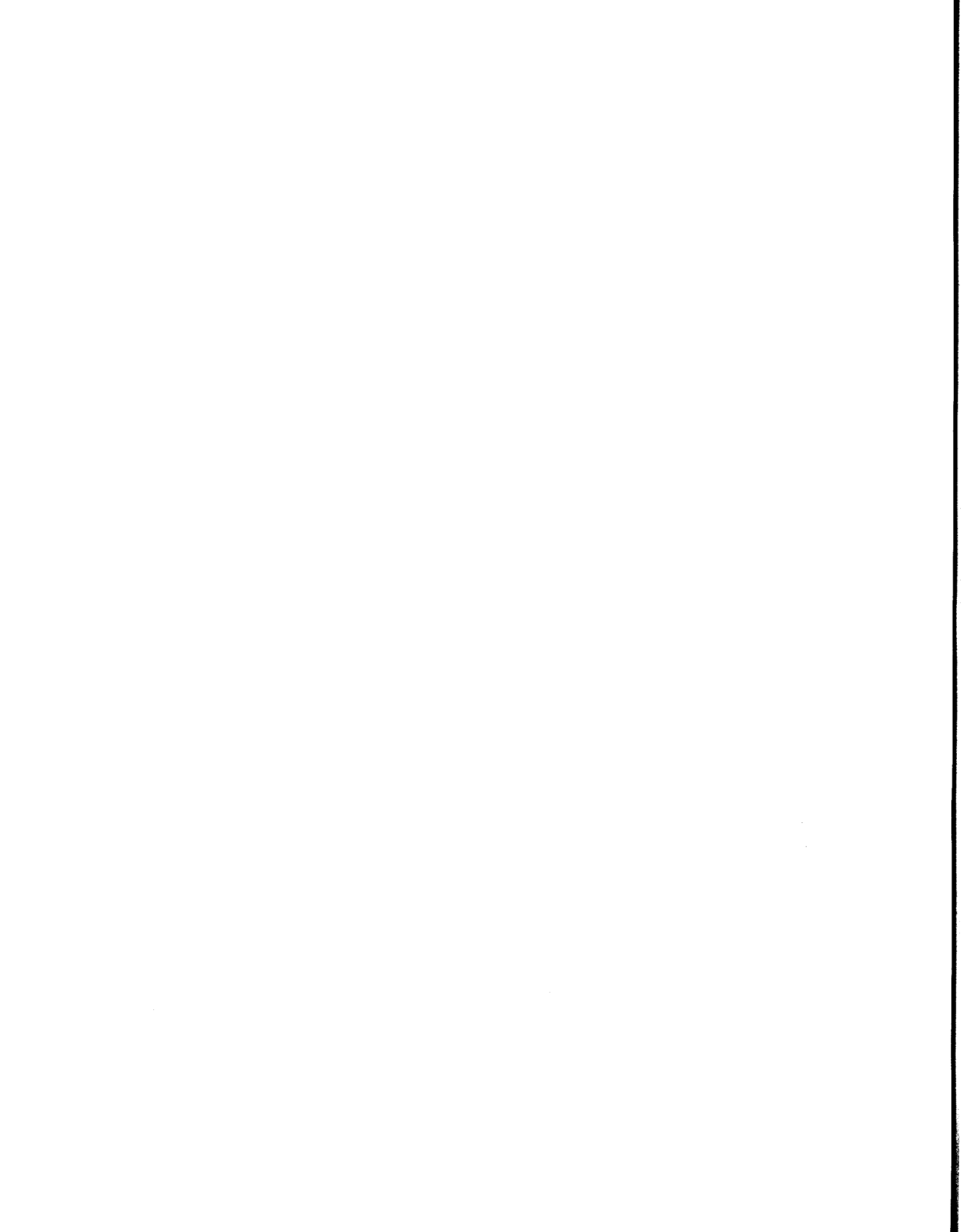


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PART III / PARTIE III  
PRESS CLIPPINGS / COUPURES DE PRESSE





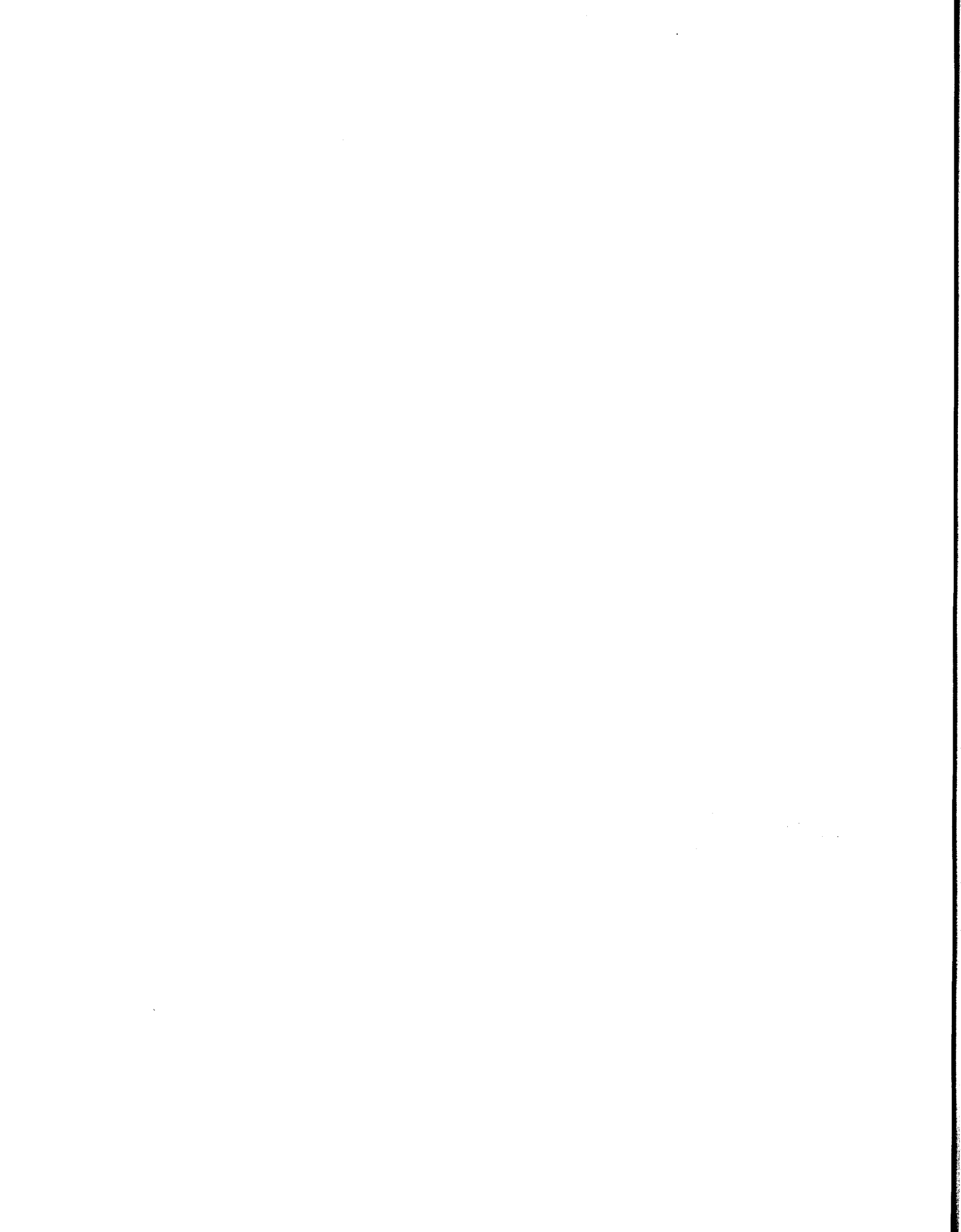
GLOBE AND MAIL - PRESS CLIPPINGS

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- 2) "Restating the obvious" by Jeffrey Simpson, May 16, 1985
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# Sideline status, 2 missing issues hamper review

By HUGH WINSOR

Globe and Mail Reporter

OTTAWA — Trying to define a new foreign policy for a middle power full of good intentions but with little clout to implement them is a problem at any time.

But External Affairs Minister Joe Clark's attempt to breathe life into his policy review has been further hampered because two of the biggest foreign policy issues the Government faces were cut out of the review before it was tabled yesterday.

While Mr. Clark says he is taking the review seriously and has told a press conference that the Government would have to take seriously in retrospect any unanimous recommendations to come from a joint committee of Senators and MPs, the question of Canadian participation in the U.S. Strategic Defence Initiative and the question of our trading relationship with the United States are on separate tracks and will be answered before the review deals with them.

The External Affairs document talks about arms control and disarmament, for instance, but admits that, because it is not at the big powers' table, Canada can do little more than sit on the sidelines and cheer or boo. Even the cheering and booing is restrained, except when it comes to supporting the United Nations or the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development because circumstances have forced External Affairs to walk softly without carrying a big stick.

In foreign aid, for example, where Canada has traditionally done more than many middle powers, the paper hints that even that role may be reduced by budget constraints.

Mr. Clark and his department are trying to use a well-publicized foreign policy review as a vehicle to get back into the mainstream of the policy debate when the high ground has already been taken by two other departments, defence and trade. The review has the additional problem that, towering over everything, is the Prime Minister with his own ego and his own agenda.

Prime Minister Brian Mulroney has acted decisively to put the management of Canadian-U.S. relations directly into his own office with high-profile moves like the Shamrock Summit and the appointment of his own senior adviser to

check out the U.S. invitation to participate in Star Wars research when External Affairs already has an elaborate structure in Washington.

The man heading that is Ambassador Allan Gottlieb, who in an earlier manifestation as undersecretary of state at a time when bureaucrats more nakedly ran government departments, had considerable success in asserting the External Affairs Department's primacy in all elements of foreign policy.

## ANALYSIS

That is when the foreign trade promotion part of the old industry trade and commerce department was moved to the Lester Pearson Building (headquarters of External Affairs) and other departments with foreign policy interests were brought to heel.

External Affairs no longer enjoys that unchallenged position.

Because of the high priority the Government has placed on "refurbishing" the U.S. relationship, all references to the controversial Strategic Defence Initiative were toned down to avoid any offence to the United States, and the whole subject was dealt with in a couple of paragraphs.

The paper was also restrained in mentioning anything to do with defence, Canada's relationship with NATO and the whole question of collective security because Defence Minister Erik Nielsen has already announced he will be bringing in a statement on defence policy independent of any discussion prompted by the parliamentary review.

For all these reasons, the Clark paper concentrated on Canada's economic relations with other countries, especially in trade. Mr. Clark says it is this concentration that makes his review so different and so important "because it touches every part of the Government." It is also important, he says, because it underlines some of the tough choices Canadians will have to make.

But the paper gives very little indication of what those choices should be, or why the paper had to fight its way through the Cabinet system, since it commits the Government to little more than encouraging public debate.

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MAY 16 1985

## Restating the obvious

BY JEFFREY SIMPSON

OTTAWA

Quite inadvertently, one presumes, the covers of Canada's latest foreign policy review neatly symbolize what lies inside.

The jacket design features a map by Buckminster Fuller with the world superimposed upon a series of triangles whose angles point in every direction.

Above these multi-directional angles lie the portentous words "Directions for Canada's International Relations." A perfect juxtaposition of symbol and words for a document that cannot make up its mind what it is, let alone where it should go.

The paper itself, a suitably modest 47 pages, amounts to a relentless restatement of the obvious. The statements it offers are so anodyne, the questions so banal that any Canadian seeking to address himself to the document will feel as if he had been dropped in a tub of semolina.

Yet the purported purpose of this document is to guide a parliamentary committee and the public in a year-long national debate on foreign policy. If this document be a guide, then search parties should be dispatched forthwith, for there is nothing in the document to assist the curious, let alone the informed.

At least the 1970 foreign policy review pointed readers in a general direction. It gave a sense of the government's tentative thinking without casting those thoughts in stone. And it invited debate on important, unresolved questions.

This document invites participants to discuss some of the very issues which the government must resolve before the parliamentary committee concludes its work. These include: participation in the Americans' "Star Wars" anti-ballistic missile research program and trade relations with the United States.

Both of these will be decided upon about the time the parliamentary committee begins its hearings, a point the opposition parties rightly belabored in the Commons yesterday.

A covering letter by External Affairs Minister Joe Clark indirectly concedes the point. "Quite possibly, before the review is complete, the Government may wish to act on some issues..." he writes. "Nonetheless, this review will be invaluable in shaping policy."

How the review can be "invaluable" after decisions are made remains one of those little secrets that can make politics nine parts public relations and one part intelligent thinking.

Still, the document commends itself as a case study of the Mulroney Government in action, or rather in the semblance of action.

Since Sept. 4, we have witnessed a blizzard of consultation papers, task force reports, green papers and other assorted documents of great portent and little direction, all published by the Government with the largest number of seats in Canadian history.

The thread running through all of them has been uncertainty bordering on political fear. Fear that offence might be given to a particular group, fear that in clarity lies danger, in anticipated direction controversy.

In almost every case, the documents spoke to the yawning void in the Conservatives' pre-election policy thinking, a chronic weakness of Canadian politics. Where the Conservatives had carefully thought through what they wanted to do — in energy and federal-provincial relations, for example — the Government moved decisively, courageously and deftly.

There are so many important, pointed issues to debate in Canada's foreign policy — and an increasingly large number of Canadians willing to debate them — that a discussion paper worth its name would have focused the debate.

Instead this paper, like so many others, drifts from banality to confusion, omitting as much as it includes, inviting cynicism from the very people it hoped to attract.



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MAY 16 1985

## Mr. Clark consults

Two months behind schedule and short on specificity, External Affairs Minister Joe Clark has tabled his Green Paper on Canadian foreign policy. Not since his suitcase went astray a few years back has Mr. Clark arrived at a destination so empty-handed.

The document is intended to set the pace for the first comprehensive review of Canadian external relations since the early Trudeau years. In 1970, the Trudeau Government decided to replace the "helpful fixer" with the trade promoter in Canadian diplomacy. Foreign policy was to be reoriented to serve Canadian economic interests.

The Clark paper narrows that vision even further and effectively declares that foreign policy is basically trade and investment policy. There are, of course, references to arms control, development assistance, human rights and the United Nations. But most of the document could have been authored by the Finance Department.

Perhaps this is *realpolitik* with a vengeance — a hard-headed conclusion that Canada lacks the clout to reform the rest of the planet and should therefore keep its eye on the main (economic) chance. But such parochialism seems at odds with the outward orientation of Canadian public opinion.

The Green Paper subtly communicates the notion that Canada's only really important relationship is with the United States (a curious contrast to the Trudeau review, which excluded the U.S. entirely). Yet even if Ottawa's preoccupation with the U.S. were appropriate, the paper's approach to that relationship is stunted.

Nowhere does it raise the broad question of how economically entwined Canada can become with the U.S. before it loses its ability to chart even a

nominally independent course in domestic and foreign policy. The document complains of Canada's poor performance in research and development, but never mentions that non-resident (principally U.S.) ownership blocks such innovation in at least some of our industries. The paper enumerates various possibilities for a Canada-U.S. trade pact, but curtly dismisses a sectoral approach and concentrates on the potential benefits (but not the potential costs) of a comprehensive pact.

By contrast, Mr. Clark's paper is much less bold and direct when it looks at how Canadian ideas on Central America and arms control may collide with U.S. priorities. It does not bother to inquire whether Canadians favor more forceful opposition to U.S. destabilization of the Sandinistas, nor does it ask clearly whether Canada should stay aloof from U.S. space weapons research and press for preservation of the anti-ballistic missile treaty.

Not only has the minister tried to diffuse the debate on some controversial issues, but his Government will pre-empt consultation on them. The decision on whether to take part in Star Wars research will be made even before the parliamentary committee has solicited public responses to the Green Paper. Canada will tell the U.S. what kind of trade pact it wants before Green Paper consultations are completed. It will decide on its priorities for a new round of multilateral trade negotiations before then, too.

The apparent emptiness of Mr. Clark's latest exercise in consultation recalls his previous one: he canvassed the people on arms control while the Tories were the Opposition, and then "suffocated" the results at Prime Minister Brian Mulroney's behest. Will this new communion with Canadians be any less pointless?

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## The clerical solution

Ottawa's Green Paper on foreign affairs seeks public debate on a suitable anti-apartheid policy. "How can Canada . . . press for change in South Africa," it asks, "while avoiding isolating that country and making communication and peaceful change more difficult? Is foreign investment part of the problem or part of the solution?"

External Affairs Minister Joe Clark has received a speedy reply from the Canadian churches. In a well-researched brief, the Christian denominations take the view that it is precisely by isolating South Africa that pressure can be effectively applied upon apartheid. They leave no doubt that they view foreign investment as "part of the problem."

Their proposals would unravel, one by one, the threads of an already tattered bilateral relationship. The churches want the Canadian Embassy in Pretoria to dump its local trade officer. They want Ottawa to block exports of computer and other equipment with even indirect military potential. They want Ottawa to halt imports of South African Krugerrands.

Not content to nickel and dime South Africa, the clerics flirt with comprehensive economic sanctions. They cite South African Bishop Desmond Tutu's statement that he will call for sanctions in 18 to 24 months if the abandonment of apartheid is not then underway. Ottawa, say the churches, should "consider now its responses to such a call . . . and prepare for this eventuality."

This proposal, while deliberately fuzzy, implies that Joe Clark should prepare to say "me too" to Bishop Tutu. The bishop is an admirable advocate of non-violent reform, and Canadian churchmen may conscientiously take their cues from him, but surely the Canadian Government should not base its decisions on the words

of one South African, however admirable. Canada needs to listen to other voices in black South Africa, too. There is not now, and may not be in two years, a consensus on the efficacy of sanctions.

Several prominent black politicians and union leaders oppose disinvestment. They contend that, while such action would penalize the white-dominated economy, it could not force the white minority to surrender power. It would, however, harm the job prospects of black workers.

While we continue to doubt the wisdom of comprehensive sanctions, the churches' brief does make a useful contribution to the policy debate. It describes how the Government has eroded some of its own anti-apartheid principles in recent years:

□ Ottawa vowed in 1977 to "phase out" its South African trade promotion assistance, yet continues to offer market development subsidies and export insurance to Canadian firms.

□ Ottawa subscribes to the United Nations arms boycott of South Africa, yet has enforced it rather feebly. (Space Research Corp. sent four shipments of artillery shells undetected to South Africa in 1977.)

□ Ottawa created in 1978 a voluntary code of conduct to prod Canadian firms active in South Africa to behave as model employers, but it has neither systematically distributed the code to the companies nor required them to report on their compliance.

□ Ottawa in 1979 ordered Polymer, a Crown corporation, to shed its investment in South Africa on the grounds that the Canadian Government should not profit from apartheid. Yet the Government now owns shares in Massey-Ferguson, which invests in South Africa.

The principles are still valid. The practices should conform to them.

# Why bother to debate Canada's foreign policy?

BY STEPHEN CLARKSON

*Mr. Clarkson is a professor of political economy at the University of Toronto and author of Canada and the Reagan Challenge: Crisis and Adjustment, 1981-1985, recently published in a second edition by James Lorimer and Co.*

THE PUBLICATION last week of External Affairs Minister Joe Clark's green paper on foreign policy inspired two responses in the media and the Commons.

The sophomoric quality of the paper's analysis was mocked as an inadequate basis for a serious public debate on the future of Canada's international relations. At the same time, critics pointed out the uselessness of the proposed parliamentary review process when such major decisions as whether to engage in Star Wars research or free trade with the United States will be made elsewhere and long before the review is complete.

These initial responses have obscured a far more important fact about Brian Mulroney's new Canada and its place in the world. A strong case can be made that a genuine debate about Canada's foreign policy future was precluded the day Mr. Mulroney became Prime Minister of Canada. Eight months ago, he brought to his office a mindset unique among prime ministers in Canadian history. For Mr. Mulroney, Canada has one great good friend in the world — the United States — and all international policy decisions flow from that belief.

So much attention has been paid to the

many ways in which Mr. Mulroney has continued previous Liberal practices in domestic politics — from handing out patronage to propping up industrial losers — that it is easy to forget how radically he has transformed Canada's international stance. In stark contrast to the broad range of internal policy questions on which the Prime Minister has shown a remarkable elasticity of principle, he has brought to Canada's external policies a clear and apparently fixed world view formed by his own experience as a North American.

The boy from Baie Comeau, a town in Canada's resource hinterland, grew up in the continentalist certainty that Canadian prosperity was a direct product of U.S. enterprise. Later, the labor lawyer who became the branch manager for a Cleveland steel company enjoyed his prime professional experience as a Canadian agent hired to do whatever jobs, from repatriating more capital to closing the mine at Schefferville, his U.S. directors required.

It is not surprising that the world view which Mr. Mulroney's brought to the Prime Minister's office was essentially restricted to North America. Unlike his predecessors, he had travelled little abroad and had no parliamentary experience in opposition or in government with global policy matters. It is more surprising that, for all the narrowness of his horizons and his lack of international experience, he imposed his world view on his Government immediately following his victory in September. "Good relations, super relations with the United

States will be the cornerstone of our foreign policy," he boasted.

He proceeded to deliver. His first major action was a courtesy visit to U.S. President Ronald Reagan in Washington just eight days after taking office. His first major public speech was to Wall Street's money managers at the Economic Club in New York. He downgraded the external affairs minister's power in the Cabinet committee system. At the same time he made it clear that he, not Mr. Clark, was going to take personal charge of the U.S. relationship as if he was his own Minister of American Relations. His self-conscious mission was to establish the closest prime ministerial rapport with the U.S. president since Mackenzie King courted Franklin D. Roosevelt.

The White House was patently delighted. Richard Burt, a presidential foreign-policy adviser, spoke glowingly last autumn of "recreating the 'special relationship'." The remark expressed the euphoria of the moment. It did not seem to recognize that to return to the type of preferential rapport Canada and the United States had offered each other in the early 1950s would require changes in both capitals.

For his part, Mr. Mulroney proceeded to abolish the Foreign Investment Review Agency (FIRA) and to skewer the National Energy Program (NEP), thereby showing his comprador's proclivity for redefining Canadian national interests in terms pleasing to Washington. He reaffirmed the old tenets of quiet diplomacy by announcing that Canada would not press the Americans on acid rain until it

had first cleaned up its own, though far less damaging, sources of pollution.

The military side of this new continentalism was the Government's hasty acceptance of the Pentagon's current strategic thinking. Participation in the North Warning System and the commitment of 1,200 more troops to Europe have foreclosed the consideration of alternative military scenarios in conventional defence. Defence Minister Erik Nielsen has at least shown consistency in rejecting public participation; apart from the Star Wars decision, there is nothing much left to discuss.

When you take into account this country's new postures in these vital areas, it is clear that the Canadian Government has done everything in its power to ingratiate itself with the United States and make its relationship with Uncle Sam "special". But the benefits flowing from these actions are hard to discern. Although the Prime Minister's political reputation was built on his talents as a negotiator, he has used a novel negotiating strategy with the United States. He has given up every major bargaining chip he held without managing to achieve any significant concessions from the United States.

There is no indication that the U.S. Government has altered its view of its own national interests as far as the United Nations or disarmament negotiations are concerned, issues that Ottawa claims to still consider important. Nor has Washington changed its imperial style with Ottawa, as its failure to consult over the Nicaragua trade embargo confirmed. The Reagan Administration has doggedly refused to curb its emissions of pollutants, indicating that Canada has not gained influence in Washington. Meanwhile, protectionist threats to constrain Canadian lumber and steel exports to the United States grow ever stronger in a

Congress apparently unmoved by Mr. Mulroney's deference.

By June, 1984, when the Trudeau era came to a close, a healthy political equilibrium had been established between Canada and the United States. Following the 1981 crisis provoked by the new Reagan Administration's hysterical response to the NEP and FIRA, Ottawa had smoothed over the main points of contention with Washington.

Since the appointment of the business-like George Shultz as Secretary of State in 1982, the Canadian-U.S. relationship had functioned on the basis of an honest recognition of differences of interest, bargaining that was more open but still tough, and, consequently, a greater respect by each side for the legitimate positions of the other.

At its successful United Nations Law of the Sea negotiations, in the settling of the East Coast maritime boundary dispute by the International Court of Justice, at the economic summits, even in Pierre Trudeau's valedictory peace initiative, Canada had demonstrated a considerable maturity on the international stage.

Now, under new management, the Canadian Government has reverted to the historically more comfortable if less dignified posture of continental dependence as the first principle governing its international relations. If the essence of our new foreign policy is a U.S.-centred stance, then Canada's relations with the rest of the world are constrained politically by the requirement not to offend Washington and limited financially by commitments to expand a military establishment tied to Pentagon strategy.

This is the main reason why public discussion of the banal questions raised by the green paper can only be an exercise in futility: the big decisions have been made.



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MAY 14 1985

# Economic scene far from bright, MPs to be told

By HUGH WINSOR  
 Globe and Mail Reporter

OTTAWA — A green paper on foreign policy questions to be tabled in the Commons today paints a gloomy picture of Canadian economic prospects, and suggests that Canadian power and influence in the world have declined in recent years.

Faced with a declining share of the world's trade and the stripping away of Canada's traditional competitive advantage in natural resources, the paper looks to some form of special trading relationship with the United States as a solution.

The paper, which outlines the scope for a parliamentary review of Canadian foreign policy, flirts with the notion of free trade and with a bilateral framework agreement that could cover special trade arrangements in selected sectors, but contains no recommended proposals.

Although it outlines in some detail the difficult environment facing Canadian exports and stresses the weakness of Canadian competitiveness, the paper deals with most of the central foreign policy issues by posing questions which the Government hopes will prompt a national

dialogue as they are dealt with by a special joint committee of senators and members of Parliament.

The paper catalogues all of the traditional trade-offs on collective security and defence, on peace-keeping and disarmament and on foreign aid and economic development. But its central preoccupation is with trade, which accounts for about 30 per cent of Canada's gross national product — a percentage second only to that of West Germany — and thus has an immense impact on jobs and prosperity.

In share of the world market, Canada has fallen from fourth to eighth place among leading traders and, in particular, is losing out on the share of manufactured exports, a sector which produces the most jobs.

In the one area where Canada has been doing better, in the U.S. market spurred on by a 75-cent dollar, there are concerns about rising protectionism in Washington.

While the paper points to the benefits that might come from better Canadian access to the large U.S. market, it puts much less emphasis on what might happen to Canadian industries when exposed to tougher American competition.

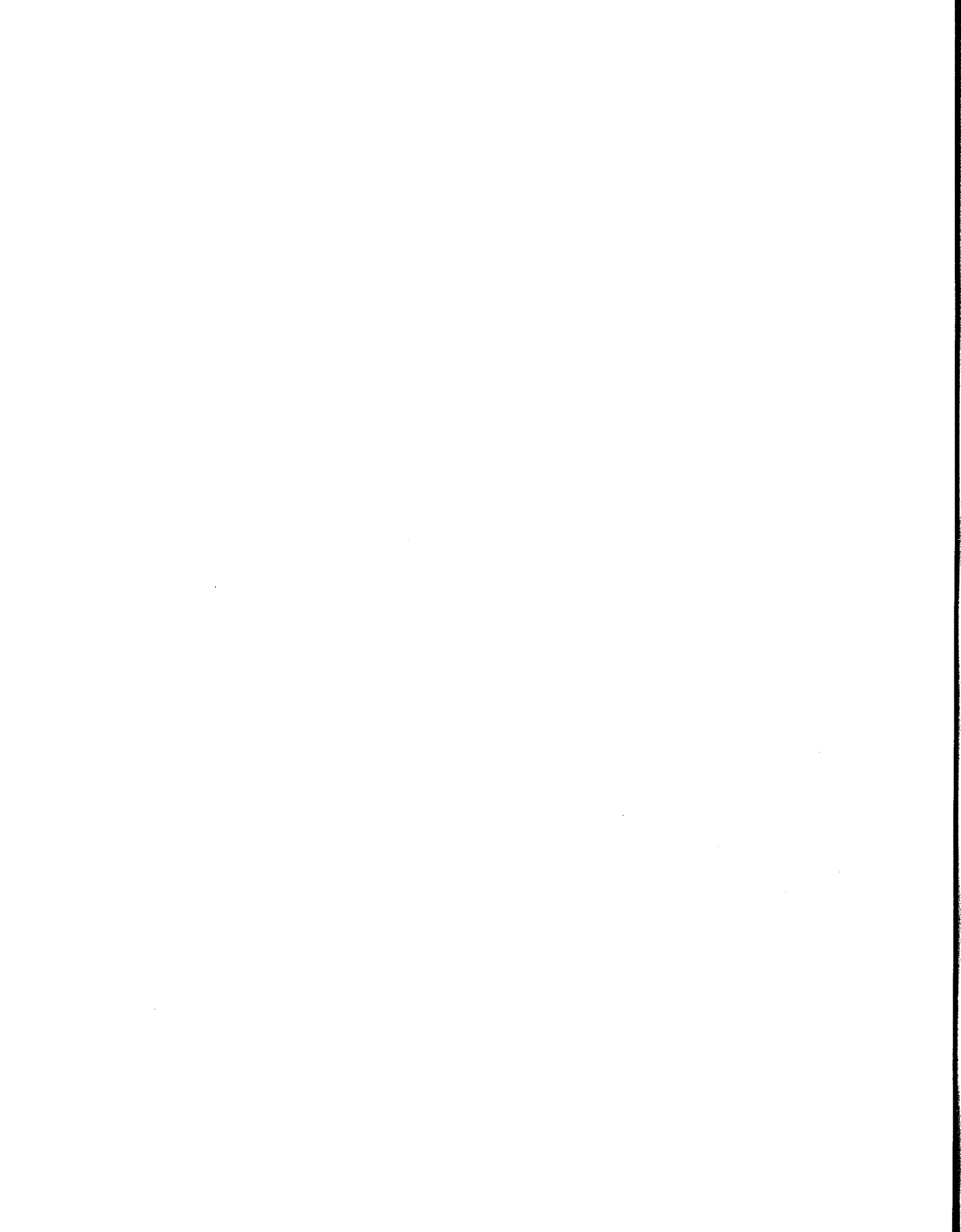
The paper also questions the current policy of protecting Canadian textiles, footwear, clothing, automobiles and agriculture against full competition, but again throws the question out for public response.

Declines in Canada's international competitiveness and in Canadian defence efforts are cited as two reasons for a parallel fall in Canadian capacity to influence international security and political affairs.

"In recent years, allies have sensed less active Canadian participation in international political institutions."

The paper promises Canada will be a "good global citizen" determined to play a more upbeat role at the United Nations, in the Commonwealth and the association of French-speaking nations and other international bodies and in promoting development in the Third World.

Canada's membership in NATO is not open to question, but the paper does question whether the country can or should try to maintain all of the roles assigned to it and sees some trade-off between an expensive presence in Europe and paying more attention to the assertion of sovereignty and control in North America and on the North Atlantic.



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# PCs want public input on Star Wars

By JEFF SALLOT  
Globe and Mail Reporter

OTTAWA — The federal Government might not make a decision on participation in Star Wars research for another three or four months, External Affairs Minister Joe Clark said yesterday. And in the meantime, it would like to hear the views of average Canadians.

Last week, Mr. Clark indicated that the Government would be in a position to decide by the end of June on whether Canada will take part in the research for Washington's proposed space-based strategic defence system.

But he told reporters yesterday that "we have to make a decision sometime in the next three or four months. . . . It would be very helpful to us to

receive the views of Canadians as one element on which we base our judgment."

Mr. Clark said that "an appropriate forum would be a special Commons-Senate committee on foreign policy, which the Government proposed to create to study Ottawa's green paper review of foreign policy, published Tuesday.

President Ronald Reagan's controversial Strategic Defence Initiative, commonly known as Star Wars, is a theoretical proposal to defend North America and Western Europe from Soviet nuclear attack. It would use anti-missile systems deployed in space.

The first phase is a \$26-billion research program to determine feasibility.

The United States invited Canada and other Western allies to participate in the research and

originally wanted a decision by the end of this month. The deadline has since been dropped.

The Star Wars research proposal is getting mixed reviews in Western European capitals. France has said it is not interested and senior British officials have raised questions.

Opposition parties in Canada and in some European countries oppose any participation in Star Wars, even initial research, because they view it as a dangerous escalation of the arms race into space.

Last month, Ottawa appointed a senior official, Arthur Kroeger, to examine all aspects of Washington's invitation, including the possible economic, scientific and technological benefits

for Canada. His report is expected by the end of June.

In the Commons yesterday, Mr. Clark accused the opposition parties of trying to deny Canadians a forum to express their views on Canadian participation in Star Wars research, closer trade links with the United States and other aspects of foreign policy.

The Liberals and the New Democratic Party have said they will not participate in the proposed joint committee because Mr. Clark's green paper does not deal with the Star Wars issue.

The major foreign-policy issue of national defence is not addressed in the green paper, indicating that the Government is not serious about public discussion of the issue, the Liberals and NDP critics said Tuesday.

"We do not want to be a party to a fraud on the people of Canada," Liberal Leader John Turner said in explanation for the opposition boycott of the committee.

It is "showing contempt for the people of Canada" to hold foreign-policy review hearings on the green paper when the Cabinet will have already decided the Star Wars research question, NDP Leader Edward Broadbent said.

The opposition boycott means that there cannot be any public hearings because there cannot be a committee, Mr. Clark told the House.

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LE DEVOIR

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# Commerce et tiers-monde

C'EST AUJOURD'HUI que le secrétaire d'État aux Affaires extérieures du Canada, M. Joe Clark, rend enfin public son livre vert *Compétitivité et sécurité: Orientations pour les relations extérieures du Canada*. Le titre même témoigne de l'importance qu'y prendra le commerce extérieur du pays, qui compte pour près de 30% du PNB et qui traverse, malgré une balance actuellement très favorable, une crise qui a fait glisser le Canada, depuis une quinzaine d'années, du quatrième au huitième rang des pays exportateurs. On se précipitera donc sur l'encyclique tant attendue pour y découvrir les stratégies d'amélioration de la position concurrentielle canadienne. Mais, comme vient de le rappeler à point nommé l'Institut Nord-Sud — un organisme sans but lucratif voué à l'analyse des politiques à l'égard des pays en développement — il faudra scruter de près les soutiens publics à l'exportation qui sont du protectionnisme déguisé, et qui servent souvent mieux les intérêts canadiens que ceux du tiers-monde.

En janvier dernier, le ministre du Commerce extérieur, M. James Keleher, publiait deux documents de consultation, l'un sur le libre-échange Canada-États-Unis, l'autre sur cette délicate question du financement des exportations. Le premier a fait recette, l'autre non. C'est à ce dernier que s'attache l'Institut Nord-Sud, convaincu que les orientations qu'on retiendra auront un effet déterminant sur les relations du Canada avec le tiers-monde.

L'Institut répète avec d'autres que l'aide aux exportations par leur financement public est économiquement inefficace, dans la mesure où elle soutient souvent des entreprises qui seraient incapables de faire face à la concurrence internationale. Elle maquille ainsi leur faiblesse sans la corriger. Le Canada est pourtant l'un des pays qui utilise le plus lourdement ce type d'intervention dans l'économie, notamment pour stimuler nos exportations vers les pays pauvres. Le tiers-monde dans son ensemble est le plus fort client de la So-

ciété d'expansion des exportations (SEE), et comptait en 1983 pour 72% des \$4 milliards de financement qu'elle consentait. Et surtout, beaucoup plus que tout autre pays industrialisé, le Canada se sert de son programme d'aide aux pays pauvres pour soutenir ses propres exportateurs. Près de 60% de l'aide canadienne est ainsi «liée» à nos propres intérêts, et 10% de nos exportations vers les pays en développement se financent à même les budgets d'assistance. C'est trois fois la moyenne des pays membres de l'Organisation de coopération et de développement économique (OCDE). Enfin le Canada est l'un des plus grands utilisateurs du «crédit mixte», un mélange d'aide et de lignes de crédit aux pays en développement, que dénonçait récemment le président de la Banque Import-Export des États-Unis. Attirés par ce que ce crédit peut leur permettre d'acheter dans les pays riches, les pays pauvres ont moins de ressources à consacrer à leurs besoins les plus urgents, que le marché local pourrait satisfaire.

Le plus ironique, explique l'Institut, c'est que cette béquille n'a guère amélioré la situation du commerce extérieur canadien. Quand les exportateurs d'ici se mesurent aux autres sans la distorsion des subsides, comme dans le cas des contrats qu'accordent les organismes multilatéraux de développement, ils obtiennent moins que leur part normale, ce qui semble témoigner d'un dynamisme interne insuffisant, ou d'une paresse à conquérir ces marchés, trop couvés qu'ils sont par ailleurs.

Il est vrai toutefois que les exportateurs ne sont pas les seuls coupables, puisque le tiers-monde lui-même, notamment dans sa partie la plus «développée», a appris à jouer les pays donateurs les uns contre les autres et à créer ainsi une spirale inflationniste dans les subventions à l'exportation. Le jour où le Canada ne pourra plus demeurer dans la course, sa stratégie risque de s'effondrer d'elle-même.

L'Institut, dont le tiers-mondisme

a la rare qualité du réalisme, propose au gouvernement canadien une stratégie à plusieurs volets, qui pourrait assurer une transition harmonieuse vers des relations commerciales plus saines et moins paternalistes. À court terme, suggère-t-il, les exportateurs devraient encore se prévaloir du financement public, au moins là où leurs concurrents internationaux bénéficient aussi du soutien de leurs gouvernements. Mais le Canada devrait se faire le champion d'une négociation internationale sur le contrôle de ces mesures. Il devrait aussi pousser les entreprises canadiennes à s'avancer plus audacieusement sur le marché des contrats accordés par les organismes multilatéraux, comme la Banque mondiale et les banques régionales de développement (Asie, Afrique), en les aidant à établir des contacts, recueillir des données, préparer leurs offres de services. Enfin si on décide de maintenir et même d'ajouter à la pratique du «crédit mixte», il faudrait équilibrer cette largesse en permettant à l'Agence canadienne de développement international (ACDI) de «déliier» une plus large partie de son aide.

Quand le Canada a résolument choisi l'aide liée, le gouvernement vendait ce concept en faisant valoir que les bénéfices des entreprises canadiennes feraient mieux à accepter, par la population, l'effort d'assistance au tiers-monde. Le résultat est dérisoire: on a, depuis, réduit deux fois la croissance prévue du programme canadien d'aide au tiers-monde. L'argument ne tient plus.

Dans quelques forums internationaux, M. Clark a déjà fait des suggestions pour assurer une meilleure discipline des pays industrialisés devant la spirale des subventions à l'exportation. Il y a là aussi, il ne faut pas l'oublier, une source d'économie pour les finances publiques, ce qui devrait convenir au credo conservateur. Le livre vert donnera la mesure à la fois de sa logique, et des principes généraux qu'il continue à défendre.

— LISE BISSONNETTE

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# À LA COURSE

**D**ANS le livre vert que vient de publier le secrétaire d'Etat aux Affaires extérieures, M. Joe Clark, le chapitre qui traite des « axes de changement » n'en propose, à vrai dire, qu'un seul où l'on sente que le gouvernement canadien a déjà fait son lit. Il s'agit de la libéralisation des échanges commerciaux entre le Canada et les États-Unis. Pas de surprise. Du Discours du trône de novembre dernier jusqu'aux engagements du sommet Reagan-Mulroney en mars à Québec, le nouveau gouvernement conservateur n'a jamais dévié de sa course vers l'élargissement de l'accès canadien au marché américain. Mais le livre vert, tout en sacrifiant au rituel de la pesée des avantages et inconvénients, montre plus clairement encore où son cœur loge. Il va droit vers un « accord commercial global », c'est-à-dire le plus large libre-échange possible entre les deux pays.

Le livre vert présente quatre options. 1) Le statu quo, qu'il écarte rapidement. 2) Un accord-cadre bilatéral, qui ressemblerait à une entente de principe mais sans effet contraignant. 3) Des arrangements sectoriels, tels ceux qu'avait commencé à débattre l'ancien gouvernement libéral, mais où l'on voit des problèmes de « symétrie ». 4) Un accord commercial global qui trait au-delà des engagements actuels des deux pays dans le cadre de l'accord international du GATT, pour lever la plupart des obstacles tarifaires et non-tarifaires entre le Canada et les États-Unis. Toute la discussion qui suit la présentation de ces options est un exercice d'apaisement des réticences.

Pour procéder à cette rupture qui va contre toute l'histoire politique du Canada, même si elle correspond à la dynamique réelle des échanges entre les deux pays, le gouvernement Mulroney profite d'un courant d'opinion qui n'a jamais été aussi favorable. Plusieurs sondages indiquent qu'une forte majorité de Canadiens, partout à travers le pays, ne voit pas de menace dans une plus grande intégration économique, et la souhaite probablement. Les intérêts provinciaux, longtemps très conflictuels dans cette affaire, convergent plus clairement que jamais : les premiers ministres des provinces de l'Ouest, réunis il y a deux jours, ont même reproché au gouvernement canadien sa timidité dans sa cour aux Américains; le ministre québécois du Commerce extérieur, M. Bernard Landry, est devenu l'un des avocats les plus zélés du libre-échange avec les États-Unis; tout en affichant la plus grande prudence, à cause des pressions des industries ontariennes qui auraient le plus à perdre dans certains secteurs, les dirigeants de la province voisine n'étaient plus leurs réticences et auraient même donné au ministre fédéral du Commerce extérieur, M. Keller, un début de feu vert pour une exploration.

Les milieux spécialisés concourent aussi à l'ouverture. L'ancien ministre libéral des Finances, M. Donald Macdonald, a annoncé il y a déjà plusieurs mois que le rapport de la Commission royale sur l'union économique canadienne, qu'il préside, se prononcerait pour le libre-échange Canada-USA, et qu'il s'agissait là, pour les membres de ce groupe, d'une conversion difficile mais réaliste. L'Institut C.D. Howe, *think tank* ontarien écouté, vient de publier une étude qui bat en brèche la moindre objection politique, culturelle, économique, à cette hypothèse. Enfin, même si le Parti libéral du Canada se tient prudemment au

large des débats, il est lui-même revenu de loin. Il a délaissé en douceur, au fil des années, son credo de la « troisième option » qui prétendait équilibrer le poids américain dans le commerce canadien en se tournant résolument vers l'Europe et le Pacifique, pour aboutir, au début des années 80, à une politique commerciale qui chercherait le libre-échange sectoriel avec l'inévitable et puissant voisin.

Le consensus canadien devient tel qu'il pourrait lui-même faire problème et gommer la prudence, dans une relation qui sera toujours inégale. On est obnubilé par le « momentum » américain dont on dit, à Ottawa, qu'il faudra le saisir à l'automne ou jamais. Il faudrait avoir l'accord global en poche d'ici deux ans, une période où le président Reagan, libre-échangiste entre tous, exercera le plus de contrôle sur un congrès où se manifesteront des pressions protectionnistes; la Maison-Blanche promet de les jouer les unes contre les autres. L'échec du sommet de Bonn au chapitre des échanges commerciaux, et le doute qui pèse maintenant sur la reprise des négociations du GATT, favorisent un repli vers des pourparlers bilatéraux. Les enseignements de la récession sont encore frais et permettent d'atténuer la résistance des milieux industriels en leur faisant miroiter l'élargissement du marché. Bref, il faudrait, dès l'automne, conclure un accord en vue d'un accord, de façon à embrayer sans retour.

Mais outre ce mouvement de fond, l'inclination naturelle du gouvernement conservateur, et bientôt les analyses de la Commission Macdonald, les données réelles d'une aussi extraordinaire négociation sont absolument inconnues des Canadiens. Les simulations d'effets par secteurs et par régions ne sont encore que supputations d'analystes et on ne connaît même pas, de façon le moins élaborée, les objectifs du gouvernement canadien. Cherche-t-il avant tout le plus vaste accès au marché américain, ou définira-t-il au départ quelques intangibles, dans le domaine des communications ou de la culture par exemple? La presse actuelle fait penser à celle du gouvernement péquiste en matière constitutionnelle, où l'échéancier mord sur le contenu, avec les risques de donner à un puissant vis-à-vis plus de leviers qu'il n'en a déjà.

Le garde-fou minimum, dans cette affaire, serait d'associer les provinces à la réflexion fédérale, pour définir les paramètres de la négociation, et ses exigences de base. Lors de son passage au DEVOIR, mercredi, M. Clark s'est montré fort évasif à cet égard. Mais toute autre formule serait impensable, à cause des enjeux régionaux d'un tel accord international. Le gouvernement du Québec, jusqu'à présent satisfait des consultations informelles d'Ottawa, réclamera d'être associé à toutes les étapes de la négociation, même les plus préliminaires, de signer lui-même un éventuel traité, et de le faire ratifier par son Assemblée. Il espère que d'autres provinces l'exigeront aussi. Rien ne permet de croire qu'Ottawa sera aussi « provincialiste », mais il ne saurait éviter de donner un statut important à ses partenaires, et le plus rapidement possible. Ne serait-ce que pour démontrer à Washington que la peau de l'ours n'est pas déjà vendue sans enchères.

— LISE BISSONNETTE

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CDA - Foreign Relations

# Que faire d'un livre vert qui est plutôt gris ?

## POLITIQUE INTERNATIONALE

PAUL PAINCHAUD

IL Y A deux façons de juger le récent livre vert du ministre Joe Clark sur les relations extérieures canadiennes. On peut le juger en fonction de son contenu, ou comme instrument d'une consultation dont il doit servir de rampe de lancement.

Au niveau de son contenu, les premiers commentaires de la presse ont été plutôt négatifs. Dans une large mesure, cette réaction critique est justifiée. Tout d'abord, ce document reprend quelques-unes des faiblesses du texte qui a été publié en 1970 par le gouvernement Trudeau sous le titre « Une politique étrangère au service des Canadiens », et en particulier un certain nombre de platitudes. Par exemple : la liste des valeurs et des aspirations canadiennes (unité nationale, souveraineté et indépendance, prospérité économique, etc.), comme si ces valeurs

n'étaient pas à la base même de tout État, quel qu'il soit, comme si les Canadiens avaient besoin de ces lapalissades pour penser correctement leur politique étrangère. On sombre ici dans un moralisme soporifique de 5-10-15. Ainsi, les Canadiens n'ont pas besoin de se faire dire qu'ils « restent déterminés à contribuer à l'édification d'un monde plus sûr, plus prospère, et plus humain ». Les Canadiens attendent de leur gouvernement des choix politiques clairs, et non des sermons bureaucratiques.

On retrouve cette banalité dans les pages d'information qui accompagnent le texte principal sur la situation des différentes régions du monde et sur les politiques canadiennes actuelles à leur endroit. Il eût mieux valu de ne pas procéder à cette analyse très sommaire des intérêts régionaux du Canada plu-

tôt que de se prêter à un exercice qui n'est d'aucune utilité réelle. En effet, non seulement la présentation des diverses régions du monde se ramène-t-elle à une sorte d'atlas insipide — par exemple, lorsqu'on parle de la région Asie-Pacifique en indiquant que « certaines zones restent instables, notamment la péninsule de Corée, le Kampuchea, les Philippines, le Sri Lanka et l'Afghanistan » sans dégager la spécificité de chacune de ces instabilités et leur impact à l'échelle globale — mais, en outre, on se contente de rappeler l'intérêt historique du Canada pour ces régions, la plupart du temps en termes exclusivement économiques, sans donner les origines des choix qui furent faits à l'égard de chacune d'entre elles, et par conséquent sans fournir aux Canadiens le moyen de décider de l'importance relative de chacune pour le pays, comme le livre vert les invite à le faire. De plus, après avoir affirmé en préambule que « le Grand Nord occupe une place distincte dans notre conscience et notre identité nationale », le livre vert n'esquisse même pas la possibilité d'une véritable politique circumpolaire intégrée, seule région internationale où le Canada est

physiquement présent.

C'est cette absence de perspective géopolitique précise qui confère au document son caractère de banalité. Ainsi, après avoir affirmé que l'intégrité du milieu naturel constituait l'une des valeurs fondamentales de la population canadienne — ce qui est loin d'être prouvé —, le livre vert omet complètement de proposer une stratégie écologique internationale d'ensemble. Le territoire canadien, par sa situation, sa dimension, ses caractéristiques propres, justifierait amplement que la politique étrangère canadienne en fasse l'une de ses préoccupations majeures. Car les problèmes de l'environnement mettent aussi en cause la sécurité du pays à long terme, et à ce niveau le Canada peut jouer un rôle original. On pourrait faire la même remarque au sujet des océans.

En vérité, le livre vert du ministre Joe Clark se présente comme un diagnostic, dans l'ensemble honnête et bien écrit — pour une fois, dans un document fédéral, la version française ne ressemble pas trop à un col empesé — mais également pessimiste sur le contexte international nouveau dans lequel

le Canada évolue. On lit ce document comme une série de lamentations. On y trouve très peu d'indications positives sur la place du Canada dans le monde, sur la spécificité du rôle qu'il peut jouer. La situation, certes, est grave mais elle l'est pour tous les pays et on ne mobilisera pas les Canadiens avec ce genre de pessimisme. Le Canada ne peut pas être influent partout, et l'influence n'est pas un objectif en soi, comme le suggère le document. Elle doit être un instrument au service d'intérêts bien spécifiques, définis comme prioritaires dans le moyen terme. Or c'est cette spécificité et cette hiérarchie dans les orientations extérieures globales du Canada qui manquent au livre vert et qui rendront difficile son utilisation comme instrument de débat public. Ce gouvernement a pourtant montré par son dernier budget qu'il pouvait faire des choix. Pourquoi ne peut-il en faire lorsqu'il s'agit de politique étrangère ?

Enfin, le document confond souvent objectifs de politique étrangère et objectifs de politique intérieure. Les deux niveaux sont étroitement liés. Mais, par exemple,

proposer comme orientation d'ensemble la compétitivité des investissements accrus en R-D et dans l'enseignement ne relève pas d'abord d'une décision de politique internationale. L'une des préoccupations à l'origine de l'amélioration du système d'éducation peut être externe, mais ce ne saurait être la seule pour définir une politique dans ce domaine. La création d'une compétitivité canadienne repose aussi sur un ensemble de choix de politique intérieure. De même, la négociation d'un accord de libre-échange avec les États-Unis soulève toute une série de problèmes qui sont d'abord de caractère interne concernant le type de pays que les Canadiens veulent développer, c'est-à-dire des choix de société. Sur toutes ces questions, le débat devra s'organiser entre Canadiens en fonction d'abord d'un modèle interne, même si les défis internationaux sont l'élément déclencheur de cette réflexion.

Dans l'ensemble, le livre vert est donc assez décevant du point de vue de son contenu. Mais peut-il être utile comme instrument d'une consultation ? C'est ce que nous verrons la semaine prochaine.

## DES IDEES, DES EVENEMENTS

## Il faut aller de l'avant et participer à la consultation

## POLITIQUE INTERNATIONALE

PAUL PAINCHAUD

LE LIVRE VERT du ministre Joe Clark sur les relations extérieures du Canada, nous l'avons vu la semaine dernière, est décevant du point de vue de son contenu. Mais même comme instrument de consultation, ce document se devait d'être plus complet. Il y a des enjeux importants de la diplomatie canadienne qui n'y apparaissent pas et à propos desquels la consultation projetée aurait été l'occasion d'un véritable exercice pédagogique. De plus, si l'on exclut quelques incantations moralisatrices et sirupeuses, tirées du livre d'heures de John Diefenbaker, le document de M. Clark est essentiellement défaitiste. Il ne devrait pas l'être, car définir des objectifs de politique étrangère, à l'heure actuelle — et cela est vrai pour le Québec —, c'est en même temps

définir le profil d'une société. Ce livre vert est pauvre en spécificités canadiennes sur la scène internationale. Enfin, ce document est sans courage réel. Sous prétexte de laisser les Canadiens s'exprimer librement, il se refuse à proposer des choix motivés. Il pose des questions, comme s'il s'agissait d'aménager un vaste séminaire d'université. Mais on ne fait pas une bonne politique étrangère dans le bla-bla-bla. Il aurait fallu que le gouvernement dise aux Canadiens : « Voici ce que je ferai et pourquoi. Avez-vous d'autres propositions ? ». À partir de là, un vrai débat aurait pu s'engager. En vérité, en cherchant à rejoindre un public très vaste, supposément peu accoutumé à discuter de politique internationale, le livre vert prend les Canadiens pour des ignorants. Il dilue

l'information et les choix à un point qui rend la consultation elle-même très difficile, sinon superflue. C'est là un document bâclé, que le gouvernement lui-même ne semble pas avoir pris très au sérieux.

Il faut donc considérer ce document comme une pièce, parmi d'autres possibles, pour amorcer le processus de consultation. Car c'est ce processus lui-même qui est désormais important. Si l'on s'entend bien sur ce que doit être une consultation en politique étrangère, cet exercice peut être d'un intérêt réel pour l'avenir de la diplomatie canadienne. Sur ce point, le gouvernement a raison. Après plus de 40 ans d'une politique étrangère assez stable dans ses postulats et ses orientations, le moment est venu de permettre aux Canadiens de se regarder eux-mêmes dans cette projection vers l'extérieur. Cela, ils n'ont jamais eu l'occasion vraiment de le faire. Si un consensus pouvait se dégager autour de quelques propositions dominantes, le gouvernement disposerait ainsi du principal outil qui lui permettrait d'agir avec efficacité sur la scène internationale. Cette consultation doit

donc être considérée comme un instrument de la diplomatie canadienne elle-même, et non une entreprise parallèle. Pour cette raison, les Canadiens ont un intérêt réel à s'y engager. Il serait irresponsable de la part des partis d'opposition de ne pas y participer avec vigueur.

Mais, en même temps, il faut reconnaître ce que cette consultation ne peut pas donner. Et tout d'abord, elle ne peut pas se substituer au processus normal de la diplomatie, qui suppose souvent des décisions rapides sur des questions difficiles. Là-dessus, le gouvernement a raison de mettre en garde l'opinion et les partis d'opposition. Pour cette raison, la consultation ne pourra porter sur des sujets trop précis. La commission parlementaire devra donc décider du niveau des problèmes à aborder. Par ailleurs, cette consultation ne devrait pas remettre en cause les grandes options de la diplomatie canadienne, celles qui ont été façonnées au cours des ans après 1945, et sur lesquelles il y a consensus sérieux : ce serait l'occasion d'un bavardage inutile. De plus, cette consultation ne devra pas être perçue comme

un sondage : on doit accepter d'avance que seuls quelques éléments de la société canadienne pourront vraiment s'y intéresser d'une manière active et réfléchie. Enfin, le gouvernement doit garder toute sa liberté devant les propositions qui en émaneront, car les choix de politique étrangère sont souvent davantage déterminés par des facteurs externes et des décisions des autres États que par le gouvernement lui-même. Il serait dangereux de créer des attentes qui ne pourraient pas être satisfaites.

Si, donc, on se garde de trop d'illusions et si l'on en circonscrit les limites, le processus de consultation peut être l'occasion d'une prise de conscience importante au sein de l'opinion publique canadienne. Car le livre vert du ministre Joe Clark a tout de même le mérite d'introduire dans le débat public deux dimensions qui en étaient autrefois à peu près totalement absentes : 1) le Canada ne peut pas tout faire sur la scène internationale; des choix précis s'imposent quant aux niveaux, aux modes et aux lieux de nos interventions; 2) la

politique internationale coûte de plus en plus cher, exige de plus en plus de ressources, et les Canadiens doivent accepter d'investir à ce niveau dans une perspective à long terme. Les deux dimensions sont liées, mais distinctes. C'est à partir de cette problématique fondamentale que la commission parlementaire devrait engager le processus de consultation : à savoir que parce qu'il faut payer, on ne peut pas tout faire. Par conséquent, où sont les vrais intérêts du Canada, où celui-ci peut-il être le plus utile ?

Si un consensus se dégage sur ces questions, il s'agira d'une véritable révolution, car la tradition canadienne a voulu jusqu'ici qu'il faille être beau et bon à tous et à tout. Reconnaître avec lucidité les limites de l'action internationale du Canada constituerait donc un progrès majeur. Mais, en même temps, la diplomatie canadienne pourrait se donner des objectifs précis de rendement et d'efficacité. L'ego national en souffrira peut-être, mais la politique étrangère a d'abord pour fonction de régler des problèmes, et non de créer des États d'âme.

LE DEVOIR



# Clark: sa situation oblige le Canada à opter pour la libéralisation du commerce international

BERNARD DESCÔTEAUX

OTTAWA — Le Canada ne peut plus se payer le luxe de s'isoler derrière des barrières, économiques ou politiques. Sa politique extérieure doit refléter cette réalité en optant pour la libéralisation du commerce international et en renforçant notre accès au marché américain.

Telle est la principale prémisse du livre vert rendu public hier par le Secrétaire d'Etat aux Affaires extérieures, M. Joe Clark, qui engageait ainsi une vaste consultation auprès des Canadiens sur ce que doit être la politique extérieure du Canada.

Présentée comme la première révision en profondeur depuis 15 ans de la politique extérieure canadienne, la proposition de M. Clark ne retient toutefois que deux axes de cette politique: la sécurité politique et militaire du Canada et la compétitivité commerciale du pays. Son document s'intitule d'ailleurs « Compétitivité et sécurité: orientations pour les relations extérieures du Canada ».

De toute évidence, la réflexion de M. Clark est dominée par l'aspect économique et commercial. Il croit même que l'influence que peut prétendre exercer le Canada sur la scène internationale est liée étroitement à sa puissance économique. A cet égard, il se situe dans le sillage des politiques libérales qui avaient engagé un recentrage de la politique extérieure canadienne en intégrant au ministère des Affaires extérieures tout le volet du commerce extérieur.

La consultation dont il est question sera menée par un comité conjoint des Communes et du Sénat qui tiendra des audiences à travers le Canada. Son rapport, qui devra être remis en mai 86, sera pris au sérieux, assure le ministre qui dit n'être fermé à aucune recommandation. Toutefois, il avertit déjà que bien avant que le comité ait fini son travail, le gouvernement fédéral aura pris des décisions qu'il sera difficile de renverser.

Parmi les décisions qui seront prises rapi-

dement, il y a tout d'abord la participation canadienne à l'initiative de défense stratégique américaine (dite aussi Bouclier spatial ou Guerre des étoiles). Une décision sera prise en juin. Il y a ensuite l'amorce de discussions avec les Etats-Unis sur la conclusion d'un accord commercial bilatéral. Une consultation est déjà en cours. Il y a l'ouverture possible de négociations commerciales multilatérales qui feront l'objet de travaux préparatoires au cours des prochains mois. Il y a tout le volet des politiques de défense qui à l'automne fera l'objet d'un énoncé gouvernemental de politiques.

Le ministre ne cache pas par ailleurs qu'il y a des politiques que l'on ne veut pas remettre en cause parce que fondamentales. C'est le cas de la participation du Canada à l'ONU, à l'Alliance atlantique (Otan) ou au Commonwealth, à Norad. Il en est de même pour la politique relative au contrôle des armements.

M. Clark se défend de tout cynisme, se disant convaincu que malgré les apparences cette consultation ne sera pas factice. Il explique que le gouvernement se devra de prendre des décisions en cours de route car « le monde ne nous attendra pas ». Par contre il estime que le débat doit se faire, le plus large possible, et que devant des recommandations unanimes du comité le gouvernement ne sera fermé à aucune suggestion.

Une des constantes qui se dégage du document de M. Clark est la nécessité pour le gouvernement de soumettre sa politique extérieure à un strict réalisme financier. Les ressources financières du gouvernement ne permettent pas de tout faire. « La réduction du déficit bud-

gétaire pourra nous commander de restreindre davantage encore certaines de nos activités dans le monde. Il va nous falloir établir des priorités et faire des choix difficiles », écrit-il en avant-propos de son document.

M. Clark s'est refusé de préciser si ces « choix difficiles » pourront signifier une réduction des budgets d'aide internationale qui constituent une cible facile de compressions budgétaires. Ce genre de questions n'aura de réponse que lors de la présentation du budget, dit-il, expliquant qu'il s'agit moins de restreindre l'ampleur de la politique extérieure que de vouloir être efficace.

C'est au nom du réalisme, du réalisme économique cette fois, que M. Clark prêche dans son document en faveur d'une plus grande ouverture du Canada sur le monde. Le temps est révolu où on pouvait s'isoler derrière des barrières, dit-il en insistant sur le fait que le système économique international, tout comme le système politique, est un réseau d'interdépendances. « L'économie internationale est notre économie », assure le ministre.

L'insistance de M. Clark sur la nécessité de s'adapter au contexte économique international repose sur sa conviction que l'influence du Canada sur la scène internationale tient pour beaucoup à sa puissance économique. L'économie canadienne est la neuvième en importance dans le monde, mais elle est de moins en moins compétitive. Elle ne peut plus miser sur sa position privilégiée de fournisseur de matières premières et elle est de plus en plus tributaire de l'exportation d'articles manufacturés. Dans ce domaine, sa part du marché international n'a cessé de régresser faute d'une compétitivité suffisante, mais aussi à cause de facteurs externes tels le protectionisme, les taux de change.

Le Canada doit commencer par se protéger contre des phénomènes comme le protectionisme. A tout seigneur tout honneur, cela doit commencer, estime-t-on, avec les Etats-Unis. Ceux-ci sont le partenaire commercial le plus important du Canada avec 76,3 % de ses exportations qui vont vers ce seul marché. Les pressions protectionnistes dans ce pays sont de ce fait très menaçantes pour tous les secteurs, sauf celui des céréales.

Le ministre plaide avec vigueur pour la conclusion d'un accord quelconque en affirmant que l'absence d'accord risque de miner notre prospérité et mettre en cause des milliers d'emplois. Cela pourrait aller jusqu'à mettre en cause notre souveraineté politique, sociale et culturelle. Nous sommes toujours à la merci d'une négociation « donnant-donnant » avec les Etats-Unis tant qu'il n'existe pas d'accord commercial, explique-t-il. A l'inverse, un accord loin d'assujettir le Canada à la sujétion américaine pourrait limiter le cadre d'influence des Etats-Unis sur la politique intérieure canadienne.

Cette négociation bilatérale avec les Américains ne doit pas exclure, selon M. Clark, le renforcement du système économique multilatéral. Il faut renforcer l'accès des produits canadiens aux marchés internationaux. L'ouverture d'un nouveau round de négociations du Gatt doit se faire rapidement, note-t-on tout en reconnaissant que si le Canada opte pour une politique d'accès aux marchés étrangers il lui faudra aussi ouvrir son marché aux produits étrangers. Le protectionisme que le Canada pratique à l'égard des secteurs de la chaussure, du textile, du vêtement, de l'automobile et des services financiers devra en conséquence être remis en question.

Un meilleur accès aux marchés étrangers renforcera la compétiti-

veté des produits canadiens. Mais, estime le ministre, le Canada doit prendre des mesures à plus long terme qui consistent à accroître les investissements, la recherche et le développement. Pour cela, il faut pouvoir attirer le capital et la technologie étrangers car le Canada ne peut y pourvoir seul. La course aux capitaux est intense et le succès du Canada dépend de son taux de productivité, de la réceptivité et du rende-

L'aide publique au développement a aussi permis d'asseoir une partie de l'influence canadienne, reconnaît par ailleurs M. Clark qui n'accorde toutefois que trois ou quatre pages tout au plus de son livre vert aux politiques d'aide. Insistant sur la nécessité de faire des choix, il pose là aussi une série de questions. Doit-on poursuivre la politique de l'aide liée à l'achat de services et biens canadiens? Doit-on lier l'aide canadienne au respect des droits de la personne? Doit-on continuer à répartir l'aide selon les mêmes secteurs géographiques? Doit-on compter davantage sur les organismes privés et non gouvernementaux pour acheminer l'aide canadienne? demande-t-on.

En matière de paix et de sécurité internationales, le gouvernement ne fait pas mystère que l'ennemi est, à ses yeux, situé à l'Est.

External Affairs - Affaires extérieures - Canada  
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OVER

POLITIQUE NUCLÉAIRE DE L'OTAN ET LIBRE-ÉCHANGE AVEC WASHINGTON

# Ottawa se range résolument dans le camp des États-Unis

OTTAWA — Le gouvernement fédéral a indiqué hier, son intention de se ranger sans réserve dans le camp de l'Occident et des États-Unis.

**MICHEL VASTEL**  
de notre bureau d'Ottawa

Tant sur la politique nucléaire de l'Alliance atlantique que sur les relations commerciales avec les États-Unis, le Livre vert déposé hier aux Communés par le Secrétaire d'Etat, M. Joe Clark, met de côté les réserves traditionnellement exprimées

par l'ancien gouvernement libéral et les nationalistes canadiens.

Le gouvernement canadien ne discute plus l'intention de l'OTAN de recourir en premier aux armes nucléaires pour riposter à une attaque classique en territoire occidental. L'ancien premier ministre, Pierre Trudeau, avait publiquement exprimé ses préoccupations face à une telle politique qui risquait de conduire à une escalade vers un conflit nucléaire, en particulier en Europe.

Le gouvernement canadien considère maintenant que « notre politique culturelle et notre politique étrangère seraient peut-être moins à la merci des différends commerciaux bilatéraux si notre commerce avec les États-Unis était régi par un accord bien défini, mutuellement contraignant et avantageux »; c'est le contrepoint de la position traditionnelle des nationalistes canadiens pour qui tout accord de libre-échange avec les États-Unis constitue un premier pas vers une union monétaire et,

ultimement, l'union politique et l'assimilation culturelle.

## Processus

Le document de 47 pages, intitulé « Compétitivité et sécurité : orientations pour les relations extérieures du Canada », sera révisé rapidement à un comité mixte de la Chambre des communes et du Sénat. Le Parlement devrait transmettre ses recommandations au gouvernement d'ici le printemps 1986.

M. Clark n'ignore pas cependant que le ministre du Commerce extérieur, James

Kelcher, devra définir avant le mois de septembre la position du Canada en ce qui concerne les relations commerciales avec les États-Unis. De même, le ministre de la Défense, Erik Nielsen, préparera de son côté un Livre blanc pour l'automne et devra même avoir cela pris en compte des décisions importantes en ce qui concerne notamment la participation du Canada à ce qu'il est convenu d'appeler « l'initiative de défense stratégique ».

En conférence de presse hier, Joe Clark a longuement insisté sur le respect du processus parlementaire et a suggéré que le gouvernement serait mal venu d'ignorer des recommandations unanimes du comité.

Le Livre vert devait être publié avant la fin de février mais le Secrétaire d'Etat a tenu à l'amener au Cabinet pour faire prendre conscience à chacun de ses collègues des implications que cette révision de la politique étrangère aurait sur leurs ministères.

## Interdépendances

Le Livre vert met l'accent sur les « réseaux d'interdépendances » qui dominent le système économique international, les re-

lations politiques entre les pays et les questions de sécurité.

M. Clark a longuement insisté hier sur les contraintes économiques et financières qui s'imposent aujourd'hui au Canada, l'obligeant à faire des choix plus serrés et à mieux définir ses priorités. Sans se référer à la « réalpolitik » comme telle, Joe Clark a déclaré en conférence de presse : « Le Canada aura toujours un rôle important à jouer mais nous ne pouvons pas toujours faire ce qu'on voudrait faire ».

Une autre préoccupation d'élaborer une politique étrangère canadienne à la mesure des moyens du Canada, le document des Affaires extérieures transpire le préjugé favorable à l'Occident et aux États-Unis et s'en prend formellement au « risque militaire » que représente l'Union soviétique et à « son antipathie à l'égard de nos valeurs ».

## L'aide au développement

Quant à toute la question de l'aide au développement, le Livre vert réaffirme la politique traditionnelle du Canada, mais pose quelques questions qui ne manqueront pas d'inquiéter les « tiers-mondistes ». La section du Livre vert consacrée à la « coopération au développement international » fait d'ailleurs

maintenant partie du chapitre consacré aux Affaires économiques internationales. La vie des organismes multilatéraux comme l'ONU et ses agences est pour sa part intégrée au chapitre sur la paix et la sécurité internationales.

Bien qu'il prévienne dans l'introduction que son Livre vert « ne constitue pas une revue de politique étrangère au sens classique », l'exposé de Joe Clark suggère que la politique étrangère canadienne se résume désormais à des questions d'intérêts économiques et de sécurité nationale. Et dans l'un et l'autre cas, le voisinage des États-Unis est déterminant. « Nous appartenons à l'Amérique du Nord sans être Américains », déclare Joe Clark.

## Commerce international

Dans le domaine du commerce international, le Livre vert réaffirme l'appartenance du Canada au système international du GATT mais rappelle l'urgence des négociations que vont entreprendre les États-Unis et le Canada dès cet automne.

Dans le domaine de la sécurité, le Canada rappelle son attachement à la Charte des Nations unies mais ajoute que, « puisqu'on ne peut se fier à l'ONU pour garantir la sécurité » des

États, le Canada attache davantage d'importance au système de défense de l'Atlantique Nord et à celui du continent nord-américain.

Le Livre vert consacre un long chapitre à la place du Canada dans le monde pour constater que son influence au plan commercial et son rôle dans la défense des valeurs de l'Occident n'ont cessé de diminuer depuis le début des années 70. « Le Canada peut être à la fois puissant sur le plan économique et influent dans la cause de la paix et de la sécurité », affirme Joe Clark, ajoutant qu'il faudra cependant se limiter dans nos ambitions.

Le dernier chapitre qui, comme tous les autres documents de consultation du gouvernement Mulroney, parle « d'axes de changement », énumère une quarantaine de questions.

## Le domaine économique

Dans le domaine économique, la place la plus importante est accordée au commerce canado-américain; entre le statu quo, un accord-cadre bilatéral, des arrangements commerciaux sectoriels ou fonctionnels et un accord global de libre-échange, le gouvernement semble pencher vers la conclusion d'un Traité de libre-échange qui ex-

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cluerait « les secteurs de notre vie politique, culturelle et économique qui sont essentiels à notre sentiment d'appartenance nationale ».

Le document réaffirme l'ouverture aux investissements étrangers et au savoir-faire technologique — en particulier ceux des États-Unis — et identifie en particulier des pays ou des régions auxquels on ne faisait pas jusqu'ici référence spécifiquement, comme Hong-Kong et le Moyen-Orient.

Au chapitre du développement international, l'objectif d'accorder 0,7 p. cent du PNB à l'aide internationale d'ici à 1995 demeure mais le Livre vert fait souvent référence aux contraintes économiques et financières auxquelles le Canada doit faire face. M. Clark a refusé d'élaborer sur les intentions du gouvernement, se retranchant derrière le secret budgétaire.

Dans le domaine de la sécurité, le Livre vert accorde une nette priorité à la protection de l'espace nord-américain et prévient que le Canada « pourrait avoir notamment à prendre des décisions sur certains des intérêts divers et parfois contradictoires, tant au niveau stratégique et technique que sur le plan du contrôle des armements, qui entrent en jeu dans la défense

stratégique ». C'est ainsi, ajoute le document, que la participation à l'Initiative de défense stratégique pourrait à la fois entraîner le Canada dans l'option nucléaire tout en lui procurant des retombées technologiques considérables.

#### Les régions

Le Livre vert fait enfin référence à plusieurs régions du monde où les tensions et les conflits perdurent. En Amérique centrale et dans les Antilles, le Canada se demande s'il ne devrait pas jouer un rôle plus actif. Le gouvernement souhaite que le Parlement se prononce sur l'opportunité pour le Canada de devenir membre de l'Organisation des États américains, plutôt que de rester observateur comme actuellement.

Au Moyen-Orient, le Livre vert demande s'il ne faudrait pas remettre en cause la politique d'équilibre adoptée par l'ONU et traditionnellement suivie par le Canada.

En Afrique du sud enfin, le document signé par M. Clark met en question la politique actuelle de lutte contre l'apartheid et se demande si « les investissements étrangers font partie du problème ou de la solution ». Le gouvernement laisse actuellement les compagnies canadiennes libres de leurs options à cet égard.



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# Réinventer l'ONU

Le Livre vert de M. Clark réduit l'ONU à la portion congrue. C'est un signe des temps: alors qu'on souligne le 40<sup>e</sup> anniversaire de la victoire alliée en Europe et, bientôt, celui de la naissance de l'Organisation à San Francisco, il faut bien se résigner à faire avec le ministre un triste constat, consigné à la page 45 du document. «On note une perte de confiance dans les institutions multilatérales et dans le système des Nations unies, alors même que l'interdépendance rend inévitable la coopération multilatérale.»

Constat d'autant plus amer que le Canada, celui de Mackenzie King, de Louis Saint-Laurent et de Lester Pearson fondait sa politique extérieure sur les principes de la Charte des Nations unies, voyait dans l'Organisation un instrument de paix et de réconciliation, participait volontiers aux missions de maintien de la paix, s'efforçait d'apporter une contribution notable aux institutions spécialisées: UNESCO, BIT, FAO, UNICEF, etc.

Mais que reste-t-il de cet idéal? Sept ou huit paragraphes dans un document de 50 pages, essentiellement pour déplorer l'affaiblissement de l'ONU et de ses institutions spécialisées, comme en témoigne la désaffection d'un bon nombre de pays à l'égard de cet organisme que le général de Gaulle appelait, déjà dans les années 60, le «machin».

D'où la question: «Il faut nous demander dans quelle mesure l'Organisation peut servir nos intérêts et priorités actuels et éventuels?» Et, plus loin, le ministre s'interroge davantage: l'ONU est-elle irremplaçable? Faut-il la réactiver, la revitaliser? Et par quels moyens? Même les opérations de maintien de la paix, auxquelles le Canada avait attaché son prestige, n'ont plus à l'ONU qu'une importance secondaire. Quant aux institutions économiques et sociales, comme l'UNESCO, l'Occident en déplore la politisation et la lourdeur bureaucratique.

Que reste-t-il alors? M. Clark répond avec justesse que «le multilatéralisme déborde l'ONU». Il cite le Commonwealth et la Francophonie auxquels il assigne des «rôles clés». C'est court et incertain. En somme, il faut réinventer l'ONU. Mais avec qui et comment?

Michel ROY

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## Ce livre VERT va-t-il mûrir ?

On reste étonné devant le caractère extrêmement négatif des premières réactions au livre «vert» déposé mardi par le ministre des Affaires extérieures sur la politique étrangère du Canada.

Il est vrai que les réactions négatives les plus bruyantes viennent de l'opposition. Le ministère s'amuserait, selon l'un des critiques, à proposer des devinettes. Selon une autre version, le gouvernement chercherait à vaincre l'oisiveté chez les députés, en leur donnant des problèmes d'algèbre à résoudre.

Dans des milieux moins intéressés à cultiver la controverse et à prendre la contre-partie de tout ce que fait et dit le gouvernement, on note également beaucoup de scepticisme vis-à-vis d'une entreprise qui vise essentiellement à la création d'un comité parlementaire chargé de recueillir les opinions de la population sur les orientations de la politique étrangère du Canada.

On est partagé entre deux impressions ou sentiments contradictoires face à ce livre vert. Le scepticisme est de mise, en même temps qu'on se prend à souhaiter que l'entreprise ne sombre pas dans l'indifférence générale ou que les vraies questions ne soient pas submergées par le déferlement de vaines polémiques, indéfiniment recommencées et jamais conclues.

Voici pourquoi le scepticisme est de mise. Le gouvernement se tourne vers la population et lui adresse 50 questions sur les orientations de la politique étrangère du Canada.

Exemple: «Au fil des ans, nous avons tenté de maintenir l'équilibre dans nos relations avec Israël et ses voisins arabes. Les Canadiens considèrent-ils que cet équilibre est bon?»

Si Ottawa ne sait pas si cet «équilibre est bon» pourquoi voulez-vous que l'homme de la rue le sache?

On demande aussi si l'adhésion du Canada à l'Organisation des États américains est soutenable. Comment le savoir? Les savants ont longuement débattu de cette question, sans parvenir à des certitudes. C'est l'homme de la rue qui va trancher?

Si le gouvernement n'a pas les réponses, qui les a?

On finit par se demander si la publication du livre vert est un acte politique ou une saine initiative pédagogique. S'il s'agit d'un acte politique, on va le traiter comme tel, prêter à tort ou à raison une bonne dose de perversion au gouvernement Mulroney et supposer, peut-être erronément, qu'il veut gagner du temps, masquer ses propres insuffisances, faire semblant de consulter, pour mettre impunément l'opinion devant le fait accompli. On lui prête déjà l'intention, d'ailleurs, de court-circuiter l'opinion publique dans certains dossiers comme la guerre des étoiles, si chère au président Reagan.

Comme instrument pédagogique, comme manuel dans une sorte d'université populaire, le livre vert diffusé mardi est valable. Un critique littéraire pourrait relever de multiples imperfections dans cet ouvrage, pour ne rien dire des naïvetés et des raccourcis qui désolent ou font sourire le lecteur. Mais nous ne sommes pas à un concours littéraire.

La politique étrangère, c'est l'argent et les armes. Le document du ministère examine ces deux assises avec beaucoup plus de conviction et d'assurance dans le cas de l'argent (c'est-à-dire le commerce) que dans celui des armes (défense et désarmement).

À plusieurs reprises, les auteurs du livre vert reviennent sur une préoccupation qui leur semble capitale et qui s'articule autour de ce qu'ils nomment «compétitivité». Le mot n'est pas dans le dictionnaire, mais on doit supposer qu'il signifie aptitude à la concurrence sur les marchés internationaux. De même que la productivité d'une nation ne dépend pas uniquement de la qualité et du zèle de la main-d'oeuvre, de même on doit supposer que nombre de facteurs entrent dans l'évaluation de la «compétitivité», même si «ce n'est pas chose simple que de comparer notre compétitivité économique et celle d'autres pays».

Le livre vert reste plutôt muet sur les causes des insuffisances canadiennes à ce chapitre. Ce sera sans doute le rôle d'une commission parlementaire de pousser plus loin l'analyse.

À la page 2 du document présenté par M. Joe Clark on peut lire ce qui suit: «Nous sommes un peuple extraordinairement fortuné, mais nous ne pouvons plus prendre notre prospérité et notre sécurité pour un acquis.»

Si ce jugement est compris comme une alerte, une commission parlementaire se constituera sans délai et surtout sans arrière-pensée pour donner les suites attendues. Mais si l'initiative du ministre est interprétée comme une manœuvre et combattue comme telle, le jeu n'en vaut pas la chandelle.

Guy CORMIER

*C.D. - Foreign Relations*

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## Le vrai pari de la francophonie

Avec plus d'insistance encore que le régime Trudeau, M. Joe Clark attribue à la francophonie un rôle clé dans la future politique étrangère du Canada. Le Livre vert ne s'y attarde pas mais tient pour acquise notre éventuelle association à cette communauté, tout aussi vitale aux yeux du ministre que le Commonwealth regroupant depuis 1931 les États souverains issus de l'ancien Empire britannique.

Devant la presse, le secrétaire d'État aux affaires extérieures est plus explicite: il croit savoir que Paris réunira, avant les élections législatives de 1986 en France, un sommet des pays de langue française auquel prendrait part le Québec en qualité de «gouvernement participant». Le président Mitterrand s'en ouvrirait à M. René Lévesque lors du séjour que celui-ci doit faire à Paris dans quelques jours. Les difficultés que cette affaire avait suscitées sous le gouvernement libéral seraient à présent vaincues. Ottawa ne fait plus obstacle, en effet, aux relations particulières et privilégiées que souhaite établir le Québec avec les pays de langue française.

Les Québécois pourront avec raison se réjouir de cette heureuse évolution des esprits. Mais, tout en admirant la sollicitude de M. Clark envers la dimension francophone du Canada, il ne faudrait pas perdre de vue un fait majeur: la francophonie n'existe encore que dans le cœur et l'esprit de ceux qui en souhaitent l'avènement. Elle n'est pas cet «organisme» comme la désigne par inadvertance le Livre vert du ministre. Il est faux de croire que l'Agence de coopération culturelle et technique des pays entièrement ou partiellement de langue française soit une communauté d'États de la francophonie. Elle n'est, comme son nom l'indique, qu'une agence de coopération à des fins principalement culturelles. Les présidents Bourguiba et Senghor, qui contribuèrent à sa fondation en 1970 avec le concours de Jean-Marc Léger, avaient certes exprimé l'espoir que l'ACCT accède un jour au statut de «communauté» des pays francophones, avant tout pour illustrer et défendre la culture française. Mais, en 15 ans, l'Agence n'a pas connu l'essor qui lui aurait permis de prétendre à un autre destin. Son budget est modeste, son œuvre limitée. La France n'en demandait pas davantage.

Il faut dire que Paris est demeurée la métropole culturelle des pays de langue française d'Afrique et d'Asie. Son rayonnement et son influence politique sur les anciennes colonies s'exercent naturellement sans qu'il soit nécessaire de créer les structures d'une communauté analogue au Commonwealth. Soucieux aussi d'éviter toute accusation d'impérialisme culturel, la France s'est abstenue de prendre en ce domaine des initiatives qui ne lui semblaient pas opportunes.

Ces dernières années cependant, le gouvernement français s'est montré plus attentif à ce projet, soutenu par Léopold Senghor lorsqu'il était président du Sénégal pour des raisons avant tout culturelles, et par Pierre Trudeau, pour des raisons plus politiques puisqu'il voyait l'utilité d'une communauté française faisant contrepoids au monde anglo-américain.

Il incombe donc à la France d'en prendre l'initiative. Mais il n'est pas sûr qu'une conférence au sommet destinée à jeter les bases d'une future communauté réponde vraiment à des besoins réels ou à des préoccupations pressantes des pays africains aux prises avec des problèmes plus immédiats: alimentation, sécheresse, remboursement des prêts, budget, chômage. Pour faire naître un certain intérêt, puis entraîner l'adhésion des pays francophones du tiers-monde, il serait indispensable que les pays mieux nantis (France, Canada, Belgique, Algérie, Suisse) donnent à cette future communauté, au-delà de sa vocation culturelle et linguistique, des objectifs d'entraide économique et sociale, de coopération technologique, d'assistance financière.

Tel est le vrai pari de la francophonie qui s'offre à M. Clark.

Michel ROY

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LE DÉBAT SUR LA POLITIQUE ÉTRANGÈRE

Joe Clark va gagner son pari

En dépit des attaques de l'opposition aux Communautés et des critiques de la presse nationale, le secrétaire d'Etat aux Affaires extérieures, Joe Clark, est en train de gagner son pari là où cela compte pour lui: auprès des spécialistes de la politique internationale.

Le Livre vert du Secrétaire d'Etat a été mal reçu à Ottawa mais cela tient, comme souvent dans le cas de M. Clark, à une stratégie désastreuse de communications, beaucoup plus qu'à la substance même du document. Les milieux intéressés de la diplomatie canadienne ne sont pas contre des appréciations qui sont du «pas pire» au «pas tant mal». Quatre éléments méritent d'être soulignés.

Au-delà de toute partisanerie, les organisations intéressées à la politique étrangère canadienne sont enthousiastes à l'idée d'un vrai débat sur les affaires internationales au Canada, et ne pardonnent d'ailleurs pas aux deux partis d'opposition leur intention de torpiller un tel débat.

Il semble que le Livre vert engage beaucoup plus le gouvernement qu'on ne l'a cru au premier abord. Les trois premiers chapitres de l'analyse politique, approuvés par le Comité des priorités du cabinet, représentent une véritable déclaration d'intention du gouvernement, selon des sources officielles. M. Clark a par ailleurs l'appui total du premier ministre. Un membre du cabinet a même confié à LA PRESSE que M. Mulroney a rendu hommage à Joe Clark devant tous ses collègues.

Selon des spécialistes comme Bernard Wood, de l'Institut Nord-Sud, le Livre vert de Joe Clark est «intellectuellement plus étoffé» que le Livre blanc de Pierre Trudeau en 1970, en particulier sur les questions économiques.

Quant au chapitre sur les questions de sécurité nationale, on admet dans l'entourage de M. Clark que le ton est peut-être plus dur que celui de l'ancien

gouvernement, mais la politique de non neutralité est finalement la même. On rappelle d'ailleurs que le peuple canadien est traditionnellement anti-soviétique et que c'est Trudeau qui était l'exception, pas Joe Clark.



MICHEL VASTEL

de notre bureau d'Ottawa

Il reste malgré tout que le processus de consultation a été très mal engagé par M. Clark et ses conseillers. Le lendemain du dépôt de son rapport aux Communautés, par exemple, le secrétaire d'Etat laissait le vice-premier ministre et ministre de la Défense, Eric Nielsen, parler en son nom aux Communautés et se trouvait à Montréal pour rencontrer des éditorialistes. C'était en quelque sorte confier le poulailler au renard.

Alors que les libéraux ont tenté de ridiculiser Joe Clark, celui-ci n'a pas voulu révéler lui-même que c'est à sa demande expresse qu'on a créé un comité mixte, incluant des sénateurs, pour permettre au parti libéral d'avoir une représentation plus importante au sein de ce comité.

On reconnaît maintenant que

c'était une erreur de ne pas publier ce Livre vert plus tôt: on a ainsi mélangé le débat sur des décisions de court terme comme la participation du Canada à la «guerre des étoiles» et celles sur des questions plus fondamentales de sécurité nationales posées dans le Livre vert.

La crédibilité de Joe Clark a en outre souffert, en raison des réalités concrètes de la diplomatie moderne. Par exemple, on se demande à Ottawa qui, de Joe Clark ou de Brian Mulroney, assure le leadership de la diplomatie canadienne. Des diplomates de haut rang reconnaissent, avec quelque amertume, que le bureau du premier ministre «en mène large». Mais d'autres ajoutent que le style moderne des relations internationales, avec ses nombreux Sommets, fait qu'on attache plus d'importance aux opinions des chefs de gouvernement qu'à celle des chefs de la diplomatie, contrairement à ce qui prévalait au temps de Lester Pearson. On rappelle par exemple qu'au Sommet de Bonn, on s'intéressait à la position de l'Élysée et non à celle du Quai d'Orsay. De même, à Washington, c'est la position de la Maison-Blanche qui préoccupe, plus que celle du département d'Etat.

Certaines questions traditionnellement importantes dans la diplomatie canadienne, comme l'Aide au développement et le

dialogue Nord-Sud, sont éparpillées, pour ne pas dire escamotées. C'est délibéré, prétendent aujourd'hui les auteurs du rapport. Le débat auquel deux sommes intéressées, disent-ils, doit porter sur les deux grands axes du rapport: la compétitivité des exportateurs canadiens et la sécurité du territoire.

De même, on n'aborde même pas le rôle des provinces dans le Livre vert. Les conseillers de M. Clark confessent qu'ils n'y ont même pas pensé. Avec M. Trudeau, disent-ils, ne pas parler des provinces eût constitué un message en soi, mais avec le gouvernement Mulroney, la coopération va tellement de soi qu'il n'est même pas la peine d'en parler.

Il semble donc que la mauvaise réception réservée au Livre vert repose d'abord sur une série de malentendus. Il demeure que le Parlement est une arène politique où les erreurs de stratégie ne sont pas permises. L'Opposition a donc semblé marquer des points à la fin de cette semaine. Quand Joe Clark est enfin revenu aux Communautés, jeudi, il a immédiatement rétabli la situation en décevant sa bonne foi.

Si les néo-démocrates avaient quel genre de batailles ils voulaient mener, il est clair que les libéraux ont attaqué le gouvernement sur la procédure parce qu'ils ne savaient ou simplement pas quoi répondre sur la substance.

Les paris sont ouverts à Ottawa pour savoir si Joe Clark réussira à retourner la situation en sa faveur et à intéresser les Canadiens à la politique étrangère. Les experts semblent penser qu'il va réussir, mais à la condition que Brian Mulroney joue lui-même le jeu.

Comme le dit le directeur de l'Institut Nord-Sud: «S'il reste un monde après la guerre des étoiles, et s'il nous reste un pays après la signature d'un Traité canado-américain, qui cela aura valu la peine de tenir un débat sur la politique étrangère canadienne?»



Le secrétaire d'Etat aux Affaires extérieures, Joe Clark.



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LA PRESSE

MAY 15 1965

# Pour l'opposition, un exercice futile de consultation

**OTTAWA** - Le Livre vert du gouvernement Mulroney sur la politique extérieure canadienne est un «exercice futile» visant davantage à distraire les députés de la majorité qu'à consulter la population, affirment libéraux et néo-démocrates.

**GILLES PAQUIN**  
de notre bureau d'Ottawa

A preuve, le comité mis sur pied par le gouvernement mettra un an à livrer son rapport alors que le gouvernement doit, au cours des prochains mois, prendre une foule de décisions importantes en matière de relations extérieures, a dit hier, la critique néo-démocrate en matières étrangères, Pauline Jewett.

Réunis lors d'une exceptionnelle conférence de presse conjointe, en fin d'après-midi hier, tant Mme Jewett que son homologue libéral, Jean Chrétien, ont laissé planer des doutes sur leur éventuelle participation aux travaux de ce comité.

Même s'il admet que l'opposition n'a guère le choix, M. Chrétien soutient que son parti pourrait bien s'abstenir de participer à cette consultation. Il se dit prêt à se joindre au comité si celui-ci adopte ses priorités et étudie d'abord la participation du Canada aux recherches américaines sur l'initiative de défense stratégique, qualifiée de «guerre des étoiles» par ses détracteurs. Le gouvernement Mulroney prendra une décision à ce sujet le mois prochain. Il présentera

consulté un livre blanc sur la défense et adoptera des politiques en matières commerciales, longtemps avant que le rapport de consultation de M. Clark ne soit publié, note Mme Jewett.

Le comité ne peut tenir des audiences publiques pendant un an alors que toutes ces décisions se prendront, affirme Mme Jewett. D'ailleurs, dit-elle, tous les secteurs de la population ont déjà été consultés sur ces questions.

Le Sénat, par exemple, a passé trois ans à étudier la libéralisation des échanges avec les États-Unis. La Commission Macdonald sur l'économie en a fait autant et remettra son rapport bientôt, souligne Mme Jewett.

**Élu pour changer**  
Pour le ministre des Affaires

extérieures, Joe Clark, il n'y a pas de contradiction dans la démarche du gouvernement. On vit dans un système parlementaire où un gouvernement peut toujours changer les orientations adoptées par son prédécesseur.

«Si le comité présente une position unanime très forte, il est possible que le gouvernement revienne sur sa décision», ajoute cependant M. Clark.

«Jusqu'à ce que les recommandations du comité soient connues, personne ne pourra préjuger de la volonté du gouvernement d'en tenir compte», de conclure M. Clark.

Mais cette réponse ne satisfait pas le NPD pour autant: «Ce n'est pas un document s'il s'agit d'un communiqué mais un texte

sur les investissements», critique encore Mme Jewett.

«Il n'y a qu'un paragraphe sur la guerre des étoiles, une page sur l'Amérique latine et deux pages sur l'aide au développement», dit-elle.

«C'est inacceptable, au moment où 60 000 personnes manifestent à Vancouver contre la participation canadienne à la guerre des étoiles et à la course aux armes nucléaires, ajoute-t-elle. Ce l'est encore plus à une époque où les Canadiens ouvrent leurs cœurs à l'Éthiopie et en une période où la guerre menace la survie des nouvelles démocraties en Amérique latine», dit-elle.

Pour M. Chrétien, qui était ministre des Affaires extérieures

dans le gouvernement Turner, le livre vert du gouvernement n'est qu'un nouvel emballage du rapport annuel de ce ministère. «C'est un peu ridicule de prendre une année à étudier ce document alors que des problèmes urgents se posent», dit-il.

Il s'est dit davantage intéressé à traiter de l'attitude du gouvernement par rapport à l'embargo américain contre le Nicaragua ou encore à la course aux armes nucléaires. «Je ne crois pas que le comité puisse amener de révision importante de ces politiques», dit-il.

En conclusion, M. Chrétien s'est dit «fiatté de voir que le gouvernement conservateur se contente de poursuivre les politiques établies par les libéraux».

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## LE LIVRE VERT SUR LA POLITIQUE EXTÉRIEURE

# Le Canada doit reconstruire sa force commerciale et politique dans le monde

OTTAWA. — La part commerciale du Canada dans l'économie mondiale et son influence politique auprès des autres pays a diminué au cours des dix dernières années. Pour reprendre le terrain perdu, le Canada devra être plus compétitif sur les marchés commerciaux et reconstruire sa capacité militaire auprès de ses alliés.

### MAURICE JANNARD de notre bureau d'Ottawa

C'est l'importante conclusion à laquelle en arrive le Livre vert sur les affaires extérieures publié hier par le gouvernement canadien.

Tranchant avec le passé, la nouvelle orientation d'Ottawa relie, dans un seul ensemble, la prospérité économique du pays et les efforts du Canada pour maintenir la sécurité et la paix à l'intérieur comme à l'extérieur de ses frontières.

Sur le plan économique, le do-

cument fédéral constate que le Canada n'a pas été en mesure de suivre l'évolution du commerce international à cause du manque de compétitivité de son industrie.

Les partenaires commerciaux font de moins appel, constate le document, aux matières premières du Canada, qui furent durant plusieurs décennies sa force dominante.

De plus, au cours des dix dernières années, la part des produits manufacturés canadiens vendus à l'étranger a diminué, tandis que d'autres pays comme le Japon et les États-Unis ont sensiblement accru leurs ventes.

#### Non au protectionnisme

Parallèlement, le Livre vert constate que le protectionnisme demeure un grave danger pour le Canada. Un exemple cité: celui du Marché commun européen où les produits céréaliers reçoivent des subventions de l'État, nuisant ainsi aux ventes canadiennes dans les pays tiers.

Le Japon protège également l'agriculture et les produits forestiers. Aux États-Unis, les visées protectionnistes du Congrès s'expriment de plus en plus fortement, constate le document canadien. S'il veut survivre, le Canada doit refuser la solution protectionniste, conclut l'énoncé de politique fédérale.

Le document suggère même de réduire l'aide gouvernementale aux industries canadiennes en déclin. « Nous pouvons moins compter sur la protection du gouvernement pour les autres industries qui ne sont pas, ou ne peuvent pas, être concurrentielles. »

En augmentant la recherche et le développement dans les industries fortes canadiennes (papier journal, céréales et matériel de transport, par exemple); celles-ci seront plus concurrentielles dans les marchés mondiaux.

#### Le GATT et plus

Le Livre vert présenté par le

ministre Joe Clark propose comme solution la voie négociée pour ouvrir les marchés et non pas le repli sur soi.

Ottawa croit qu'une nouvelle ronde de négociations multilatérales, dans le cadre du GATT (Accords généraux sur le commerce) pourra débiter dans les 12 ou 18 prochains mois.

Malgré ce désir de poursuivre les efforts au sein du GATT, le document de M. Clark réaffirme qu'il sera peut-être même souhaitable que le Canada et les États-Unis négocient un accord spécial sur le commerce.

Le rapport fait également état des choix présentés une première fois dans le document de consultation du ministre d'État au Commerce International, James Kelleher.

Toutefois, depuis la publication de ce document Kelleher, un fait nouveau est survenu: au récent sommet de Bonn, la France a refusé de s'engager dans une autre ronde de discussions, for-

çant ainsi les autres pays du Marché commun à la suivre dans son rejet.

Un tel développement ne peut qu'amener le Canada et les États-Unis à resserrer leurs liens commerciaux, ce que ne manque pas de souligner le rapport dévoilé hier.

#### Puissance militaire

Le gouvernement canadien estime que le poids et l'influence politiques du Canada ont diminué récemment. « Depuis dix ans, les alliés du Canada sentent que celui-ci participe avec moins de dynamisme et de créativité à certaines institutions politiques internationales. »

Le pays est moins présent que par le passé dans les missions de paix à l'étranger, note le rapport. Cette baisse est surtout sentie au ministère de la Défense. « C'est dans le domaine de la capacité militaire que notre puissance a connu son déclin le plus marqué. »

Par exemple, le Canada a réduit de beaucoup ses efforts pour protéger son propre territoire et ses côtes maritimes étendues, déplore le document.

Étant donné que les ressources financières sont limitées, M. Clark propose de renforcer la participation du Canada au sein des différentes alliances.

Par exemple, dans la défense du territoire nord-américain, les installations canado-américaines seront améliorées par la modernisation et le remplacement de la vétuste ligne DEW, dans le cadre de NORAD.

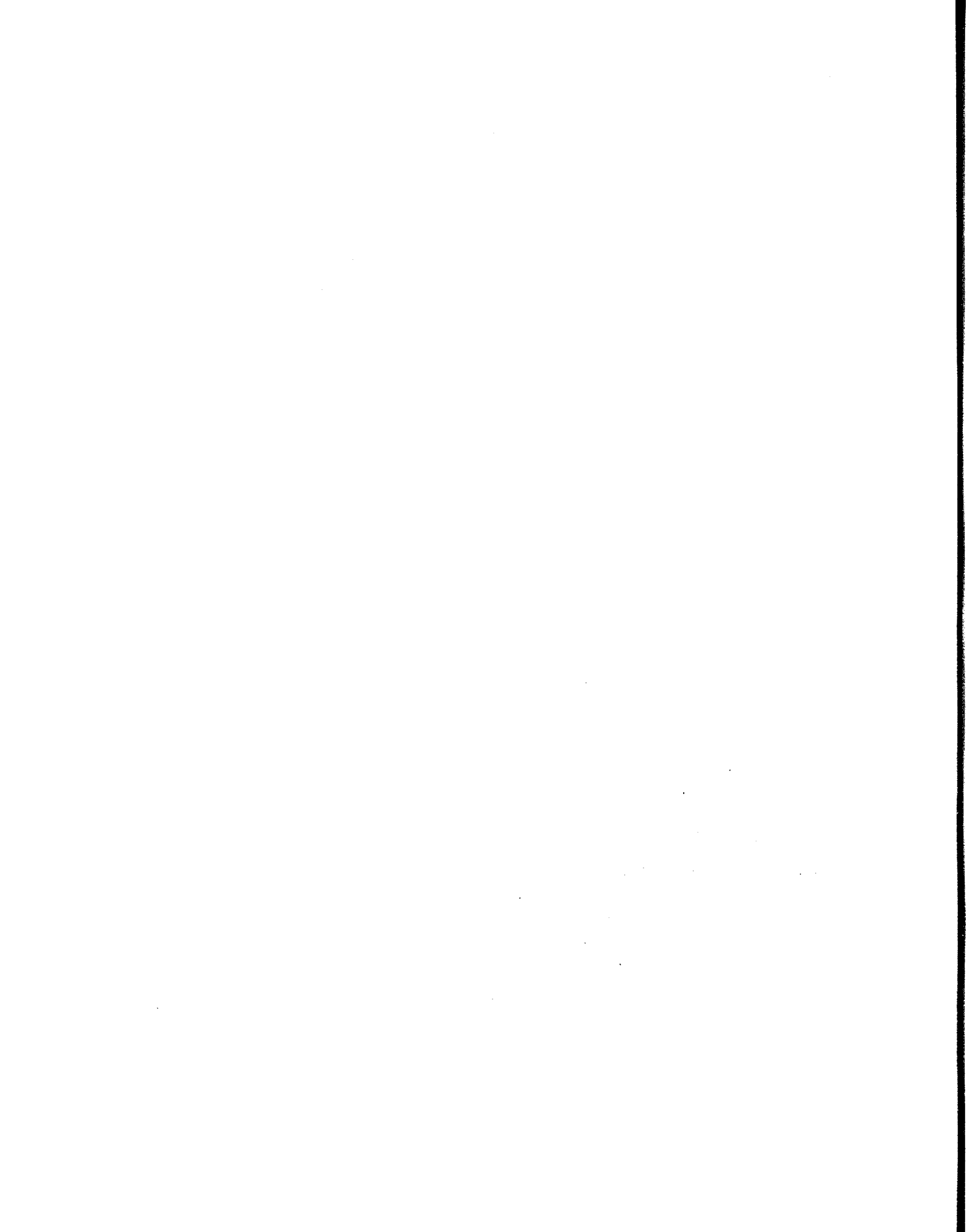
En Europe, qualifiée de « région militaire la plus critique au monde », le gouvernement Mulroney annonce que la contribution canadienne à l'OTAN doit être renforcée. Il semble donc que le Canada, dans le conflit Est-Ouest, ne sera plus neutre ou ne cherchera plus un rôle d'arbitre.

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MONTREAL GAZETTE - PRESS CLIPPINGS

A) Editorial - Comments - Analysis

- 1) "Disconcerting directions" by Editorial Staff, May 16, 1985
- 2) "Tory foreign policy bids Trudeau adieu" by L. Ian MacDonald, May 17, 1985
- 3) "Tomorrow Starts now" by Editorial Staff, May 17, 1984



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# Disconcerting directions

On the surface, Ottawa's new foreign policy green paper suggests the government has an open mind. Closer reading suggests it has already made some fairly firm — and worrying — decisions.

In the paper, few current policies are presented as unchangeable. The only fundamental constants are Canada's membership in the Western alliance, its continental defence ties with the United States, and concern for human rights and peace.

But though it avoids prejudicing the public's responses to the 50 basic questions it asks Canadians, the document made public Tuesday suggests Canada has lost a disconcerting amount of its traditional enthusiasm for international organizations. It indicates Ottawa is preparing to stress Canada's own economic interests at the expense of other Canadian concerns and values. And it makes questionable assumptions about how Canada's international influence can best be maximized.

Canadians will get a chance to respond to the paper at parliamentary committee hearings. The committee is to report in a year. But the green paper makes it clear that some decisions cannot wait. Unfortunately, one such decision — whether to pursue freer trade with the United States — is probably the most important foreign policy question facing Canadians.

On that subject, the document hints that Ottawa already has decided to head in a disconcerting direction. It seems to favor the signing of a free trade deal (or, euphemistically, a comprehensive agreement) with the United States.

## Four possibilities

The green paper does not explicitly favor any of the four possible responses it puts forward to the threat (and reality) of increased protectionism by the United States, which is by far Canada's most important export market. (They are: the status quo, a framework agreement on freer trade, deals in specific areas, and a "comprehensive" deal.)

But its tone strongly favors free trade. It notes questions about the effects of free trade. But it lists arguments that answer some of those concerns in positive tones. It also makes a point of answering nationalist concerns by suggesting the economic prosperity free trade could bring would help Canada to maintain distinct social programs and to pay for the "instruments of cultural self-expression."

Another controversial decision Ottawa will likely be forced to make before the committee reports is on whether to participate in research under the American Strategic Defence Initiative (SDI) to de-

velop defensive weapons to shoot down intercontinental nuclear missiles.

Canada already approves of the U.S. research program. But the green paper seems to sit on the fence about whether Canada should participate, even though SDI — if it is technically feasible — seems likely simply to result in the continuation of mutually assured destruction at a more expensive level, and the economic benefits to Canada would likely be small compared to the astronomical cost.

An underlying assumption of the green paper seems to be that closer economic ties to the United States and the maintenance of strong military links will increase Canada's clout in the world. But that premise is highly questionable.

Economic strength and military might do add up to influence in the world. But with only 25 million people, Canada's economy is unlikely ever to equal in importance those of the United States, Europe or Japan, and sending a few more troops to Europe or buying patrol aircraft, while laudable, won't make us a superpower.

## Taken for granted

Increasing our economic and military strength through closer links with Washington is unlikely to make other nations take Canada seriously as an independent actor on the world stage. And it could mean that Washington will take Canada even more for granted.

In the past, what influence Canada has had in the world has been rooted in the example it has set by its respect for multilateral institutions and international cooperation. That policy should continue.

But the green paper shows a disappointing lack of enthusiasm for the United Nations, and especially for the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization. It asks flat out whether Canada should pull out of UNESCO (although External Affairs Minister Joe Clark told reporters in Montreal yesterday that such a pullout is unlikely).

Meanwhile, the document emphasizes that Canada has only limited funds available for aid to the Third World. Does this mean further cuts to Canada's aid budget are in store?

This paper is important: It signals possible crucial changes in this country's policies. Canadians should respond to Mr. Clark's request for their input. And on the questions the government seems to be intent on settling quickly — notably SDI and free trade — their response should be strong and speedy, warning against short-sighted decisions.

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MONTREAL GAZETTE

Can - Foreign Rel. #

# Tory foreign policy bids Trudeau adieu

OTTAWA — The foreign-policy perspectives of Pierre Trudeau and Brian Mulroney are as strikingly different as their personal backgrounds. Where they come from, where they've been and why are critical to their outlook and understanding of the world.

Trudeau was from Montreal, and as a boy the only place where he was likely to meet any Americans was at the beach.

Mulroney was from Bale Comeau, and in that American-built company town, he was as likely to meet someone from Chicago or New York as from Montreal.

Trudeau studied abroad in London and Paris. He saw the world at his leisure, in years of solitary voyages before he entered public life. Mulroney studied at a small Nova Scotia college and a venerable Quebeco law faculty, but as he has said himself, "Nobody from Harvard was knocking at my door."

Mulroney did not begin to travel overseas until much later in life, and then not as an intellectual in search of sources, but first as a tourist in search of pleasure, and later as a businessman in search of deals.

When their different stages in life are considered, their different and differing senses of foreign policy come into a sharper focus.

In 1970, Trudeau undertook the first major review of foreign policy that had

L. IAN  
MacDONALD



been shaped by Lester Pearson and dominated by the "honest broker" attitudes of Canada's role as a middle power. Trudeau was looking for a "third option," a position of less dependence on the Americans and a scope beyond the Atlantic alliance: thus Trudeau's initiatives in recognizing China, in the Pacific Rim trade areas, in the North-South dialogue between developed and developing countries; and finally in his peace initiative on the East-West arms race.

He knew most of the world by the time he became prime minister in 1968. And he knew most of the world's important leaders by the time he retired in 1984.

At this point, Mulroney's international experience consists of one quick visit to the White House, a cup of coffee with Mikhail Gorbachev and visiting western leaders in Moscow at Konstantin Chernenko's funeral, the Caribbean Commonwealth leaders' conference, and the Bonn summit of the leading western industrialized powers.

There is no way for a novice actor on the world stage to compete with Trudeau's accumulated experience and stature. But there are already some marked differences of approach, of the negotiator looking for an opening as opposed to the philosopher trying to make a point.

Like Trudeau, Mulroney has not been shy about questioning the conventional wisdoms as laid down by his predecessor. Also like Trudeau, Mulroney has moved to establish the dominance of the prime minister over foreign policy.

And Mulroney's dispositions are quite apparent in the foreign policy Green Paper put out the other day by External Affairs Minister Joe Clark.

The two tracks of Mulroney's emerging foreign policy are institutions and trade, the international institutions to which Canada belongs and the international trade it hopes to enhance.

These may not be statements of the obvious so much as statements of reality as Mulroney sees the world. If Canada exports over \$100 billion a year, that's roughly one-fourth of the gross national product, and it makes trade a big ticket item in Mulroney's conduct of diplomacy.

And about three-quarters of that trade is with the United States, one of the points emphasized with what are called "bullets" down in Mulroney's policy shop.

Where Trudeau was always wary of the "mouse" being in bed with the elephant, Mulroney has decided to be nice to the Americans, not just because he likes them, but because it suits his purpose. Mulroney's gamble is by being basically supportive of the Americans in global foreign-policy areas, he will get something back in the way of a privileged and enhanced trade relationship. By dismantling barriers to foreign investment, Mulroney is hoping U.S. capital can take up the slack in job creation.

But Mulroney is also learning to take his distance from the Americans, on Star Wars research and on hemispheric issues such as Ronald Reagan's Nicaraguan trade embargo. Yet by establishing a strong rapport with Reagan, Mulroney hopes to persuade the U.S. president of the importance of middle-power roles in the world, particularly on North-South issues such as Third World financing.

In the process, Mulroney is learning something about the national interest, of which he is the trustee. He is not a philosopher-statesman, and not likely to become one.

But perhaps there are other roles for a prime minister like him and a country like Canada to play in the world: perhaps that of the modest mediator, in accord with the Pearsonian tradition, as well as the national interest.



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MONTREAL GAZETTE

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MAY 17 1985

## Tomorrow starts now

Anyone who says he plans to go on a diet or stop smoking *tomorrow* deserves a skeptical reaction.

So too does a government that says some of its present restrictions on imports are bad for the long-term health of Canadian industries, but at the same time apparently is "flirting" with keeping them in place for at least a few years more.

Ottawa's new foreign policy green paper contains fine words and astute observations about the benefits of multilateral trade liberalization.

It notes that in the long run, voluntary export restraints (which in effect are import quotas) and some types of subsidies lessen the ability of our industries to compete. And it says Canadian firms must become more competitive if Canada's prosperity is to be maintained.

It suggests that the way to do that is to increase productivity, pay more attention to research and development, train more engineers and scientists, and do more export marketing. All this would be helpful. But it is useful to remember that protectionist measures tend to reduce the pressures on firms to take them.

So it is good to see that the document speaks of creating a climate where strong firms will flourish, and relying less on government protection for uncompetitive industries. And it suggests judging policies not only for their direct domestic impacts but also on their international system and on Canada's ability to adapt.

Free trade with the United States probably would make Canadian industry more competitive. But the political price likely would be too high. The best route for Canada is a multilateral one.

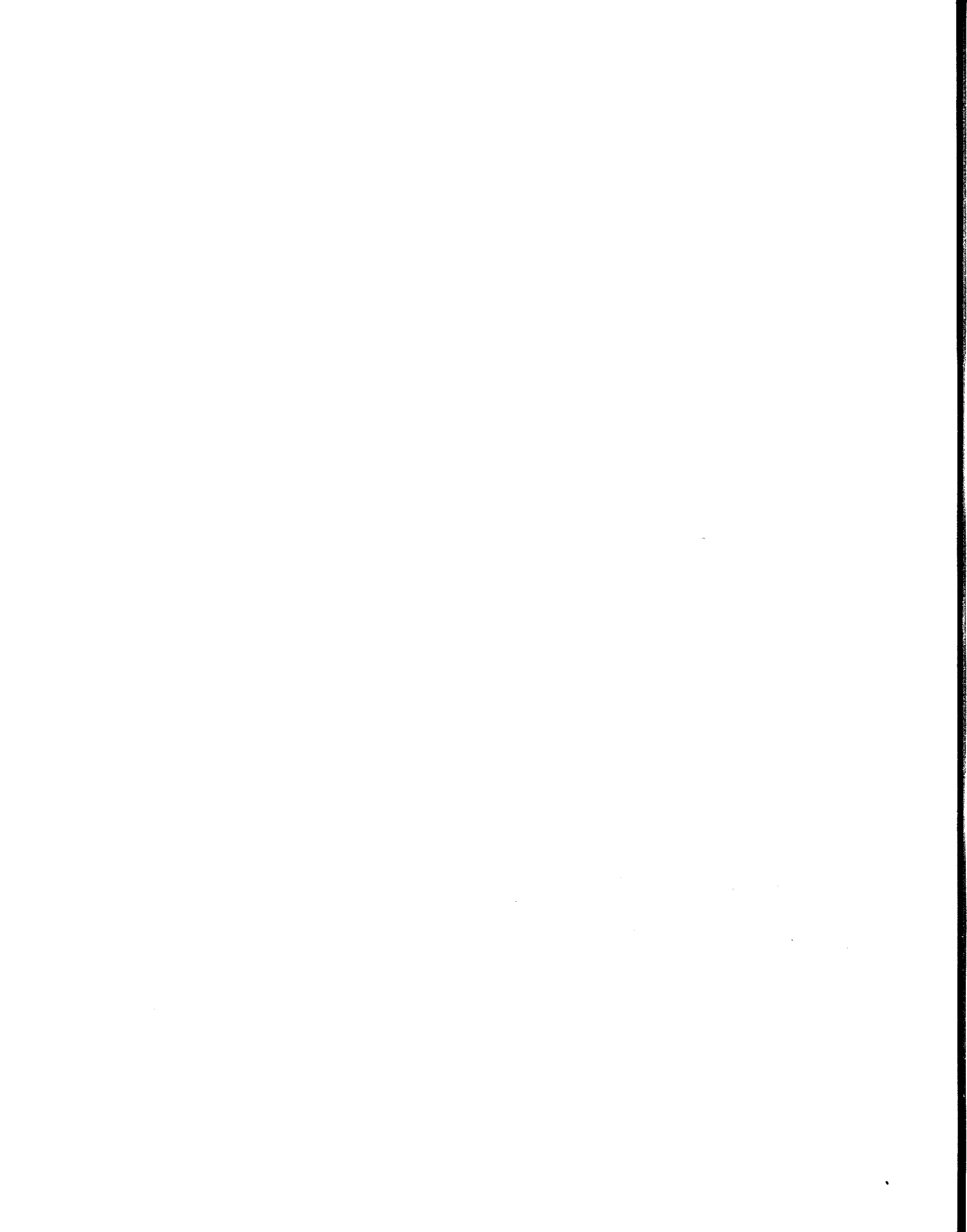
But while Ottawa seems to be moving toward free trade with the United States, there are signs that it is planning to keep restrictions on imports from other sources.

Ottawa must soon decide whether to renew an international deal that covers quotas on imports of textiles and clothing by industrial countries from developing countries. And it must decide whether to renew its quotas on footwear.

Recent remarks by Industry Minister Sinclair Stevens have been distinctly protectionist. He also is working on the renewal of quotas on Japanese cars.

External Affairs Minister Joe Clark says Mr. Stevens is talking about the short term, while the green paper focuses on the long term. But that recalls a dieter's procrastination.

If people lack the will today to face unpleasant short-term consequences — be they of diets or freer trade — why assume that tomorrow will bring a new resolve?





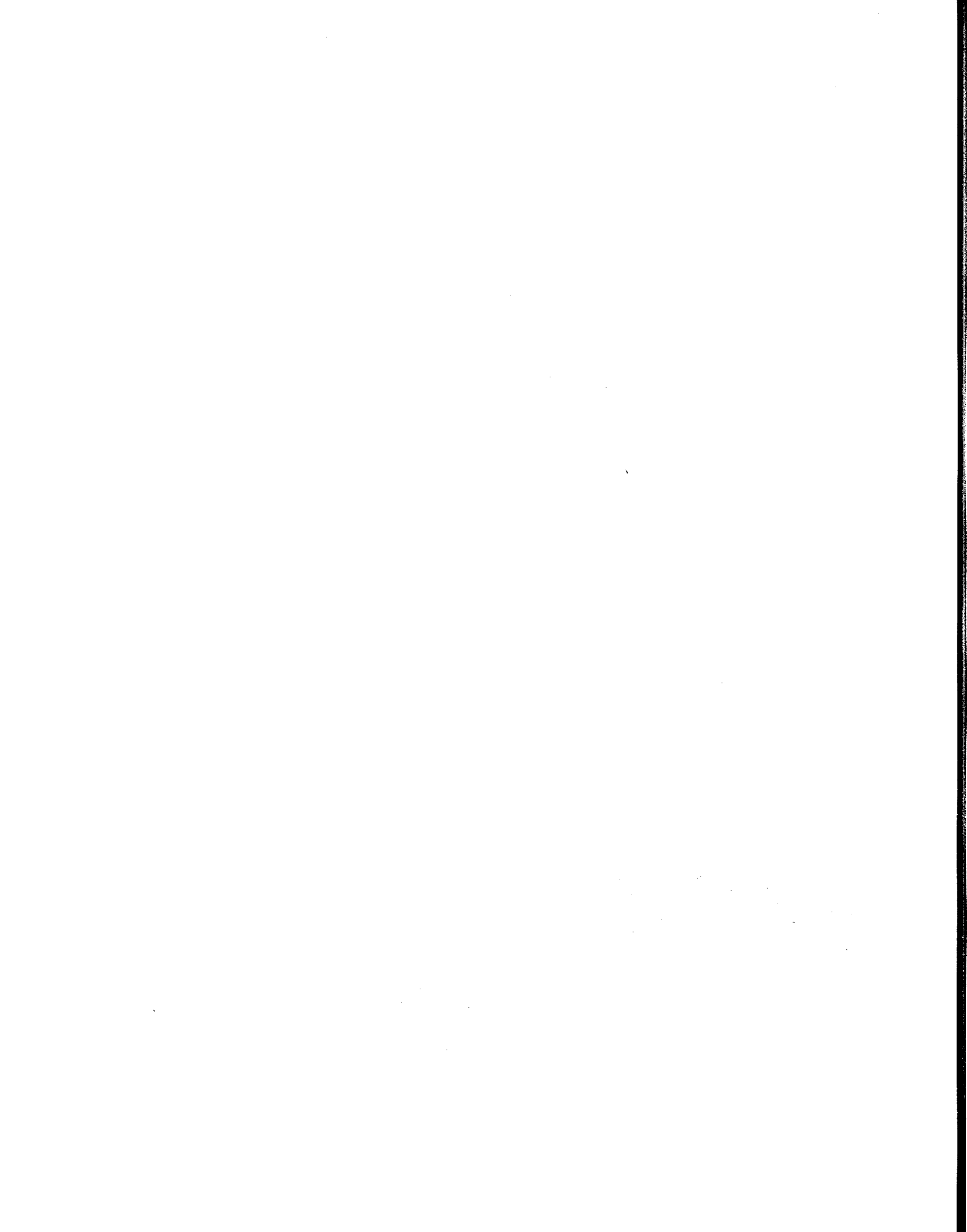
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# Clark's document fated for oblivion

Joe Clark has invented a new color of government document — the grey paper.

We used to have "white papers" and "green papers" — white for a proposed government policy and green for a discussion of something about which the government had yet to make up its mind. Clark's paper on foreign policy, published Tuesday, was supposed to be a green paper.

Sometimes we even get "black papers," such as the "Black Paper on Tory Patronage" issued recently by Don Boudria, a charter member of the Liberal rat pack.

None of these documents is quite the sort of thing about which yellow journalists write purple prose. They're more likely to get wrapped up in red tape and forgotten.

But recently there has appeared in Ottawa a kind of document even more fated for oblivion.

These are the "discussion" papers and "consultation" papers and "working" papers of the Mulroney government.

They've come in various colors, with a strong tendency towards Tory blue.

The Big Blue Machine may be creaky these days, but there's a big blue printing press somewhere running flat out.

Most of these discussion papers have a peculiar quality. Like many government documents, they state the obvious. But they state it so tediously, blandly and boringly that the reader ends up knowing less about the subject than before seeing the document.

Before you read one of these papers, you may think that there is some hidden design beneath the surface of Tory tedium, some "hidden agenda" as John Turner would call it.

But after you've plumbed their depths, after you have got past the surface, you doubt Turner's hidden-agenda. They have no depths. They're all surface. Take that away, and there's nothing there.

Of course, Clark has more excuse than most for producing a drab policy paper.

The often-quoted Chinese curse of "interesting times" is a clue to the true objective of diplomacy. A diplomat who keeps his country out of the world headlines is doing his job. To tell him he presided over one of the most bland and boring periods of history is to pay him a high compliment.

But Clark has done more than produce a soporific paper. He has made an inspired choice of cover showing Canada in an ocean of grey.

If the Mulroney government stays in office as long as it hopes, the "grey paper" may become a



Don McGillivray  
 Southern News

standard item when the government feels the need to say something about a subject about which it not only hasn't made up its mind but on which it doesn't wish to do any new thinking.

I'll concede that if you look hard enough and long enough at anything, you may think you see something there, like the ships on the horizon conjured up by the longing eyes of sailors adrift.

But anybody who sees new purpose and pattern in the External Affairs document should re-read *Foreign Policy for Canadians*, the foreign policy review issued 15 years ago in the salad days of the Trudeau government.

The Trudeau administration stated six "main themes" which "form the broad framework of foreign policy."

The Mulroney government, declaring that things have "changed dramatically" since 1970, sets out six "objectives that derive from our values and aspirations."

"Peace and security" was a Trudeau theme. "Peace and security" is a Mulroney objective.

"Sovereignty and independence" was both a Trudeau theme and a Mulroney objective.

The Trudeau government wanted to "foster economic growth." The Mulroney government aims for "economic prosperity."

The Trudeau list included "social justice." That's "justice and democracy" in Clark's gray paper.

The Trudeau government was going to "ensure a harmonious natural environment." The Mulroney government list calls it "the integrity of our natural environment."

Five of the six, then, are all but identical. The only difference is the sixth. It's called "unity" in the Clark paper and "enhance the quality of life" in the Trudeau government's list.

Clark's paper does manage a few platitudes about the relationship with the U.S., something the Trudeau review mysteriously avoided.

Otherwise, *plus ça change, plus c'est la même chose*.



Joe Clark  
 Not even a hidden agenda

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## Clark's greening of foreign policy

The long-awaited and oft-postponed "Green Paper" on Canada's foreign policy has at last seen the light of day. It won't be a best-seller. But that's not its purpose.

Entitled "Competitiveness and Security: Directions for Canada's International Relations," this compilation of generalities is only supposed to stimulate a year-long public review of Canadian policies in the world.

A special committee of the House of Commons and the Senate will undertake this long-overdue task and Canadians across the land will be invited to make their contributions. The green paper (it's actually grey) asks many questions. It was never supposed to provide the answers.

Whether or not the government has made up its mind on at least some aspects of foreign policy remains a mystery. This report doesn't even make any recommendations. It does, however, start from the premise that there are certain immutables in Canada's foreign policy.

To the stupefaction of few, we'll remain in the UN and NATO and continue to co-operate with the U.S. in the defence of North America. We'll try to play an active role in the Commonwealth, La Francophonie and the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development.

The Opposition — presumably before reading the report — criticized External Affairs Minister Joe Clark for his proposed year-long parliamentary review. It even threatened not to participate in it. It called the process a charade and a ploy to keep Tory back-benchers out of mischief.

Clark's idea may not be practical. You can't put diplomacy on hold for a year. We've got to take lots of decisions before May 1986, and they're not all housekeeping.

Yet a public review can't really be faulted. It makes good sense. Canadians have been too apathetic in foreign affairs, partly because they've felt powerless to do anything about them. Now's their chance.

The paper's emphasis on trade and economic matters is correct. These underpin our pivotal relationship with the U.S. and shape our deepest options for the future. Its emphasis on interdependence is also apt. So, above all, is its warning that we can no longer take our security for granted.

Opposition parties will likely repent and decide to make their contributions to the review. If they want to influence events instead of impress themselves with tactical game-playing, they had better get serious. That means doing some homework, even doing — o novelty! — some thinking.

"The absent are always wrong," goes the French proverb. If the Grits and New Democrats do stay away, we shall end up with a very Tory foreign policy.

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# Commitment to R&D looks rocky

If Joe Clark's foreign policy paper is like a bowl of grey porridge, it contains a few tasty raisins.

One of them is headed "Our R&D Performance."

Though great nations may be kissed off with a sentence or two, three pithy paragraphs and a half-page table are devoted to R&D — jargon for research and development.

So we know External Affairs Minister Clark attaches great importance to this subject. Yet on the same day he unveiled his green paper, offering it as the basis for year-long study by a committee of the Commons and Senate, Science Minister Thomas Siddon was telling another parliamentary committee that the government would not honor Brian Mulroney's election campaign commitment to double R&D in his first term.

This is another bit of evidence suggesting that the paper is not a serious attempt to launch a major inquiry into what our foreign policy should be. Government decisions will continue to be taken without regard for this sketchy document.

Clark's paper places tremendous emphasis on Canada's competitiveness in international trade, also a favorite theme of the prime minister. Few people would question this emphasis. Few would doubt that Canada's poor performance in R&D is a key to the problems we have encountered in recent years in competing with the U.S., Japan and Western Europe in the markets of the world.

Liberal governments also were good at proclaiming the importance of R&D, poor at doing much about it.

The results are in Clark's table, showing us eighth out of nine major trading nations measured by the percentage of gross domestic product spent on R&D. Our percentage is about half that of the U.S., which leads the pack, followed by West Germany, Japan, Britain, Sweden, France and Holland. Then comes Canada and last, Italy.

Depressingly, Canada's position in this league table in the early '80s was the same as it was in the early '70s, and our percentage figure was little changed. In that same decade the U.S., Germany and especially Japan considerably increased their percentage spending. The results are apparent when we turn on the TV, deploy the family camera, or get stuck in a traffic jam.

During last year's election campaign, when pressed on the cost of his promises, Mulroney provided a breakdown which included \$100 million extra for R&D in 1985-86 and \$250 million more in 1986-87.

After the election he named Thomas Siddon, an



Christopher Young  
Southern News

engineering professor from the University of British Columbia, minister of state for science, an appointment acclaimed as an indication of serious intentions in the field.

In more than one interview, Siddon reiterated the commitment to double total spending on R&D.

Then in November, Finance Minister Michael Wilson reduced government spending on R&D by about \$70 million for 1985-86. We'll find out next Thursday what he plans to do in 1986-87.

The government also decided to scrap the Foreign Investment Review Agency, and to encourage more foreign investment. Whatever else it does, this policy is unlikely to boost R&D.

One of the widely accepted reasons for Canada's feeble research effort in the private sector is our high proportion of foreign-owned industry, which generally keeps its research labs and development programs at home base.

That's partly why opposition MPs have expressed concern about the proposed takeover of Ottawa's high-tech communication firm, Mitel Corp., by British Telecom.

Asked how government actions meshed with the views expressed in his pa-

per, Clark said he "could make the other case" — that more foreign ownership will increase R&D. He also pointed out that Siddon had said government cuts in R&D programs would not limit Canada's ability to excel.

Oh well, that's OK then.

Meantime, over at the Commons committee on miscellaneous estimates, Siddon was explicitly repudiating Mulroney's pledge. It was more a general goal than a promise, said Siddon, and anyway the government wouldn't be able to achieve it.

Yet the Clark green paper tells us that all industrialized countries "see technology and innovation as the most critical elements in today's economic equation."

Brian, Tom, this is Joe.

Joe, meet Brian and Tom.



Tom Siddon  
Marching to different drummers?

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# Chances for foreign policy review brighter

By Peter Maser  
Southern News

Prospects for a parliamentary review of foreign policy appeared brighter Thursday as External Affairs Minister Joe Clark announced that it will take another three to four months for the government's decision on participation in U.S. Star Wars research.

The government announced earlier this week that it intended to set up a special committee of MPs and senators to conduct a year-long public study of foreign policy.

The announcement drew threats of a boycott from opposition MPs, who complained that the committee's report would come too late to influence the government's decision on two key issues — free trade with the United States and Canadian involvement in Star Wars research.

The U.S. has invited Canada to participate in the research phase of the controversial program, formally known as the Strategic Defence Initiative, and a decision was expected in June.

But Clark told the Commons on Thursday that the government would have to make up its mind "in the next three to four months."

Were the committee to start its work soon and make Star Wars its top priority, he suggested, it would give the public a chance to have a say in the matter.

The minister refused to yield to opposition demands that the decision on Star Wars be postponed until after the committee has submitted an interim report.

Still, the knowledge that the decision is three to four months away was enough to trigger counterproposals from opposition parties, which in turn seemed to in-

dicade that the foreign policy review could be salvaged.

The review committee cannot be set up without opposition approval.

New Democrat House leader Ian Deans said he expected to meet soon with Government House leader Ray Hnatyshyn, and Hnatyshyn told reporters he would be looking for ways to break the impasse.

Deans suggested in the House that Clark set up a special committee with a mandate to look at nothing but the Star Wars issue and report back to the Commons in September after the summer recess.

A similar proposal was put forward by Liberal External Affairs critic Jean Chrétien, who said the foreign policy committee should be set up immediately and report to the Commons in three months following public hearings.

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# Chance to be informed

The value of Green Papers — on foreign affairs especially — has yet to be proven. The amount of work that must have gone into this week's report tabled by Joe Clark makes an old External hand shudder.

Was it worth it?  
I have my doubts; but that's not to say that I think a comprehensive periodic foreign policy review is a waste of time. Quite the contrary.

There are so few foreign policy debates in the Canadian House of Commons that one could conclude that Canadians aren't interested, aren't informed and are in fact embarrassed about their lack of knowledge of the outside world that surrounds us, affects us so vitally and often drags us into the vortex of its problems and dangers.

"Foreign affairs" is considered by many Canadians to be dull. It's fascinating. It's considered complicated. Basically it's not. Often it's believed to be none of our business. How wrong that is! We're all involved — whether we like it or not.

So anything that publicizes Canadian foreign policy in a readable, understandable and exciting way is bound to be a good thing. Foreign diplomats in Ottawa must devour publications like Joe Clark's *Competitiveness and Security: Directions for Canada's International Relations*. The wires are surely humming to all four corners of the world.

The trouble with this week's contribution to enlightenment is that no conclusions are drawn. Green Papers generalize. It's the whites that stand tall and declare policy. But green is better than nothing so let's see what conclusions we can draw from the sweat and tears of the cream of Canada's foreign service.

We can conclude from the minister's foreword that it's been 15 years since the last review took place. That's somewhat misleading. Canadian foreign policy hasn't stood still for a decade and a half. Decisions have been taken when required and often past policies have been reviewed.

We're also told that our country's membership in our alliances and in world organizations is not up for grabs. Thus this is not a Trudeau-type study. It's the stuff of status quo with a plus. And the plus stands for closer ties, especially trade and economic, with the U.S.

We're then treated to a compendium of "national attributes." We're told we're a country of distinct regions. We're North American but not American (a blazing flash of the obvious). We're Atlantic, Pacific, a nation of the Americas, of the Arctic. This we could have done without.

So, too, could the writers have omitted reference to our riches, our prosperity, our peace. We either know that or we don't.

But then we're told: "We can no longer take our security for



George Grande

granted." That's a fact that should be repeated many times.

The next section blandly states that a constant of Canadian policy has been the protection of our national sovereignty. Was Clark referring to the Foreign Investment Review Agency or our National Energy Policy? Not very likely.

We doubt very much if Canadian policy in the past has really focused on tangible measures — that cost real dollars — to maintain our independence.

There's a credible attempt to explain the international economic and political and security systems. It's inevitably pretty dull stuff.

We liked the historical reference to the origins of NATO and to its main function — to deter aggression against any of its members. But was it really necessary to repeat it here? Perhaps the younger generation needed it.

The focus of the whole paper is contained in these words: "The growth of interdependence has caused economic issues to assume an increasingly important place in foreign policy, and foreign policy to assume an increasingly important place in national economic policies."

Perhaps the paper should have dealt solely with this. Once you start talking about the world, you have to cover it all.

Those who want to be friends with everyone — isn't that a national Canadian trait? — will turn away from the following: "The most direct threat to Canadian security derives from the Soviet Union's military capabilities and antipathy to our values, and from the consequent distrust and competition between East and West." That's good plain talk.

The controversial U.S. Strategic Defence Initiative is almost dismissed without comment. Too controversial? Clark said: "We'll have to reach a consensus on whether strategic defence is likely to enhance or diminish our security, and we will have to consider to what extent our economic and technological interests are at stake." Amen.

Canadians should take advantage of this exercise to become better informed about their country's foreign policy which, by and large, has been formulated and carried out in a public vacuum in the past.

If the Opposition insists on boycotting it, that's their choice.

George Grande is a member of The Citizen editorial board specializing in foreign affairs.

S. D.

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Diplomats  
Patrick Best

## Clark provides reading material

A number of Ottawa-based envoys spent part of the holiday weekend looking over some long-awaited reading material — Joe Clark's Green Paper on foreign policy.

Canada's external affairs minister certainly did his best to whet their interest in his pet project.

Perhaps it was his desire to keep the rest of the shrinking world abreast of the new Canadian government's thinking on international affairs.

Or perhaps he was looking for a more sympathetic ear than the one he received from opposition parties when he tabled his grey-covered paper in the Commons.

Whatever the reason, at week's end he had his aides deliver "courtesy" copies of his much-maligned document to each of the more than 100 diplomatic missions here — along with a friendly covering letter.

What is more, his officials are now in the midst of conducting a round of special briefings for the ambassadors on the contents and purpose of the paper — key to the first foreign policy review in this country since 1970.

The home governments of the envoys have been patiently looking for clues on possible changes in the direction of Canada's foreign policy since the Mulroney regime took office eight months ago.

But, with the paper now in their hands, the diplomats are not quite sure what they have got.

What they are reading is a document that does not purport to propose policy, let alone define it. In short, there is precious little substance to package up and send to their foreign ministries.

In the words of one Asian diplomat: "Where's the beef?"

Not surprisingly, the heads of mission are carefully choosing their words in expressing reaction to the Clark document — at least until the current series of briefings is over.

Italy's Ambassador Francesco Fulci, currently "dean" of the European Economic Community grouping here, is among those who had originally expected the new government to produce a White Paper defining foreign policy objectives.

Nevertheless, he finds the contents of the Green Paper "an interesting and useful catalogue of questions that apparently have much meaning for the Canadian government."

Fulci noted the emphasis placed on trade and economic issues. "It is important for us to see what Canadian leaders view as the main problems in this vital area."

Fulci has already dispatched to his government a copy of the paper, along with a resume of it — and is in the midst of preparing an in-depth analysis.

Observed Brazil's Ambassador Ronaldo Costa:

"We didn't really know what to expect as we waited for release of this paper. I am naturally reading it very carefully, although it does not appear that the basic framework of Canadian foreign policy is about to change at this time."

The timing of the release of the study paper had a particular meaning for the ambassadors of Thailand and troubled Nicaragua.

Nicaragua's deputy foreign minister, Victor Hugo Tinoco, was due to arrive here today for important meetings with Clark and Monique Vezina, minister of external relations.

This three-day visit will provide the opportunity for useful discussions on the latest developments in Central America, including President Reagan's plans to push ahead with a total trade embargo "against my country," said Ambassador Casimiro Sotelo.

Ottawa-based envoys found in the Green Paper precise figures on the number of diplomatic, trade and consular offices maintained throughout the world by Canada. The total is 110, nearly one-third of them in Europe.

But they look in vain for indications as to whether the Mulroney government plans to eliminate any more foreign posts in this period of financial restraint.

The government announced late last year that five of its overseas offices were to be closed for a potential saving of \$3.1 million in 1985-86. Understandably, there is lingering concern among some envoys in this capital that the axe might fall again in the months ahead.

Predictably, much interest is focussed on one of the dominant questions raised in the Green Paper: Should development aid be tied to a country's respect for human rights, or its future trade prospects?

Just how much attention the Clark paper attracts among Ottawa's envoys will be judged by what happens in the follow-up process over the next year.

This will be interesting to see.





S. D.

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## Foreign policy gag

How can the opposition justify opposing a special parliamentary committee to review Canadian foreign policy? By killing it before it's even born, they would deny Canadians a chance to debate all aspects of this country's international role.

The Liberals and New Democrats have every right to oppose Conservative policies. They also have a duty and responsibility to express their own views on questions like Canada's participation in the Strategic Defence Initiative and Canadian trade with the U.S.

But they have no right to force their views on the government by blackmail. Yet that's what they appear to be trying to do.

Last week External Affairs Minister Joe Clark tabled a Green Paper on Canada's international relations as promised many months ago. It's supposed to serve as background for a thorough foreign policy review to be conducted across Canada by a special all-party parliamentary committee established for that purpose.

Clark proposed that the committee report back to Parliament in a year's time with its recommendations after travelling across the country and consulting as many Canadian groups and interested people as possible.

In the meantime, as Clark explained, Canada's foreign policy can't stand still. Some decisions will have to be taken during that year. One is SDI and another is trade with the U.S. — in particular what type of agreement we should seek with Washington.

The opposition says it won't take part — in other words it will withhold its consent to setting up such a committee — unless the government agrees beforehand not to decide either of these issues before the committee makes its recommendations on them.

Thus there's a deadlock. A minority apparently believes it has the right to set deadlines for the committee's work and on when the majority government can decide specific issues.

This is democracy? Certainly not. Unless the Liberals and New Democrats change their tune, the process of sounding out the Canadian people — they seem to be forgotten in all this — could be nipped in the bud.

More Canadians must learn about Canadian foreign policy. They have to become better informed. They should make up their own minds about issues that affect us all.

Surely the sober second thoughts of Liberal and New Democratic leaders will prevent them from using the guillotine on Canadian public opinion. If they become responsible for that, they will be abdicating their duties as elected representatives.

There's undoubted value in public review. There's none in denying it for narrow, party reasons.

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# Opposition threatens boycott of Clark's foreign policy review

By Iain Hunter  
 Citizen staff writer

Opposition MPs branded External Affairs Minister Joe Clark's proposal for a year-long foreign policy review Tuesday a charade and threatened to boycott the special parliamentary committee that will conduct it.

The review was proposed in a major discussion paper on international relations which suggested that Canada's economic future is vitally linked to freer trade with the United States.

"A new Canada-U.S. trade regime, incorporating expanded mutual trade obligations, could provide a stable, long-term solution to Canada's vital objectives of secure export market access and enhanced international competitiveness," the paper stated.

It warned protectionist sentiment in the U.S. could result in restrictions on Canadian exports, threatening "the prosperity of Canadians from coast to coast and could have particularly severe regional impacts."

Refusal of the opposition to take part in the policy review could leave the government with a one-party committee unless the Tories agree to defer a decision on whether to participate in Star Wars research and other controversial issues until the committee has debated it fully.

Opposition members indicated they might insist on that condition in return for their co-operation on the committee.

Liberal and New Democrat spokesmen charged the Conservative government is setting up the committee simply to occupy the time of its backbenchers to prevent them from becoming restless.

They said the review will go over ground already covered by other committees and noted the government will make major foreign policy decisions long before it is completed.

For example, specific proposals will be presented in a white paper expected to be released by Defence Minister Erik Nielsen next month.

"It's a bloody insult," fumed NDP external affairs critic Pauline Jewett.

Clark proposed the special committee composed of MPs and senators use the long-awaited green paper as the basis for public hearings across the country and

whether to accept the invitation of the U.S. to participate in Strategic Defence Initiative (Star Wars) research on space-based anti-missile defence. He told a Commons committee last week a decision was not likely until after the end of June, suggesting an announcement while Parliament is recessed for the summer.

But he insisted the government would have to reverse any such decision in the face of a committee recommendation, based on representations from the public, that it was wrong.

Clark qualified this assurance, however, by stressing only a unanimous recommendation of the committee would have this weight.

The green paper stated bluntly, in apparent reference to spending cuts expected in Finance Minister Michael Wilson's budget to be presented May 23, that Canada must be realistic as to the costs of adopting new policies in the

areas of defence and foreign aid.

"Before," Clark said, "the assumption was that Canada could decide what we wanted to do and then go out and do it."

He argued there are important decisions for Canadians, as distinct from their government, to take in the area of foreign policy and said the government intends to respect the outcome of the committee process.

Former Liberal external affairs minister Jean Chrétien accused the government of setting up the year-long consultation process to keep backbench Tory MPs occupied.

Chrétien also observed that although Clark's green paper places unusual emphasis on trade and economic issues, Prime Minister Brian Mulroney and U.S. President Ronald Reagan launched a study on Canadian-American free trade in March.

Disputing Clark's claim that all areas of foreign policy need study, Jewett noted the Commons external affairs committee has already completed major reports on Latin American and Caribbean relations and on security and disarmament, while a Senate committee spent three years studying free trade. The Macdonald Commission on Canada's economic prospects is due to report this summer.

Both Jewett and Chrétien said they are inclined to recommend their parties not take part in the green paper committee, although they added they will have to discuss it with their fellow MPs.

They indicated the two opposition parties could insist, in return for their co-operation, that such major issues as Star Wars be made a priority on the committee so that it can make recommendations on these subjects before the government sets policy in these areas.

Otherwise, said Jewett, the opposition could refuse the traditional unanimous consent for establishment of a special committee and provoke a lengthy debate in the House which would embarrass the government.

She said she is sure the government would not want to set up a Parliamentary committee which had only Tory members on it.

Clark's green paper, unlike previous foreign policy papers, makes an improvement of Canada's economic competitiveness in world markets a central factor in external relations.

It argues Canadians can no more isolate themselves behind trade barriers than they can guarantee their own security.

"For most of our history, we have been able to count on our natural wealth for our prosperity and on our geography for our security," the document says. "But we cannot take either for granted any longer."

While the green paper reaffirms Canada's commitment to the UN, NATO, the Commonwealth, and the seven-nation economic summit of industrialized nations, it poses dozens of questions in the areas of general foreign policy, defence, international security, foreign aid, trade and peacekeeping operations.

Throughout it warns that Canada's resources are limited.

"In fact, reduction of the budget deficit may require further retrenchment in some of our international activities," the paper declares.

"Priorities will have to be established. Difficult choices will have to be made."

In a pessimistic overview of Canada's declining influence as a trading nation, the paper argues increasing protectionism, particularly in the U.S., its largest trading partner, is a great danger.

But if Canada is to call for a reduction of protectionism, it must be prepared to make sacrifices in some of its own protected industries such as textiles, footwear, automobiles and even agriculture, it argues.

The green paper lists the following four options for "securing and enhancing" trade access to the U.S.:

- The current approach of defending Canada from U.S. protectionism by lobbying and exploiting its rights under the multilateral General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) with uncertain success;

- A bilateral framework agreement under which working groups would make recommendations to governments, but without a guarantee of access;

- Sectoral free trade arrangements as now exist in automobiles and defence goods which would be difficult to balance in the trade interests of both sides and would have to be squared with Canada's GATT obligations;

- A comprehensive free trade agreement to eliminate most tariff and non-tariff barriers which could affect important economic, cultural and foreign policy considerations.

The paper, while it doesn't state a preference for any option, seems more inclined to the last.

"It is possible that if there were a well-defined, mutually obligating, beneficial treaty governing trade, cultural policy and foreign policy would be less affected by bilateral trade disputes than they now are," it argues.

In its section on defence and security, the green paper says the most direct threat to Canadian security comes from the Soviet Union's military capabilities and "antipathy to our values" as well as the consequent distrust and competition between East and West.

It acknowledges the declining state of the country's military equipment and says Canadians will have to decide how much they want to spend to improve it "when our budget deficit is so enormous."

The paper also asks whether more priority should be given to peacekeeping forces, taking into account the tendency in recent years to bypass the UN when arranging such forces.

Other questions also raised in the paper include:

- Budget permitting, should the federal government make a priority of providing technological support to arms control agreements, such as seismological expertise to verify a nuclear test ban?

- Do Canadians believe that declaring support for nuclear freeze proposals builds confidence or leads to eventual reductions in such weapons?

- Should development assistance be tied to a country's respect for human rights, trade or anything else?

- Should Canada join the Organization of American States?

- Are Canadians satisfied with the "careful balance" the government tries to maintain between Israel and its Arab neighbors?

Colo- Foreign Rel  
OTTAWA CITIZEN

MAY 16 1985

# Opposition parties agree on unprecedented boycott of Clark's committee

By Iain Hunter  
Citizen staff writer

Both opposition parties confirmed Wednesday they will boycott a parliamentary review of Canada's foreign policy unless they are given a say in the government's decision on participation in Star Wars research and free trade with the U.S.

They announced the boycott after Deputy Prime Minister Erik Nielsen refused to commit the government to postponing its decisions on the two issues until after a special committee of MPs and senators makes its recommendations based on public hearings.

Parliamentary experts could not recall an instance of even one opposition party

refusing to take part in a special committee in the past.

Unless the government backs down, the parliamentary study based on the Conservatives' green paper on foreign policy, announced with fanfare by External Affairs Minister Joe Clark Tuesday, will be an embarrassing one-party exercise.

Neither Clark nor Prime Minister Brian Mulroney were in the Commons Wednesday when both NDP and Liberal MPs heaped ridicule on the exercise.

They called it a farce and a mockery of Parliament since the government has insisted it can't wait until the committee has made its recommendations next May to decide on participation in Star Wars and closer trade relations with the U.S.

Clark has said a decision on Star Wars will be made after special Canadian envoy Arthur Kroeger has completed his study of the proposal in Washington at the end of June.

An investigation of freer trade options being undertaken by Trade Minister James Killefer and his U.S. counterpart is scheduled for completion this fall.

Clark was in Montreal Wednesday promoting his foreign policy paper to radio stations and editorial boards. Mulroney was absent from question period in the Commons when the issue was raised even though the prime minister's office said he was scheduled to be there.

On his way out of a Tory caucus meeting earlier, the prime minister did not stop as usual to take questions.

The Liberals and New Democrats in the Commons heaped ridicule on the "banal" discussion paper produced by Clark for its "Dick and Jane primer" language and its failure to take any policy position.

Nielsen argued that the Conservatives, unlike previous Liberal administrations, were issuing the discussion paper in order to open up foreign policy for public discussion, and chastised the opposition for ridiculing the process.

The deputy prime minister said he could understand the NDP position because that party "has always had difficulty coming to grips with the parliamentary process."

In vain he appealed to the Liberals, as the official Opposition, to take part in

the committee review.

Outside the House Liberal leader John Turner told reporters the government's refusal to postpone its decision on the two vital issues of Canadian-American trade and Star Wars until the committee has dealt with it makes the exercise irrelevant.

"We don't intend to participate in irrelevant hearings across the country and commit fraud on the Canadian people!"

If the decisions on Star Wars and free trade with the U.S. can't wait, Turner said, "then let's not go through this charade of public hearings."

"This committee is obviously a make-work project for a lot of Conservative backbenchers who haven't anything better to do," he snapped.

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OTTAWA CITIZENS

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MAY 27 1985

# Liberals hit the foreign policy review trail

The Canadian Press

While the three political parties hunk and haw about whether and how to set up a special parliamentary committee to examine Canada's foreign policy, the Liberals hit the road this week to hold their own hearings across the country.

The Liberals, who are re-examining their positions on a wide range of defence and foreign policy issues, will be seeking public views on specific topics such as Star Wars, arms control and disarmament, Canada's role in international peacekeeping forces and plans to update North America's northern defence system.

"Primarily we are going through some new thinking about our own positions," says Liberal MP Lloyd Axworthy, one of the task force members.

"We think it's an opportunity to talk to a lot of Canadians, get their views on what the Liberal party should be arguing for."

Other permanent committee members include chairman Jean Chretien — the party's external affairs critic — defence critic Len Hopkins and Andre Lizotte, a party vice-president.

The Liberal committee was announced the week before the government released its discussion paper on foreign policy and the three parties locked horns over negotiations about whether the paper could be referred to a special committee of senators and MPs for study.

The opposition parties are threatening to boycott the committee unless it's allowed to study and make recommendations on Canada's participation

in Star Wars research and on a new trading arrangement with the United States before the government decides what it will do.

Decisions on both topics are expected early this fall, months before the committee's originally targeted reporting date of May 31, 1986.

In its meetings in Vancouver and Winnipeg this week, the Liberal task force will be hearing from a variety of academics, politicians and peace groups, including Operation Dismantle, the country's main umbrella organization of peace groups.

But it's already been told it won't be hearing from Arthur Kroeger, the senior public servant assigned by the government to look into the implications of the American invitation to participate in the research phase of the strategic defence initiative, popularly known as Star Wars.

External Affairs Minister Joe Clark has said Kroeger is welcome to appear before a Commons committee after he's presented his recommendations to the government, but that it would be inappropriate for him to appear before the Liberal committee.

The Americans originally hoped their allies would respond to the Star Wars invitation by Sunday but Canada has already indicated it won't be in a position to answer for three or four months.

The Liberals have never actually said they would turn down the American invitation if they were still in power. But they have instead expressed general reservation that participation in the research phase would increase the chance Canada would be involved in any future development of

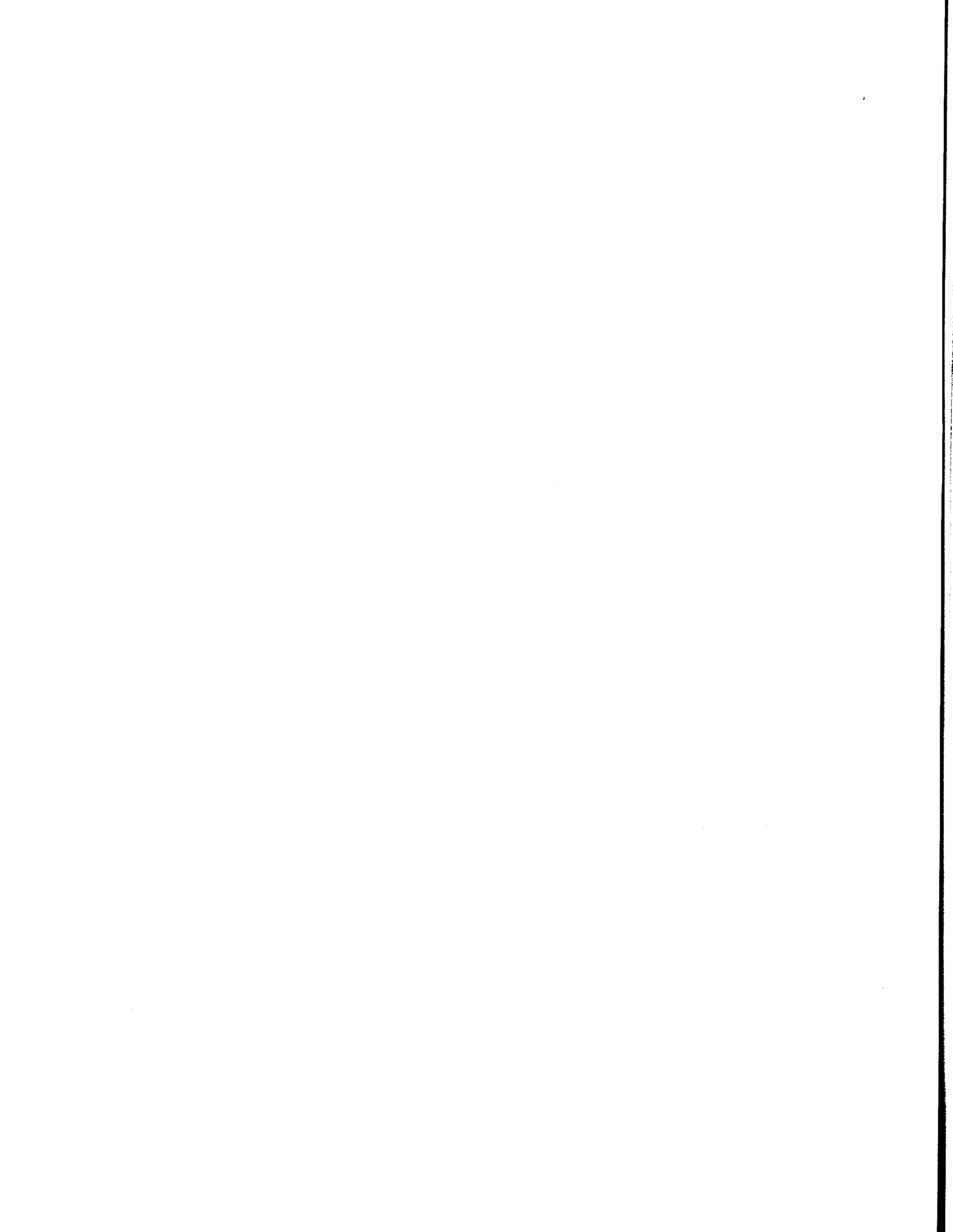


Lloyd Axworthy

American space defence programs.

The Liberal committee will also be studying the nuclear freeze issue. The party rejected the idea in last summer's election campaign, but shifted its policy late last year by joining the New Democrats in calling for an immediate, mutual and verifiable freeze on nuclear weapons by both the United States and Soviet Union.

The committee will also hold hearings in Toronto, Montreal, Ottawa and Halifax before reporting its findings to Liberal Leader John Turner. There is no fixed deadline.



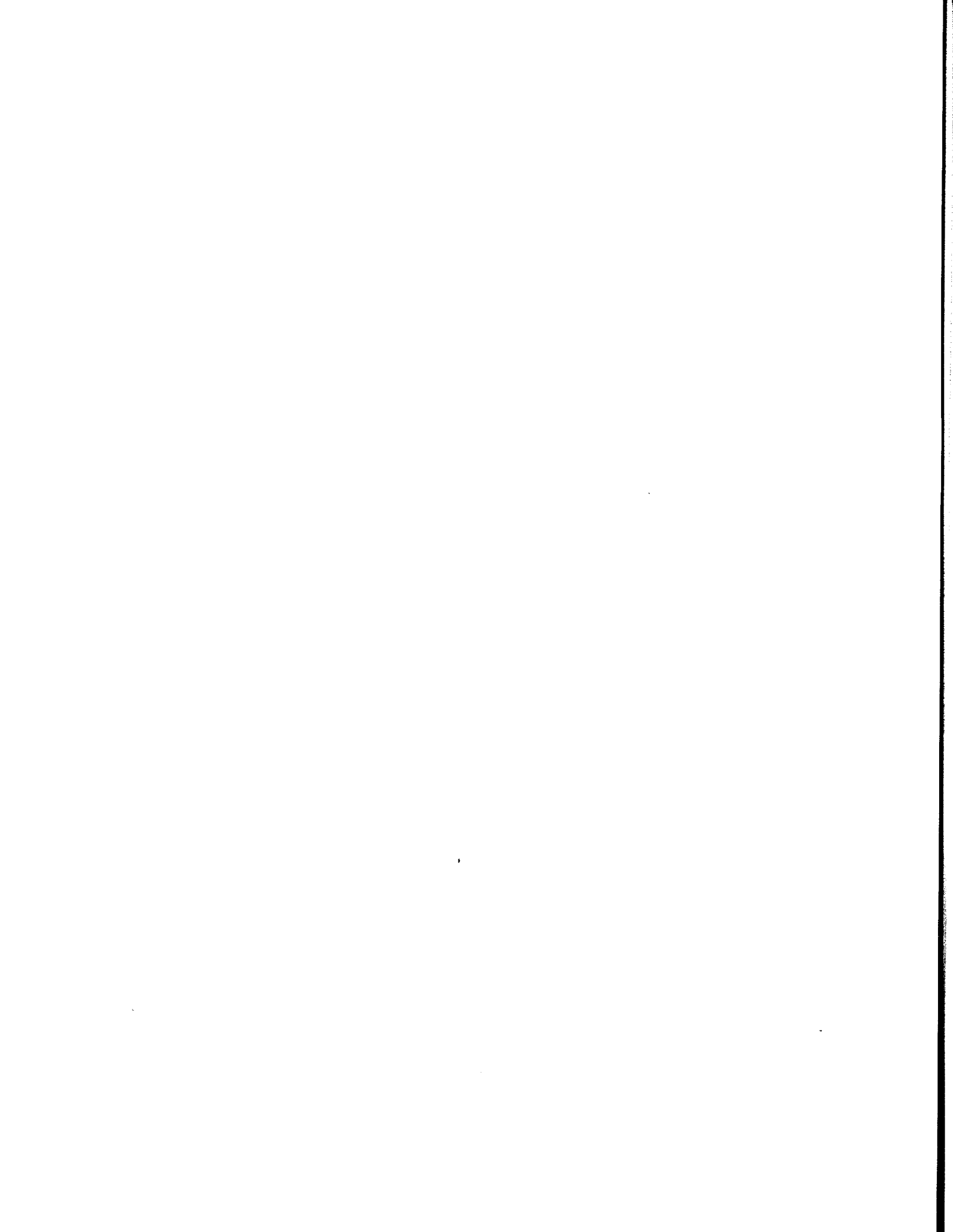
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# Clark signals passive role on world scene

By Val Sears Toronto Star

OTTAWA — Canada's foreign policy has shifted from forward to neutral.

External Affairs Minister Joe Clark's discussion paper, *Directions for Canada's International Relations*, completes the transition from Canada's activist role in world affairs under Lester Pearson and Pierre Trudeau to a simple go-with-the-flow policy that suits the style of Prime Minister Brian Mulroney.

Gone are the days when Canada was a "helpful fixer" on the international scene under Pearson, a Nobel Peace Prize winner; gone as well are Trudeau's North-South and peace initiatives.

The Mulroney Doctrine now requires Canada to make the best deals possible in a world we cannot influence.

The country's greatest foreign-policy challenge, our bumpy affair with the United States, is to be a "new, constructive relationship" based on the two basic tenets of the doctrine — closer economic integration and a wide-open foreign investment policy to fuel the engine of free enterprise.

The Green Paper focuses its discussion areas on significant issues.

In a section on American influence on Canada, the paper lists such familiar "dimensions" as interest and exchange rates, export trade, foreign ownership and cultural values.

## Second Option

But it concludes that the challenge is to "harness them to serve Canadian interests" — not, as the Liberals sought to do, to stem the continental tide.

Mulroney has, in effect, decided on the Second Option.

Fifteen years ago, when then-external affairs minister Mitchell Sharp produced his paper on foreign policy for Canadians, there was scarcely a mention of the American relationship.

But two years later, he wrote an essay for the semi-official external affairs magazine *International Perspectives*. In that article, he spelled out a view of Canada's options vis-a-vis the United States that were to guide Canadian policy up until the Mulroney victory.

There were, Sharp wrote, three options: maintain our present relationship with the United States; move to closer integration; and the Third Option, "pursue a comprehensive, long-term strategy to develop and strengthen the Canadian economy and other aspects of our national life and in the process to reduce the present Canadian vulnerability."

Although Sharp, no nationalist, disclaimed responsibility for such mechanisms as the Foreign Investment Review Agency and the National Energy Program as instruments of the Third Option, they were put in place under Trudeau.

During all that time, however, the Third Option had not the slightest effect on the encroachment of the reality of Canadian economic dependence on the United States.

In the early 1970s, as a new study points out, we sold two-thirds of our exports to the U.S. market. That figure now is in excess of three-quarters and climbing.

So Mulroney decided that Canada's best American policy was to get along and go along with President Ronald Reagan.

The Third Option didn't work; let's try the Second.

## Few changes

There are signs of the Clark influence, however.

At one point, the paper argues: "Americans see bilateral issues predominantly in economic terms; Canadians see them in political or cultural terms as well as economic."

The economic factor ("jobs, jobs, jobs") is virtually all Mulroney sees.

There is a Clark — and external affairs department — vision of the Central American landscape as well. The paper sees "some signs of progress toward democracy in Central America" — not simply Communist-inspired conspiracies, as Mulroney's Washington friend would have it.

The passing of time has barely changed the objectives listed by the Sharp and Clark papers — sovereignty and independence, justice and democracy, peace and security, economic prosperity and the integrity of our natural environment.

The paper now will be turned over to a parliamentary committee, which will use it as a basis for public hearings.

But there are decisions on such immediate matters as trade, Star Wars research and arms control that can hardly wait until the committee reports next year.

# Cramped vision of Canada's role

"What kind of Canada do we want?" That was the spirited, energetic question about our role in the world that the Trudeau government put to us in 1970. The implication was that most, if not all, things were possible. Joe Clark's question, 15 years later, is grey with middle-age: "What kind of Canada can we afford?" It is a cramped vision, paralyzed by worry about the deficit and narrowly focused on Washington to the near-exclusion of the rest of the world.

*Competitiveness and Security: Directions for Canada's International Relations* is a foreign policy for accountants, not for a people who stormed onto the global scene in the 1939 war against totalitarianism and who for a half-century have been a leading voice for democracy, peaceful co-existence between East and West, and international development.

Gutted of its rhetoric, this thin 43-page document is little more than another special pleading for freer trade with the United States, for yet more foreign investment domination of our economy, and for a shrinking from our responsibilities to help shape Western defence, improve foreign aid and better East-West relations in a dark hour.

That is sad, because Canadians themselves aren't caught up with the notion of using our role in the world merely to advance our own narrow economic interests. The policy review acknowledges this. On page 3 the document notes that Canadians are concerned with these issues, in order: National unity, sovereignty and independence, justice and democracy, peace and security, economic prosperity, the integrity of our natural environment. Yet the report goes on to dwell almost exclusively on the economic aspect of our relations with other states, giving short shrift to popular concerns about issues like national sovereignty and peace.

Reading the foreign policy review, it is easy to forget that we do matter on the international scene, and not just because we're large traders. Since 1970 Canada has joined the league of the top seven Western industrial nations and shouldered the political burdens that membership entails; we've become one of the developing world's most consistent champions and aid donors, and we've spoken wisely and well about detente, human rights and the peaceful settlement of international

disputes. By any measure of political and economic accounting, we are a more influential country than we were 15 years ago. Yet this healthy perspective is utterly absent from the policy review. Instead, we are told that we are weak, except when teamed up with the U.S.

In 1970, the Trudeau foreign policy paper was criticized for all but ignoring Canada-U.S. relations in its bid to open us to a wider world. The Clark review makes up for that flaw, in spades. It is obsessed with our client relationship with the U.S. Indeed, it could have been scripted by the White House.

Freer trade with the U.S. is advocated to blunt the thrust of U.S. protectionism, as is more foreign investment in our economy. The Soviet Union is described, in stark and uncompromising terms, as a direct threat to our security, with no attempt made to acknowledge their own security concerns. The U.S. Star Wars research program is again described as "prudent," and its lucrative high-tech spin-offs are cited as potential vehicles for improving our own research and development. The United Nations is assessed in terms of how it "further Canada's current and prospective interests," instead of how it furthers the interests of a majority of its members. The date for living up to the commitment we made 10 years ago to boost foreign aid to 0.7 per cent of our gross national product is put off by another decade, to 1995.

The best that can be said for this dreary vision of Canada's shrinking global role is that it is not the last word on things.

There are more spirited and more progressive voices in the land. They contend that we can have a better trading relationship with the U.S. and a more competitive domestic economy without selling off our birthright. They believe that we do have a role in fostering detente, if we can find the courage to condemn foolishness and to advance commonsense. And they challenge the claim that we must wait another decade before boosting our aid, while Africa starves. Those voices are the voices of Canada that the world has been accustomed to hearing. They should speak up, fearlessly, as this government moves from the realm of policy papers, toward action.

# Clark's foreign policy lacks imagination, excitement

By Carol Goar Toronto Star

OTTAWA — The Canada that emerges from the foreign policy discussion paper issued by External Affairs Minister Joe Clark this week is a sombre, cautious kind of place. It looks outward and sees threats and obligations. It looks inward and sees difficult choices. It is a nation without vision.

"We can no longer take our prosperity for granted," the paper warns. "We can no longer take our security for granted, either."

"After the optimism of detente, tensions have increased between East and West, contacts decreased and the arms race accelerated."

All this is undoubtedly true, but is hardly an inspiring way to launch the country's first full-fledged public debate on foreign policy.

The 43-page discussion paper dutifully sets out most of the right questions: What must Canada do to remain internationally competitive? What kind of relationship with the United States do Canadians want? Can the country's foreign aid dollars be better used? What is the best way to defend a huge but sparsely populated country? How can Canada help revitalize the United Nations? And which of these priorities matter most?



CAROL GOAR  
National Affairs

But nowhere in the grey, carefully worded document is there any sense of excitement about the role Canada could play abroad. Nowhere does the Mulroney government display any inclination to redefine boldly the role of a "middle power" in a tense, troubled world.

Canada once prided itself on being a peacekeeper, a bridge between rich and poor, a small but thoughtful player in world affairs. In the 1950s and '60s, "the Pearsonian tradition" was as much a description of Canada's state of mind as it was a tribute to Lester Pearson, Canada's 14th prime minister and best-known diplomat. Now that heritage seems to be slipping away.

Clark's document espouses no ambitious international goals. It calls instead for "the careful setting of policy priorities" in an atmosphere of restraint and realism.

To be fair, Clark himself dis-

plays far more enthusiasm for new ideas than does his innocuous discussion paper. He is genuinely excited about the prospect of sending a committee of senators and MPs across the country to collect the views of ordinary Canadians.

And he does intend to listen to them. "We don't want to establish our priorities blindly," he says. "We expect to receive advice that will cause us to change policy — that is the purpose of the process."

At one point, in fact, he almost admitted that the watered-down discussion paper he was tabling — which had undergone months of bureaucratic revisions and cabinet tussles — was not his idea of a scintillating document.

"There are a couple of graphic phrases in the text . . . a reporter noted.

"I don't know how that happened," a grinning Clark replied.

In spite of its timid language, however, the document does provide a number of clues to the Mulroney government's view of itself on the world stage.

Canada's membership in the North Atlantic Treaty Organization is non-negotiable. There is no prospect of becoming a neutral intermediary between East and

West.

Canada's special relationship with the United States is, likewise, not up for debate. The government's main concern is how best to "manage" the divergent interests of the two countries;

In line with their pro-American stance, the Progressive Conservatives are much more critical of the Soviet Union than were their Liberal predecessors. "We recognize that Soviet behavior has been inimical to our interests," the paper says bluntly;

A powerful strain of economic self-interest runs through the discussion paper. The government is convinced that Canada's influence in international affairs hinges, to a large degree, on its ability to compete as a trading nation. But this is not new. In its 1970 foreign policy review, the government of Pierre Trudeau singled out "economic prosperity" as one of its chief foreign policy objectives.

And finally, it looks as if foreign aid may, once again, fall victim to federal cost-cutting. The section of the discussion paper dealing with aid is riddled with phrases such as "Canadian funds for use abroad are limited," and "Decisions will not be easy."

Along with these policy signals,

the discussion paper provides an equally telling set of indicators: the missing priorities.

The section on Latin America does not even mention Nicaragua.

Virtually nothing is said about Canada's differences with the U.S. over the importance of global institutions such as the United Nations and the International Monetary Fund. The U.S. has begun pulling away from UNESCO and reducing its commitment to Third World debt-relief programs. Will Canada be dragged along?

Canada's cultural independence, a mainstay of Liberal foreign policy for years, is given only passing mention. This leaves many Canadians wondering whether their government's new openness to the U.S. will be accompanied by a barrage of American literature, television and art.

But what the discussion paper really lacks is imagination and a willingness to challenge Canadians.

And that is a grievous oversight. This is a nation that contributed \$60 million in cash and relief supplies to Ethiopian famine victims when 1.5 million of its own citizens were out of work. This is a people who — even when they were ready to vote Pierre Trudeau out of office — still applauded his peace initiative.

Clark has given Canadians a year to come up with a better approach to foreign policy than the take-no-chances doctrine that his bureaucrats have offered up. It should be easy.

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# A policy stance foreign to our best interests

By Adam Bromke Special to The Star

The main objectives of Canadian foreign policy are formulated in a rather unusual fashion, different from that in other Western democracies. They are periodically explained, in comprehensive documents issued by the government of the day presenting its goals and the means by which it proposes to attain them.

These are supposed to serve as the guidelines for Canada's diplomatic activities, at least for as long as the same party remains in power.

In other countries, foreign policy proposals are first advanced by the competing political parties and are presented for popular approval as part of their electoral platforms.

Subsequently, the government leaders, in order to retain the voters' support, update them in quite regular and elaborate statements. White Papers on foreign policy, issued either by the executive or the parliament, serve primarily to elucidate some specific, and particularly complex, problems.

In Canadian elections, foreign policy has played a major role only once: the controversy which led to the toppling of the Diefenbaker government over the deployment of BOMARC B missiles in 1963.

During the last elections, despite the fact that various aspects of Canadian foreign policy had acquired considerable urgency, neither the Conservatives nor the Liberals seriously addressed themselves to them.

In 1970, in order to stimulate public discussion, the Trudeau government came out with a comprehensive document called "Foreign Policy for Canadians." It was a qualified success but it omitted the most important aspect of Canada's foreign policy — its relationship with the United States.

## Back to oblivion

The Conservatives, however, followed suit. During their brief tenure in 1979-80, the then external affairs minister, Flora MacDonald, prepared a "discussion paper" on "Canada in the Changing World." But with the change of government in Ottawa it also soon sunk into oblivion.

Now we have before us a new document issued by Joe Clark — the Green Paper on "Competitiveness and Security: Directions for Canada International Relations."

In many respects it is the worst of the three. It has no central focus and it is full of important-sounding platitudes which many will find not only self-evident, but even irritating.

Curiously, Clark's paper follows Trudeau's submission, not only in format, but in substance. The novelty of "Foreign Policy for Canadians" was in its emphasis on the limitations of our political role in the international sphere, and its greater stress on expanding Canada's trade.

The same set of priorities is evident in Clark's paper. Page after page dwells upon what we cannot do, rather than on what we could accomplish in international affairs, and its main emphasis is on economic and not political goals.

## U.S.-Soviet relations crucial to Canada get downplayed in favor of more trade

Indeed, the report should have been issued not by the minister of external affairs but rather the minister of international trade.

This approach flies in the face of the paramount reality of Canada's position in the international sphere, namely, our delicate strategic location between the United States and the Soviet Union.

## Bells of doom

For if something goes terribly wrong in relations between the two superpowers, and the report admits that this is a distinct possibility, we are doomed. To do whatever we can to prevent such an outcome, thus, should be the central issue in Canadian foreign policy. And if we fail to expand our trade we would be poorer, but at least still alive.

Yet, the review of the deteriorating East-West relations in Clark's paper is perfunctory. In this respect even the paper issued by MacDonald in 1979 was more profound. Trudeau's "peace mission," which Clark applauded so enthusiastically a year ago, is barely mentioned.

And aside from one about continuing exchange of information about the exploration of the Arctic, no constructive proposals to improve Canada's relations with the Soviet Union are included.

The Green Paper confirms the shift in Canadian foreign policy from a more independent stance in East-West relations to greater reliance upon the United States.

The various conflicts between the two superpowers are couched in such terms as will not offend the Reagan administration. Nicaragua, for instance, is discussed only in the general context of the situation in Central America.

The main thrust of the report is the advocacy of expanded trade with our southern neighbor. Although the Green Paper pretends to be objective by presenting various options before us — even including the continuation of the existing situation — it clearly reveals a strong bias in favor of a comprehensive trade agreement.

The dire effects of preserving the status quo are contrasted with the benefits of closer economic ties with the United States. By selecting the latter course, the report suggests, Canadians would avoid unemployment, poverty and backwardness, while becoming more efficient, technology-oriented and competitive. In short, more like Americans.

The question of joining the U.S. Strategic Defence Initiative, confirming that the Tories, as Mulroney put it, view it with only restrained enthusiasm, is presented in a somewhat more balanced fashion.

Still, its many potentially detrimental effects on East-West relations, and above all the fact that it may become a major stumbling bloc to an arms control agree-

ment between the two superpowers, are passed over in silence.

Since the government's decision on Star Wars is to be made in the summer, and that over trade in the fall — and it is not difficult to guess which way they will go — one might shrug off the Green Paper as just an exercise in public relations.

Even before the special parliamentary committee starts its hearings and long before the White Paper containing its recommendations is issued, the two most crucial decisions concerning our foreign policy will have been made.

Clark's report, then, is an easy target for attacks by the opposition. As such it is likely to be counter-productive. It will bring about results exactly opposite to those which were intended: Rather than promoting consensus, it will widen the political divisions over foreign policy.

## Has some value

Yet, the policy paper is not without some value. It demonstrates beyond doubt that aside from a desire to move closer to the United States, the Conservatives have no over-all concept of Canada's role in international affairs. Apparently their lack of a foreign policy platform in the general elections was genuine.

There is still another, although equally unintended, way in which Clark's report is significant. It clearly shows that the Canadian way to formulate foreign policy through occasionally issuing major statements on it, and hoping that the people will rally around them, is unsatisfactory.

Instead, in order to arrive at a consensus in external relations, Canada should adopt the same dialogue between the political leaders and the people which is followed in other democratic societies.

There are signs that the declaratory style of foreign policy has outlived its usefulness. Trudeau's "peace mission" evoked a surprisingly positive response at home, even though it did not accomplish much in improving East-West relations.

That indicated that Canadians are more conscious than in the past of the dangers inherent in international affairs, and especially that of a nuclear conflict between the two superpowers.

And, evidently, Canadians expect from their leaders not just words, but concrete steps to try to avert this supreme danger.

Nobody would deny, of course, that Canada's influence in the world is restricted and that one way we can enhance it is by improving our economic performance. Nor are Canadians necessarily opposed to closer economic and defence ties with the United States.

Yet, a move in this direction should be supported by more profound analysis than that contained in Clark's paper and should be preceded by a more thorough going debate than that the Conservative government is willing to afford us.

Adam Bromke is professor of international politics at McMaster University.

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MAY 15 1985

# Tories propose closer U.S. ties, foreign aid cuts

By Bob Hepburn Toronto Star

OTTAWA — The Progressive Conservative government is leaning toward a boost in spending on defence while slashing foreign aid, a federal discussion paper on foreign policy indicates.

The document, released yesterday by External Affairs Minister Joe Clark, also suggests that Canada should strengthen its ties with the United States, possibly through a special free-trade pact.

But the 43-page paper virtually ignores the controversial Star Wars issue, devoting a lone paragraph to whether Canada should join the U.S. in its \$26 billion space-based defence project, formally known as the Strategic Defence Initiative.

The Green Paper, called *Directions for Canada's International Relations*, is the Tories' first formal effort to reshape Canada's foreign policy since taking power in September. It also is the first full-scale public review of foreign policy since 1970.

## Drastic changes

It clearly signals that the Tories plan to alter drastically some long-standing policies followed by the former Liberal government of Pierre Trudeau.

Rather than proclaim new policies in blunt language, however, the paper outlines various options for Canada. It asks more than 50 questions ranging from what Canada should do about free trade to human rights and relations with South Africa.

At the same time, Clark told reporters that some policies are untouchable, including Canada's membership in NATO, the United Nations, the Commonwealth, and the annual economic summit of western leaders.

A special all-party committee of MPs and senators will be created to study the document. The group will hold hearings across Canada and, possibly overseas and will make its recommendations on the paper to the government in May, 1986.

In the meantime, Clark said, the government will continue to make major decisions on foreign policy.

Specifically, Ottawa is expected to decide soon on whether to accept the U.S. invitation to join the Star Wars project, and on a free trade agreement with the U.S.

In addition, Defence Minister Erik Nielsen will release a White Paper outlining government policy on Canada's defence role within several months.

Most of the foreign-policy document deals with the need for Canada to increase its productivity and economic competitiveness in the world marketplace — favorite campaign topics of Prime Minister Brian Mulroney.

"The world will not allow us the luxury (of isolating ourselves). The whole range of international issues — economic, political and security — now extends unavoidably into our daily lives," Clark said in an introduction to the paper.

## Improve trade ties

Despite efforts to hide its priorities, the government clearly wants to make a radical break from the foreign policies pursued by old Liberal regime.

Specifically, it suggests that Canada needs to improve trade ties with the U.S. Trudeau promoted trade with developing countries, the so-called Third Option.

It hints at new cuts in foreign aid on the heels of the \$180 million reduction in November. And it criticizes Trudeau's decision to trim Canada's troops in the North Atlantic Treaty Organization.

"The decline (in Canada's military) was allowed to go too far," the paper says. It adds that our \$2 billion foreign aid budget must be re-examined because "Canadian funds for use abroad are limited."

And in a bleak foreboding of massive spending cuts to be unveiled May 23 by Finance Minister Michael Wilson, the document warns that foreign aid may suffer.

"Not everything is possible. We do not have the resources to do all we would like in international affairs," Clark said in the introduction.

"In fact, reduction of the budget deficit may require further retrenchment in some of our international activities. Priorities will have to be established; difficult choices will have to be made."

Clark insisted the government will be open to ideas from the public on foreign policy.

But he noted that only "strong, unanimous" recommendations from the special committee would have any influence in forcing the Conservative cabinet to reconsider any decision it has made.

Opposition MPs quickly denounced Clark's paper.

They charged that the Tories have ignored the most pressing foreign policy issues while focusing on the need to boost our economic competitiveness.

Liberal MP Jean Chretien said he was startled that Clark would virtually ignore Star Wars, yet "deal with marginal problems." 5

## Attacks paper

Chretien, the last external affairs minister in the former Liberal government, also said it is amazing that Clark would suggest Ottawa might alter its policy on a major issue, such as Star Wars, after making a commitment to the U.S.

New Democrat MP Pauline Jewett (New Westminster-Coquitlam) called the paper "an elaborate and expensive exercise to keep Tory backbenchers busy" while the cabinet makes the major foreign-policy decisions.

Jewett attacked the paper for concentrating on the need to boost trade while almost dismissing Star Wars, Latin America and foreign aid.

"This is unacceptable at a time when 60,000 people took to the streets in Vancouver last month about Star Wars and the nuclear arms race, when Canadians have opened their hearts in an unparalleled gesture to Ethiopia and when war, change and the survival of new democracies in Latin America are critical issues," she said.

In its only reference to Star Wars, the paper says the project's "technological spin-offs could be very important for both military and civilian sectors.

"We will have to reach a consensus on whether strategic defence is likely to enhance or diminish our security, and we will have to consider to what extent our economic and technological interests are at stake."

While carefully avoiding the words "free trade," the paper suggests a "comprehensive trade agreement" with the U.S. could avoid many of the current trade problems between the two nations. Its words are very similar to a discussion paper on trade policy released in January by International Trade Minister James Kelleher.

## Military decline

On defence issues, the discussion paper claims Canada emerged from World War II "a major military power, with an army of half a million soldiers, a navy of 200 ships, and an air force comparable to that of Britain."

But the Liberal governments of the mid-1960s allowed the military to decline, it says.

"Some decline was inevitable and normal. Canadians have no history of large forces in peacetime and no tradition of universal military service. . . . It is now generally recognized, nevertheless, that the decline was allowed to go too far."

On foreign aid, the paper claims Canada must reassess its foreign aid spending, especially in terms of where it wants to focus its efforts.

In November, Wilson announced \$180 million would be cut from foreign aid. Canada will spend about \$2 billion in aid, which amounts to about 2 per cent of total government spending.

"There is a need to examine the objectives, policies and programs of Canada's co-operation with the Third World," the paper says.

"In seeking the right balance in our programs abroad, we will have to decide the priorities we wish to attach to humanitarian

objectives, to attaining common goals, to sharing in the management and support of the global economy and the global environment and to achieving political stability and progress."



# Liberals threaten to boycott talks on foreign policy

By Val Sears, Toronto Star

OTTAWA — Liberal MPs say they will boycott a committee set up to assess a foreign policy discussion paper unless the government gives priority to tackling the issues of Star Wars research and trade with the U.S.

Party leader John Turner yesterday called the paper — released by External Affairs Minister Joe Clark — an “insult to the intelligence.”

And the joint Senate-House of Commons committee is a “farce,” Turner said.

Outside the Commons, New Democrat MP Steven Langdon (Essex-Windsor) said his party wants the same issues dealt with quickly but wants to keep its options open about any boycott of the committee.

## Clark absent

The committee, which will take a year to report, is to hold public discussions across the country and also may travel to other parts of the world.

Clark was not in the Commons to hear his discussion paper roasted; he was in Montreal promoting it in a series of television and print interviews.

The Liberal's external affairs critic, Jean Chretien, told reporters that a decision on whether Canada will participate “in Star Wars is a matter of weeks (away), and the bilateral agreement on trade with the United States is for September.

“So there's no use our discussing such matters after the horse is out of the barn.”

Star Wars is the popular name for the Strategic Defence Initiative — a research project with the goal of destroying nuclear missiles in outer space. The U.S. has invited its allies to join the program.

Clark has said that the government is ready to make foreign policy decisions while the committee meets, but that those decisions might be changed to reflect the committee's recommendations.

The government's Green Paper poses a series of questions about Canadian policy on defence, trade, disarmament, Central America and Canadian-American relations. It offers no policy positions.

## Commitment wanted

Turner told reporters that, unless a decision on Canadian participation in Star Wars research is withheld until the committee reports, the committee hearings will be “absolutely irrelevant.”

And the same point applies to any tightening of Canada's relationship with the U.S.

“We don't intend to participate unless we get a better commitment from the Prime Minister than we got from the deputy prime minister,” Turner said.

Deputy Prime Minister Erik Nielsen told Liberal and New Democratic spokesmen that they had little respect for parliamentary democracy if they stayed away from the committee hearings.

Prime Minister Brian Mulroney was not in the Commons. He did turn up after question period, but ignored reporters' questions on the issue and went right to his office.

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SUBJECT/SUJET

TORONTO STAR

DATE

MAY 21 1985

# We won't back foreign review on Tory terms Chretien says

By Joe O'Donnell Toronto Star

CALGARY — The federal Liberals have no desire to kill the government's proposed parliamentary committee to review foreign policy, Jean Chretien says.

"We want the committee" but not on the government's terms, the Liberals' external affairs critic said yesterday.

He was responding to External Affairs Minister Joe Clark's charge earlier on the weekend that the opposition parties, by refusing to sit on the committee, want not just to boycott it, but to "kill" it.

Formation of the all-party committee, proposed in Clark's Green Paper on foreign policy last week, has been rejected by Liberals and New Democrats.

They cited Clark's refusal to delay a government decision on Star Wars research and a new trade policy with the U.S. until the committee has studied those issues and submitted recommendations.

"Without such a guarantee, Chretien said, the committee is pointless.

"I'm not trying to kill the committee," Chretien told reporters. "I want the committee."

## New trade policy

Chretien, who was in Calgary as a guest at the Canada-Japan Businessmen's Conference, said that Star Wars and a new trade policy with the U.S. "are two problems that have to have a priority.

"And I said we will be on the committee if they deal with these priorities."

What is of major interest to Canadians right now, he said, is that the government is about to make a decision on Star Wars — the U.S. Strategic Defence Initiative to design a space-based defence system.

Clark has said a Canadian decision on whether to accept the U.S. invitation to participate in the \$26 billion research project will be made within the next three or four months.

He has also offered the committee the option of beginning immediately to deal with Star Wars in its cross-country public hearings. But the opposition parties refuse, saying such a review is pointless if it has no impact on the government's decision.

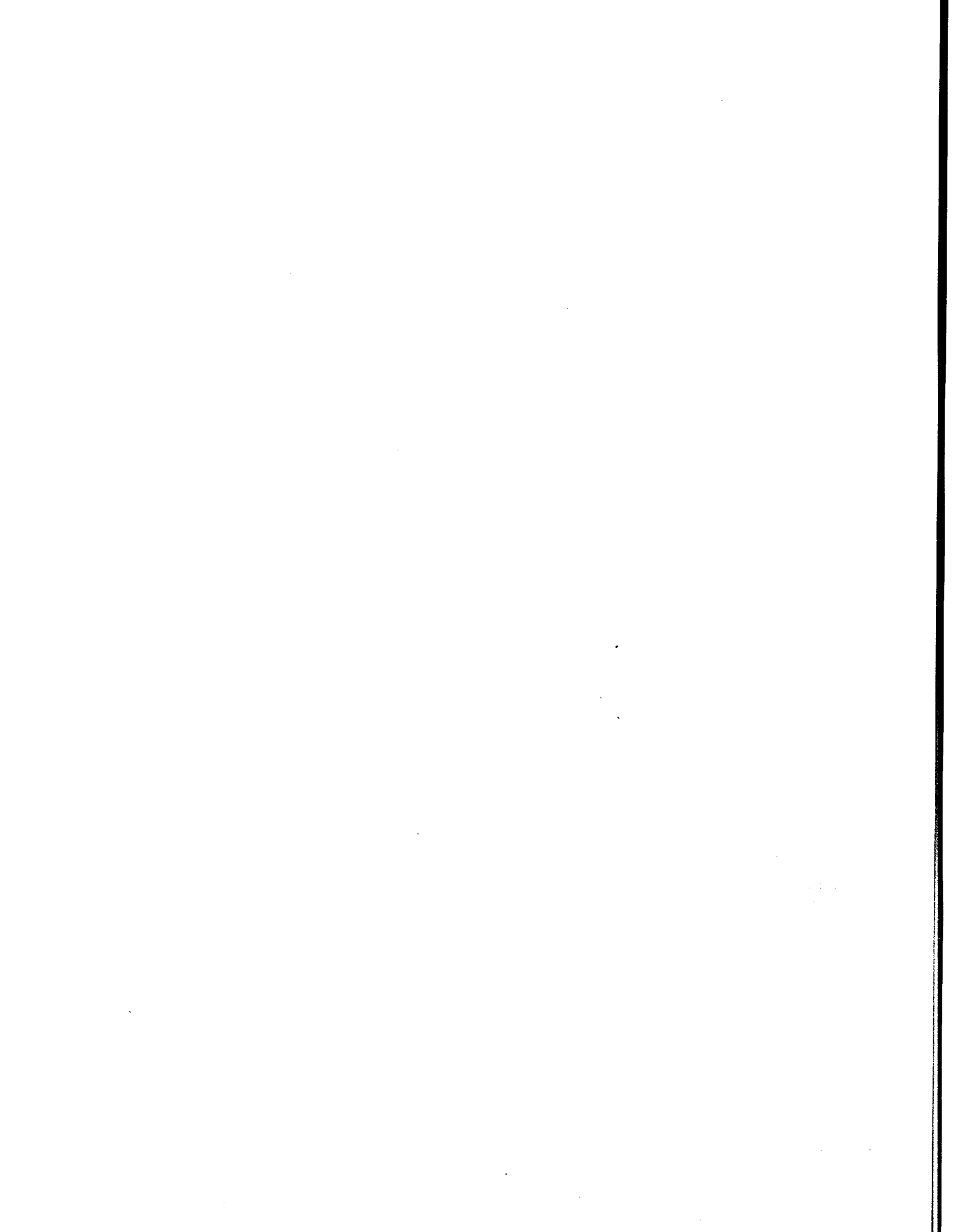




WINNIPEG FREE PRESS - PRESS CLIPPINGS

A) Editorial - Comments - Analysis

- 1) "A worthwhile review" by Editorial Staff, May 16, 1985
- 2) "Letting research down" by Editorial Staff, May 17, 1985
- 3) "Green paper sparks cynicism" by W.A. Wilson, May 21, 1985



CME	IFB	SCI	SUBJECT/SUJET	WINNIPEG FREE PRESS
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# A worthwhile review

The dull name and ugly cover of the federal government's discussion paper on Canada's foreign policy should not deter Canadians from reading its 43 pages, forming opinions and joining in the national debate.

Its title, *Competitiveness and Security: Directions for Canada's International Relations*, is as trite and meaningless as the titles that too many academics put on too many incomprehensible books. Fortunately, this Green Paper does not suffer from the normal academic failure to communicate on paper. It is clearly written.

That is good because its purpose is to inform and to stimulate. It does more of the first than the second but that does not diminish its value. A better-informed public can play a useful role in examining Canada's foreign policy. Ideas, in fairly short supply in this paper, can as well come from the knowledgeable citizen as from officials of the Department of External Affairs.

The concept of citizen involvement in the government's review of foreign policy is important. External Affairs Minister Joe Clark deserves praise for seeking it out by publishing this paper and asking for public participation in the review. His attitude seems more relevant than the instant negativism of Liberal and New Democratic Party MPs chosen to respond.

NDP MP Panline Jewett dismissed the review as a

"charade" and offered her opinion that there was no point in the NDP taking part in joint committee hearings on Canada's foreign policy that she claimed were to be held only to give employment to bored Conservative backbenchers. Liberal MP Jean Chretien, whose brief reign as external affairs minister was without achievement of any kind, and whose party lost power because it would not listen to anybody, had little more to add.

A review that has not yet begun cannot be a charade, unless evidence is not required by those making such foolish statements. The fact that Canada's foreign policy goes on every day, that decisions may have to be made soon by the government on participation in the U.S. Strategic Defence Initiative research effort and about free or freer trade with the United States, does not divest of interest or importance a review that necessarily must take several months.

If the review does make Conservative MPs outside the cabinet feel that they are doing something useful then that is a good thing for Canada's Parliament. If they also educate themselves about the issues and listen to Canadians outside Parliament that is even better.

Once they have got over the shock of being asked, Canadians should respond by reading this paper and saying what they think about Canada's foreign policy.

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# Letting research down

Technology and innovation are rightly described as "critical elements in today's economic equation" in External Affairs Minister Joe Clark's foreign policy discussion paper, which then explains how Canada is falling behind in the research and development from which technological innovations spring.

Having rung the tocsin, the government of Canada now seems prepared to watch complacently while this serious state of affairs becomes worse.

Reminded of Brian Mulroney's March 14, 1984 campaign promise that a Tory government would "double the collective Canadian contribution to this indispensable sector during our first term in office," Science Minister Tom Siddon told the House of Commons miscellaneous estimates committee that he could not remember the exact wording of this precise promise, which he called more of a general goal than a promise.

The result is that the inadequate 1.3 per cent of Gross National Product now spent by Canada on research and development will not change significantly. Specifically, says Mr. Siddon, "we can't promise that by 1990 that we will be at 2.5 per cent of GNP."

Getting to 2.5 per cent would mean spending by 1990 about \$10 billion, of which \$2 billion would be spent by the federal government. This is a large sum in Canadian terms but small in terms of what is being spent in the fiercely competitive world technological arena.

The foreign policy green paper explains how bad things are just now: "The percentage of our gross domestic product devoted to research and development has recovered to about the same level as it was in 1971, while those of most other major industrialized countries

have moved upward significantly. As a proportion of our domestic product, we spend about half of what the United States, West Germany, Japan and the United Kingdom do on research. We rank still further down the list of Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development countries when our performance in research and development done by industry is compared to that of others. Our record on patent registrations at home and abroad accords with these observations. Relative to other industrialized countries, we have fewer research-intensive industries and we spend less on research."

The long range implications for Canada are obvious. Yet, even as the problem is being explained so graphically by one government department, another, that could do something about it, is suggesting that the general election victory has eliminated the need for this problem to be high on the government's priority list.

Here is the kind of issue on which MPs could have a significant effect through the foreign policy review that has been begun by the green paper. If they believe that Canada should have the kind of vigorous and effective program of private and public research and development that seemed vital to Mr. Mulroney while seeking office, then they can say so within the context of the review. They can ask experts across this country to tell them if Canada will be served better or worse by allowing research and development to continue to have the low priority that it was assigned by the former Liberal government. They can tell Mr. Mulroney and Mr. Siddon that they should seek another way to curtail spending, one that is less damaging to this country's future national economic interests.

# Green paper sparks cynicism

By W.A. Wilson  
Special to the Free Press

OTTAWA — It may be possible to reach a national consensus on foreign policy issues through discussion but that condition is far more likely to be achieved, if it can be at all, through clear government leadership.

### Hostility

That reality is the most likely reason why the opposition parties reacted to the government's green paper on foreign policy and its accompanying proposal for a year's discussion by a parliamentary committee with such cynicism and hostility. There is an element of unreality about the approach sufficient to arouse the combative instincts of any opposition politician.

The document does, however, suggest the directions in which the Mulroney government as a whole and External Affairs Minister Joe Clark believe the country should move, although it fails to come out and state these clearly. In some cases, however, the questions posed in the paper pretty clearly imply the government's view.

In one way, this document is superior to the last government paper on Canadian foreign policy, which was issued in 1970 by then External Affairs Minister Mitchell Sharp. The Liberal paper failed to discuss the foreign relationship that for Canada transcends all others in importance: the one with the United States. It was a staggering omission, given the pretensions of the paper and the government's explanations of the

shortcoming were paper thin: External Affairs officials claimed the cross-border relationship touched so many elements of Canadian life that it was impossible to compress it into a booklet for the overall study.

This document at least makes no bones about the importance of our tangled ties with the United States and it even discusses them to some extent, suggesting that the American view of the relationship takes account mainly of economic factors while the Canadian one is broader, involving cultural and political questions as well. Whether that is really true of political matters or not, there is no question that Canadians are far more aware of the cultural implications than Americans are.

### No secret

While the Sharp study was actually under way 15 years ago, the government decided to trim severely Canada's NATO contribution, to the embarrassment of the foreign minister who made no secret of the adverse reaction he ran into from allied countries which had not been prepared for the step. This document states, and probably there would not be many to disagree, that the decline of the armed forces was carried too far under the Liberals. That trend, in fact, is being reversed, albeit in the face of difficult financial times while the rundown of the forces went on during the period of lavish spending.

Protection of sovereignty, now as in 1970, is a major foreign policy aim yet, curiously, the opposition parties have been intensely critical of the

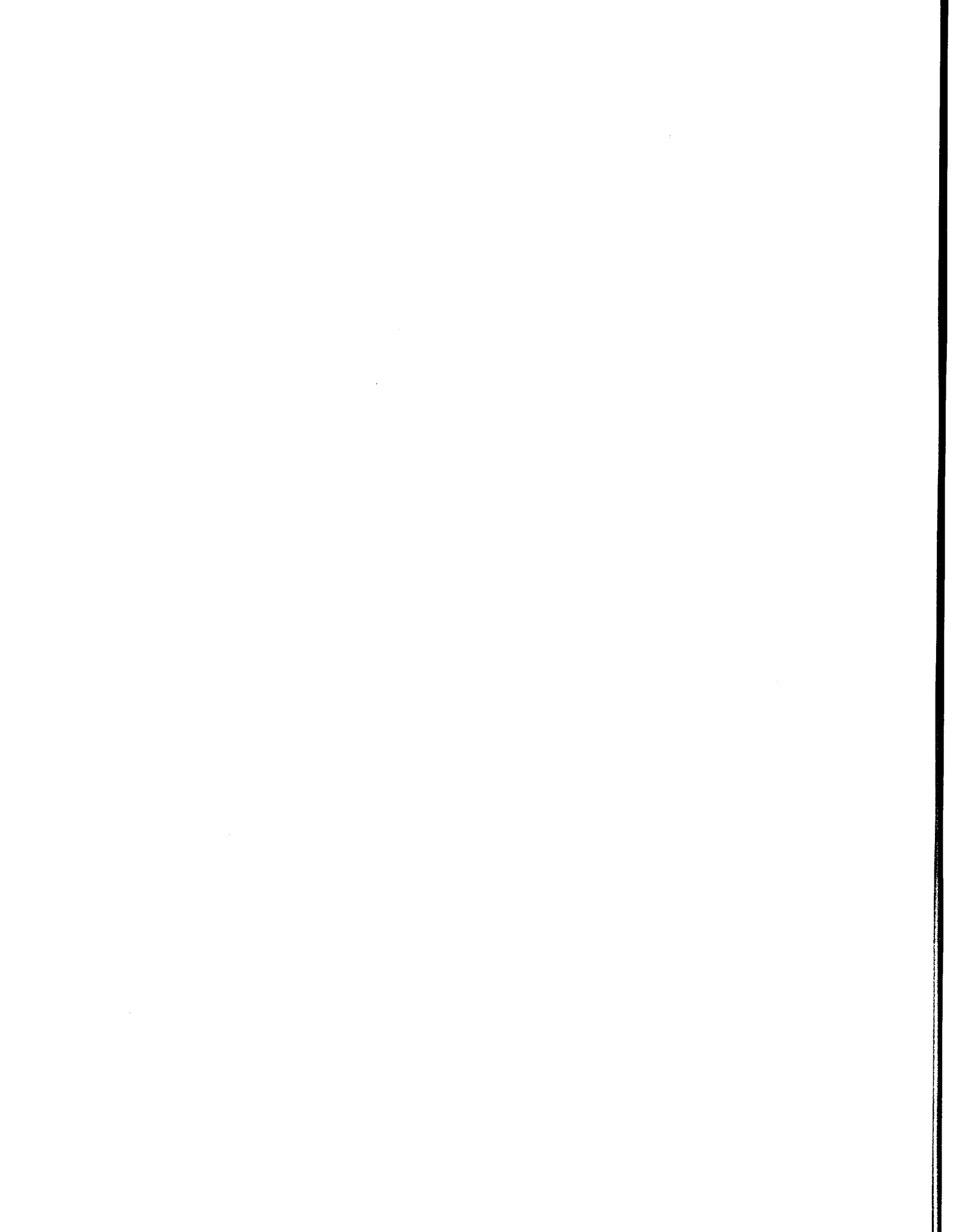
government's steps to improve the capacity for surveillance of remote parts of the country. The ability to find out what is going on above a nation's territory is an integral part of maintaining sovereignty and the paper recognizes this.

### Trade agreement

Questions in the paper emphasize the importance of economic strength in an increasingly competitive world and suggest the advantages of a "comprehensive trade agreement" with the United States. That is another area where months are being spent in an effort to reach consensus through discussion, although there are regular signals from the United States that we would be wise to make our decisions and start discussion before the mid-term election campaigns get under way south of the border.

The clear fear in the American administration, and in some but evidently not all Canadian quarters, is that the mid-term campaigning will stimulate protectionist attitudes and demands for more trade restrictions and that this will create an atmosphere inimical to negotiations aimed at significant trade liberalization. Curiously, there is very little doubt that in due course Canada will seek some sort of agreement to protect its share of the vital American market. The emerging question is whether the government will move at the most favorable time or wait until that has gone by.

The implications of the paper are plain enough: access to the U.S. market is of vital importance to Canadians.



THE WINDSOR STAR - PRESS CLIPPINGS

A) Editorial

- 1) "Clark/Color green paper grey" by Editorial Staff, May 16, 1985

THE HAMILTON SPECTATOR - PRESS CLIPPINGS

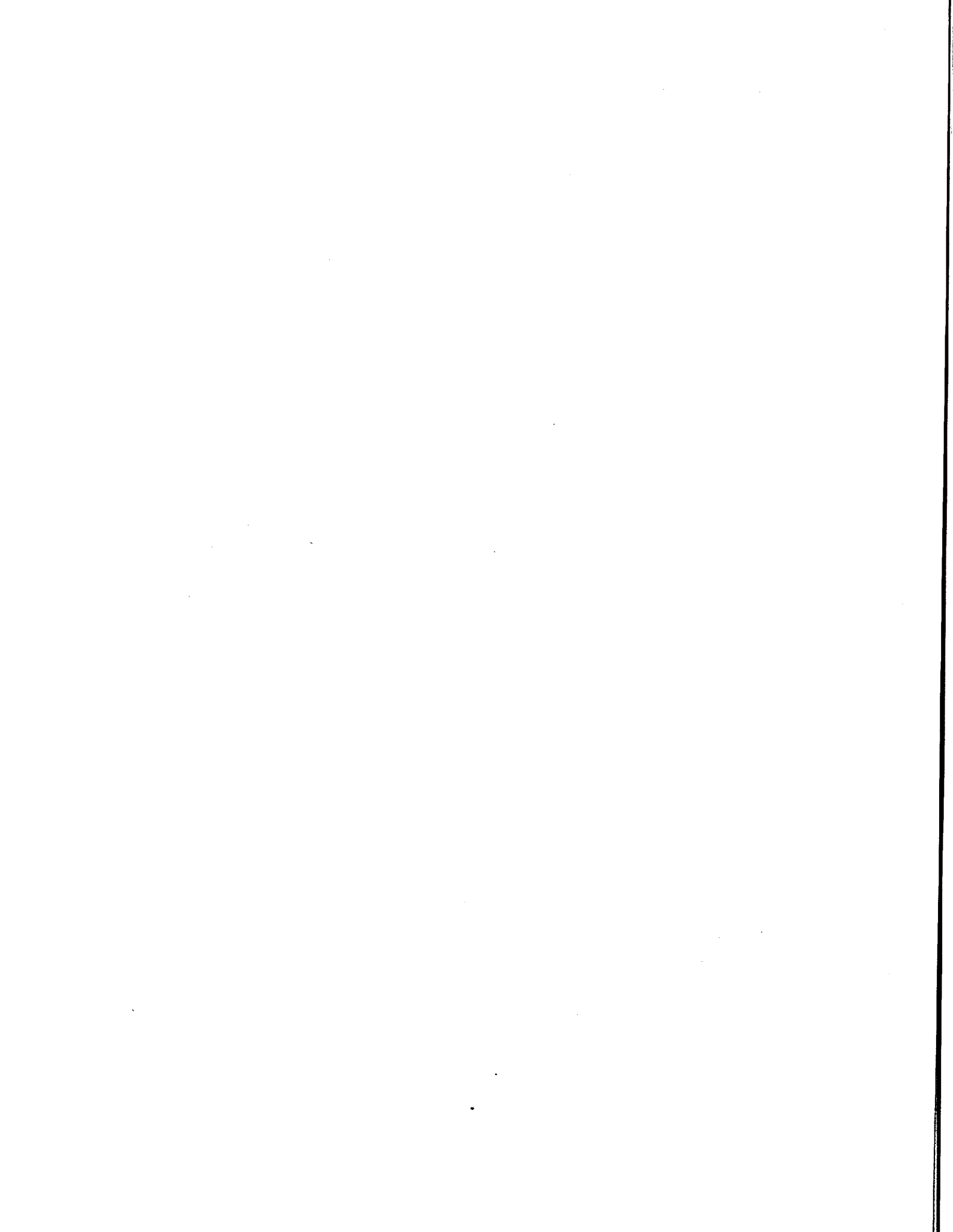
A) Editorial

- 2) "Canada and the world/Trading for jobs" by Editorial Staff, May 15, 1985

LE SOLEIL - COUPURES DE PRESSE

A) Editorial

- 3) "Commerce et Paix sans Clark/ par Raymond Giroux, le 15 mai 1985





## Clark Color green paper grey

**O**PPPOSITION PARTIES are justified in their disappointment with the green paper on foreign policy unveiled by External Affairs Minister Joe Clark.

Part of the disappointment stems from the high expectations generated by the publicity that preceded it and which the paper failed to justify. A14/F11

It says nothing new. It offers a rather sad mish-mash of the statements and warnings about Canada's economic future often heard over the last few years from bureaucrats, economists and sundry soothsayers.

Some parts of Clark's paper dealing with the economy, in fact, are remarkably similar to the contents of papers presented last month at a conference sponsored by the Ontario Economic Council.

Another problem lies in Clark's attempt to deal with too many subjects, ranging from economic to defence and international issues. Some of the issues, notably defence, are beyond the mandate of the external affairs minister; others, like bilateral relations with the U.S., have been usurped by the Prime Minister's Office.

There must be some sympathy for Clark, who is obviously sincere and tries hard to shape in his own image an area of federal policy that still bears the deep imprints of a Paul Martin and a Pierre Trudeau. We suspect that the external affairs minister is not served by his department's bureaucracy with the same spontaneity and dedication it exhibited with some of his predecessors.

Add to those drawbacks the wrongs done to Clark by Brian Mulroney and other members of the Tory cabinet, and the man's own trusting naivete, and it is easy to see why Clark occasionally flounders.

Mulroney removed one of the most important underpinnings of Clark's office when he practically appropriated the conduct of relations with Canada's most important ally and trading partner, the United States. It was an embarrassment that Clark, to his credit, bore well.

The PM's action left the conduct of Canada's side of Canadian-U.S. relations in the hands of two rookies, the prime minister and a sadly weakened external affairs minister, a potentially disastrous condition if the Tories decide to get into negotiations with Washington for a bilateral free trade arrangement.

When that time comes, Mulroney may learn that singing When Irish Eyes are Smiling on stage arm-in-arm with U.S. President Ronald Reagan does not make him an expert in bilateral affairs and will do nothing for Canada when the chips are down on the bargaining table.

GOV'T - PER -  
FOREIGN POLICY

## Canada and the world Trading for jobs

Foreign trade supplies three out of every 10 Canadian jobs. So it's sensible for Ottawa to put the spotlight on economics in its new green paper on foreign policy. Canadian prosperity depends on relations with other countries. If we forget that, we can't frame a realistic foreign policy for the years ahead.

The green paper's purpose is to get Canadians thinking and talking about our connections with the rest of the world. The government hopes the exercise will lead to a policy aimed at building up Canada's influence in the world — and its prosperity and security at home.

Ottawa admits Canada has lost ground across the critical range of foreign policy. Our share of international sales has fallen from fourth to eighth place. The decline has been particularly sharp in manufactured goods, which provide the most jobs. At the same time, Canadian influence on world affairs has faded.

It's no coincidence that Canada lost prestige, power and prosperity during the years its government mismanaged the economy, alienated our trading partners and allies and systematically dismantled the respected reputation Canada built during and after World War Two.

The Mulroney government's green paper asks Canadians to take a pragmatic look at our place in the world so Ottawa

can shape a foreign policy that will win back lost influence, economic strength and jobs.

Inevitably, the ancient question of free trade with the United States bobs to the surface. So far, the appeal of wide-open access to the big American market hasn't been able to overcome Canadian fears of competing with big American companies. Even taking a selective, industry-by-industry tack, there are promises and perils, as seen in the protectionism practised on both sides of the border.

Canada still bears the bruises of Pierre Trudeau's frivolous adventures in foreign policy. Mr. Trudeau started his reign by looking, with brassy fanfare, for a special link with Europe to lessen our dependence on American trade. The Common Market rejected him. He succeeded only in offending the Americans. Brian Mulroney's cautious, green paper approach, is meant to avoid the foreign policy pratfalls of the Trudeau years.

The new foreign policy review starts by recognizing the realities — Canada's commitment to the North Atlantic alliance, our special connection with the United States and the all-important economic factor in our relations with the rest of the world.

At this stage, Canada doesn't know where it's going but it's pointed the right way.

## Injecting new blood

At first glance, the Conservative government's \$25 million program to lure 400 senior

from the private sector. Morale should improve as middle-level



## The new

The U.S. Air Force is looking for "wild and innovative ideas" to help it decide where it should be going in the 21st century. I can think of a single wild and innovative idea that has anything to do with the U.S. Air Force. Can you?

In our military bureaucracy it's difficult to get new ideas

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# Commerce et paix sans Joe Clark

M. Joe Clark nous avait promis un livre vert "provocant" sur la politique extérieure. Le bébé dont il a accouché hier, sous le titre "Compétitivité et sécurité", marquera plutôt la chronique politique comme un ramassis terne, à l'image de sa couverture grise, de questions dont on ne connaît que trop bien les réponses conservatrices.



par  
**Raymond  
GIROUX**

Pire encore, les deux thèmes majeurs du débat, le commerce international et la défense, échappent à la compétence de M. Clark. Les décisions sur le libre-échange, par exemple, se discutent autour du ministre James Kelleher, et le volet militaire relève de l'intraitable Erik Nielsen.

Comme l'admet candidement le secrétaire d'Etat aux Affaires extérieures, dans son avant-propos, "le monde ne nous attendra pas". Nul ne pourra l'accuser de ne pas donner au moins l'heure juste.

Personne n'attendait de M. Clark, il est vrai, de grands projets à la Pierre Trudeau. Au contraire, ses initiatives personnelles, dans le passé, ont fait frémir politicologues et diplomates du monde entier.

La dernière révision majeure de la politique extérieure du Canada remonte à quinze ans déjà, au début de l'ère Trudeau. Le gouvernement désirait alors, dans tous les volets de sa politique, détacher le pays de l'influence américaine et encourager le développement d'une troisième option plus favorable au Tiers-monde.

Les actions n'ont pas toujours suivi les discours, surtout dans le champ de l'aide internationale, ou les ont au contraire outrageusement dépassés, comme dans le cas du Programme énergétique national qui a sabordé notre monnaie et chamboulé l'industrie pétrolière pour l'amour d'une canadianisation autant utopique qu'inutile.

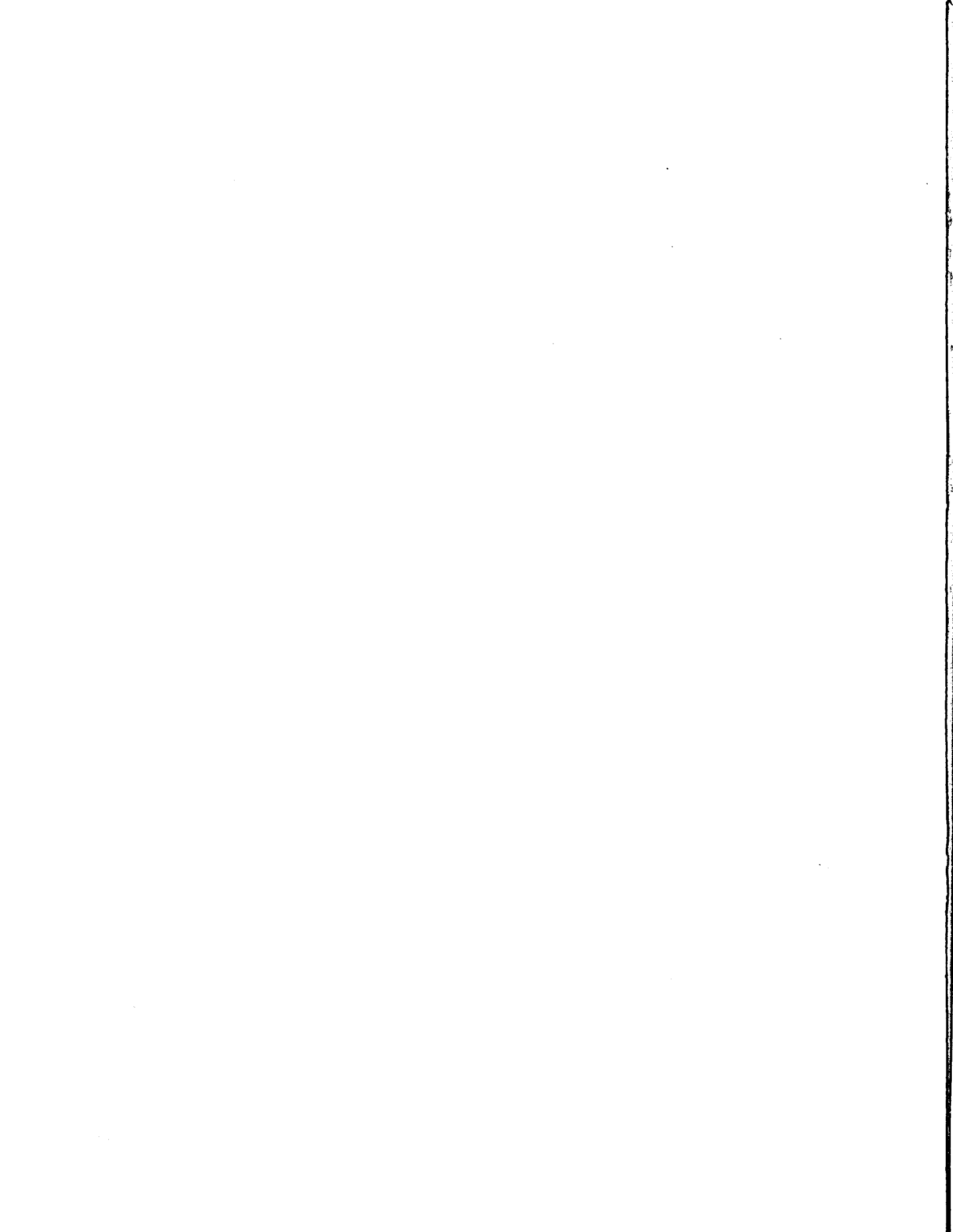
Le gouvernement Mulroney, lui, a repris la voie de l'obéissance américaine. Démantèlement de l'Agence de tamisage des investissements et sabordage du programme énergétique ont bien balisé le nouveau couloir idéologique. M. Clark, hier, a simplement reposé les mêmes questions et laissé prévoir les mêmes réponses.

L'essentiel des relations internationales canadiennes passe, d'après le nouveau document d'orientation, dans la négociation d'un accord bilatéral avec les Etats-Unis. Rien de très nouveau sinon l'étonnante affirmation que "la négociation d'un accord international est en soi un exercice de souveraineté".

En quoi le fait de donner notre garde-robe au complet au président Reagan préserve-t-il à tout jamais notre droit souverain et inaliénable à porter notre habit bleu le publiquement avant coup, affaiblit singulièrement notre pouvoir de marchandage.

Le document constate l'affaiblissement de la position canadienne sur les marchés internationaux et ses carences dans le domaine de la recherche. Le ministre des Finances peut amorcer une partie de la solution dès son budget de la semaine prochaine, en remplaçant des abris fiscaux pour enfants gâtés par des déductions d'impôts plus favorables à la recherche scientifique et à la capitalisation des petites entreprises.

Une saine politique industrielle, alliée à un vigoureux marketing international, sauvera du temps à M. Clark et à tous les Canadiens. Elle n'implique en aucun cas une foi aveugle dans les idées véhiculées dans les grandes capitales mondiales et ne remet pas en question l'équilibre géopolitique de la planète. Seulement, elle garantit à long terme la souveraineté canadienne.



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