



Mr. Speaker:

Mr. Speaker, it is a high honour to have the opportunity to speak to the House of Commons on this important day. I am pleased to have the opportunity to discuss the progress of the review of Canada's foreign policy.

Foreign policy is a complex and multifaceted issue. It involves a wide range of international relations and is a key component of Canada's national identity. The review of our foreign policy is a critical step in ensuring that our international relations are based on the highest principles of justice, equity, and respect for human rights.

STATEMENT

For example, the Government will be reviewing the role of the United Nations in international relations. The United Nations is a vital institution for maintaining international peace and security. It is essential that we continue to support the United Nations and its efforts to resolve international disputes through peaceful means. We will also be reviewing our approach to international trade and development. It is important that we continue to support the World Trade Organization and the World Bank, and that we work to reduce the economic and social inequalities that exist in many parts of the world.

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CHECK AGAINST DELIVERY

Together with my colleagues, the Minister of the Environment and the Minister of Health, I have the honour to present to you the report of the review of Canada's foreign policy. The report is a comprehensive and balanced assessment of our current foreign policy and offers a number of recommendations for the future. It is a product of a thorough and open process that involved the participation of a wide range of Canadians. I am confident that the report will provide a solid foundation for our future foreign policy and will help to ensure that Canada remains a leader in the international community.

NOTES FOR AN ADDRESS BY

THE HONOURABLE ANDRÉ OUELLET,

MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS,

TO THE

PARLIAMENTARY DEBATE

ON CANADA'S FOREIGN POLICY REVIEW

OTTAWA, Ontario
March 15, 1994



Mr. Speaker:

We believe it is high time to review our foreign policy in light of the changes occurring in the world, our national interests, our capabilities and the new constraints that we now face.

As the honourable members know, the chapter in our Red Book¹ on foreign policy outlined several initiatives a Liberal government intended to pursue. Since my appointment as Minister of Foreign Affairs on November 4, 1993, I have taken steps to implement these initiatives.

For example, the Government will be ratifying the Law of the Sea Convention this year. We recognize that Canadians want a more effective international regime for managing fish stocks on the high seas. To this end, my colleague the Minister of Fisheries and Oceans, the Honourable Brian Tobin, will be in New York this week to address a special UN [United Nations] conference on this issue.

Furthermore, I have asked my officials to produce a working paper on UN reform issues in preparation for the 50th anniversary of the UN in 1995. We have given an important financial grant to the Canadian UN Association supporting it in its efforts to raise awareness in Canada about UN reform in the context of the 50th anniversary.

Together with my colleague the Minister of the Environment, the Honourable Sheila Copps, I am pursuing means to make sustainable development policies a key component of our approach to international assistance.

In our Red Book, we spoke of our desire to make Canada's foreign policy development more democratic. Mr. Speaker, our determination has not flagged. That is why I am pleased to open the debate on Canada's foreign policy review in this House today.

We also promised to develop an independent foreign policy for Canada. Mr. Speaker, it is clear the first step toward an independent foreign policy is to listen to the concerns and interests of Canadians. To make Canada's foreign policy more democratic, we must broaden the public consultation process and restore Parliament's chief role: to represent the interests and concerns of Canadians.

We promised a more important role for Parliament in developing our foreign policy. Done, Mr. Speaker. The members of this House have been able to debate our peacekeeping role in Bosnia and cruise missile testing in Canada. As I promised the members

¹ *Creating Opportunity: The Liberal Plan for Canada*, Liberal Party of Canada, Ottawa, 1993.

of the Standing Committee on Foreign Affairs and International Trade, in the months and years to come the House of Commons will have the opportunity to debate the difficult issues of our times.

But we will also invite Canadians at large to play an active part in this country's foreign policy. On March 21 and 22, we will hold a National Forum on Canada's International Relations. The Forum will be sponsored by three ministers: the Minister for International Trade, the Minister of Defence, and myself. The Prime Minister, the Right Honourable Jean Chrétien, will preside at the opening of the Forum. More than 100 Canadian personalities from different walks of life will be invited to examine the major directions of our foreign policy in light of the overwhelming changes of recent years. Their comments will be extremely useful to us in assessing our foreign policy. We should be able to determine which policies continue to serve our interests and which should be redesigned.

After the Forum, the Government will ask a joint parliamentary committee to undertake its own review of Canada's foreign policy, including our assistance programs. I will of course inform the committee of the results of the National Forum to assist my parliamentary colleagues in their deliberations. I hope the committee will have the opportunity to hear the views and opinions of all Canadians across the country.

In the meantime, Mr. Speaker, the Government will continue to consult Canadians on a wide range of subjects. The recent annual human rights consultations with non-governmental organizations [NGOs] were very productive for us in preparing for this year's meeting of the Commission on Human Rights in Geneva. The recent International Development Week was more than a mere listening exercise for me; it enabled me to pursue and develop co-operative ties with our partners.

I would like to emphasize the importance that I attach to the consultation process. The Forum and the work of the joint committee will certainly not be the last step in this consultative process. I intend to pursue my own meetings with representatives of the diverse groups involved in this country's international relations.

The National Forum, the efforts of Parliament, and bilateral consultations form the basis of our foreign policy review. But, Mr. Speaker, this is only a first step. I would like to emphasize that all this marks the beginning of an ongoing process. In fact, the Government intends to make the National Forum an annual event. In the coming years, we may very well ask the National Forum to review specific aspects of Canada's foreign policy. The Government seeks to maintain an ongoing review of its foreign policy that will involve Canadians and their elected representatives. In this world where rapid change and upheaval

are the norm, we must develop a flexible and effective mechanism. That is what we have done, Mr. Speaker, and I am proud of our accomplishment.

The Government will not waste any time in tabling its own report on its foreign policy early next year. We are eager to study the committee's recommendations in order to develop the broad outlines of our foreign policy.

While we are engaged in our foreign policy review, we cannot ignore our international responsibilities. We must at the same time both act on the world stage and review those actions. This year, five major multilateral meetings involving the participation of the Prime Minister offer us the chance to put our ideas to work. I am referring to the recent NATO [North Atlantic Treaty Organization] summit in January, the annual summit of the G7 [Group of Seven leading industrialized countries] in July, that of APEC [Asia-Pacific Economic Co-operation] in November, and finally those of the OAS [Organization of American States] and the CSCE [Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe] in December. We will accordingly be very visible on the international scene in the coming months. We must seize the opportunity to make our views and interests known at these gatherings.

This government was elected with a mandate for renewal: of our economy, our society, our political integrity and our confidence in the future. We have already begun the hard work, and we know much more will have to be done. The obstacles are many, but our duty to move forward is clear.

Many of our most difficult challenges and hardest choices must be faced here, at home. As we said in the Red Book, "Finding jobs, protecting the environment, enhancing national unity, providing political security and enriching the cultural identity of Canadians are all goals inextricably linked to how Canada acts in the global arena."

The international community faces difficult problems, and answers will require a concerted effort by countries working together in common. Whether we talk of the economy, of international security, or of respect for international law, no nation can stand alone. We face common burdens, and share links that cannot be severed.

The Government knows the task of national renewal is a difficult one. But we also know our well-being as a country depends on a stable international environment that enables us to prosper. As the Prime Minister stated in our Red Book, "The key to our success as a nation has been our ability to face change, adapt to it, and prevail. That will be the key to our future."

We cannot dissociate change abroad from change at home. We must show determination, imagination and courage. We are confident of success in meeting the challenges of our times.

However, we will need the support and confidence of all Canadians to meet these extraordinary challenges. We have shown our desire to solve this country's problems in a shared, open and co-operative manner. The foreign policy review process I am launching today is intended to observe these same principles.

But we do not seek to be iconoclasts, Mr. Speaker. We do not seek to overturn all the values that have guided us in conducting our foreign policy until now. We must achieve a balance between continuity and change. Many sound elements of our foreign policy remain valuable and necessary today, objectives and characteristics that have helped to define us as an independent nation in the eyes of the international community.

As we embark on this foreign policy review process, we must take heed of what has served us well, of what policies have gained us international respect and admiration: the positions we have taken and the progress we have achieved in critical areas such as peace and security, North-South relations and human rights. We can be proud of Canada's historical leadership in the international struggle against apartheid in South Africa and of Canada's vision in creating peacekeeping.

We have consistently pursued our international values and interests not through force of arms or belligerent diplomacy, but through force of reason and commitment.

We have always willingly fulfilled our responsibilities as a global citizen seeking to build international understanding through co-operative multilateralism.

We have welcomed international trade and investment rather than retrenching ourselves behind protectionism. Canada played a key role in the successful conclusion of the Uruguay Round and toward the creation of the World Trade Organization.

We will continue to build on the strong foundations of our support for peace and security, international prosperity and development, respect for human rights, democracy and good governance, the rule of law, and free trade. These elements continue to be basic objectives. While the dramatic events of recent years give us a sense of hope, modern times, unfortunately, are as dangerous as ever: the war in the Balkans is, sad to say, an all-too-obvious example.

The threats to our security are changing rapidly. We will continue to move from security structures originally designed to

contain the Soviet threat toward new architectures designed to manage risk and unpredictability.

We must thus consider the future of multilateral organizations such as NATO and the CSCE. We must also redefine the role of the United Nations and regional organizations such as the OAS.

We must also nip possible new sources of conflict in the bud by continuing our assistance to programs aimed at dismantling nuclear weapons, by broadening and enforcing non-proliferation treaties, especially in North Korea, South Asia and the Middle East.

Chemical and biological weapons of mass destruction raise new fears. Recent treaties to halt and reverse their proliferation are steps in the right direction, but improved verification and universal accession are essential. International action is also needed to arrest and reverse an excessive stockpiling of conventional armaments.

Large-scale movements of peoples, whether refugees displaced by persecution or persons seeking improved economic conditions, will continue. The scenes of displacement and despair we see every day on our television screens are graphic reminders of how much remains to be done. Countries will have to work together to address the root causes of migratory pressures; stop-gap measures to ease the pressure or stem the tide will fail.

The rise of nationalism as a political ideology puts progress toward democracy at the mercy of intolerance. We must act internationally to respond to problems related to the treatment of ethnic, religious and cultural minorities. Canada has much to offer the international community in this regard.

The political, social and economic components of various environmental issues must be studied as parts of a whole. The solutions we must find to new environmental threats will not always be easy to accept. Sustainable development is the only way for both developing and industrialized countries.

Economically, we are faced with explosive change. Dramatic developments in technology are driving changes in the organization of production, in investment patterns, and in financial transfers that defy traditional frames of analysis and forms of control. My colleague, the Minister for International Trade, will discuss these changes and their implications for Canada in greater depth. I would like to note that economic, political and social changes cannot be separated; as we can see in Eastern Europe they intersect, they overlap, and occasionally they conflict.

With this in mind, we wish to benefit from the knowledge and experience of Canadians. Our fellow citizens care about their country's foreign policy.

We must listen to Canadians. They can best tell us what values and interests this country must promote abroad, and how we can best contribute to the international community. For our part, we must be sure to share the new global changes with Canadians.

Foreign policy matters to Canadians. There are few areas of our national life that are not directly or indirectly affected by developments beyond our borders. The Government is engaged in these questions every day, and is moving forward on a number of issues.

This government wants a genuine inquiry into Canada's foreign policy. We want to encourage imagination and innovation. We want a foreign policy of ideas, not of improvised reactions.

It is high time to question institutional mechanisms and our traditional ties, and to rid ourselves of outmoded procedures. It is time to chart a new course for Canada. All our new initiatives must be pragmatic; they must be well-considered and capable of giving new life and hope to the world system.

Our policies must of course be realistic. They must reflect the values and interests of Canadians. Unfortunately, we will not be able to do everything we want to do, so difficult choices will have to be made. Our resources are limited, and we must focus our efforts where our contribution will have the greatest impact.

Although no single issue is off-limits in this debate, the Government must give some indication of its own thinking on major foreign policy questions. These are some of the broad directions the Government wishes to follow:

- the pursuit of international peace and security;
- defining Canada's place in a world where the role of regional associations is growing stronger; and
- linking Canada's values and interests, including our economic and trade interests.

Peace and Security

Canada has centred its security policy on two multilateral institutions: NATO, to contain the threat of Communist expansion and to protect democracy; and the United Nations, to promote the values of dialogue and co-operation to resolve or prevent conflict. The demise of Communism has reduced NATO's importance as a military alliance. However, much can still be done by NATO. In the unstable new Europe, NATO must transform itself into a

collective security organization while welcoming the countries of Eastern Europe into its ranks.

While NATO's role has declined in recent years, the UN has had to face a multitude of new demands. Canada has greatly contributed to the building of the United Nations, which reflects many values held dear by Canadians. After 40 years of near-paralysis caused by the Cold War, the United Nations is now being asked to play an increasingly active role in seeking and maintaining international peace and security.

Of course, this transition has not been an easy one. Far from yielding to the temptation of easy criticism, we must admit that the United Nations has been asked, almost overnight, to assume a role for which it was never prepared. Indeed, one wonders how it has been able to function in these trying times. We must thank the Secretary-General, Mr. Boutros Boutros-Ghali, and hail his remarkable efforts.

Canada has led appeals for a sweeping reform of the United Nations. We must show as much courage, innovation and determination today as in the aftermath of the Second World War, when the nations of the world united to create major institutions such as the International Monetary Fund, the World Bank, NATO and the UN in order to build a better world.

These multilateral institutions have generally served us well. However, the global context in and for which they were designed is no longer the same. The world is far more complex than it was 50 years ago. There are a growing number of stakeholders on the international scene, each representing different interests and perspectives. However, we cannot start from scratch and ignore all the significant contributions of these international institutions.

This being said, we must not be afraid of new ideas but think of new, flexible and responsive mechanisms that will help us far beyond the turn of the century.

Institutional inertia has frustrated creative thinking. We accept that the world is far more complex than it was five decades ago, we realize there are many more countries representing many more interests and perspectives, we understand that you cannot tear everything up and start anew, ignoring the significant contributions made by international organizations.

We do believe, however, that it is time once again to encourage fresh ideas about where we want to go as a world community. Canadians can make a decisive contribution to this international

effort, as we did for the United Nations 50 years ago. We can draw on our expertise and our experience to develop new ideas on:

- peacemaking, peacekeeping and peacebuilding;
- arms control and disarmament;
- forms of adjudication and redress for intra-state conflicts;
- reforms of the UN's specialized economic, social and cultural agencies;
- practical measures to strengthen co-operative security organizations;
- improving multilateral development mechanisms to deal with chronic underdevelopment;
- dealing with international ecological disasters; and
- reacting to international population migrations.

This list is not exhaustive, but it is indicative of the areas where the Government believes Canada can help make a difference for the better.

Now that the Cold War is over, we must continue to bring the nations of the world together in the pursuit of peace. We must continue to work on frameworks that will enable dialogue and co-operation between nations. Let me quote the wise words of the Right Honourable Lester Pearson in his 1957 Nobel Peace Prize speech: "The best defence of peace is not power, but the removal of the causes of war, and international agreements which will put peace on a stronger foundation than the terror of destruction."

Canada's Place in the World

Canada must review its geographic priorities in this new international context.

The end of a world divided into two camps and the emergence of new economic powers have contributed to the development of regional groups. Regional institutions can benefit the international system in many ways. They are sometimes the best tool for economic development and mediation.

We hope the growing power of certain countries will give them the necessary confidence and determination to promote co-operation between regions on a large number of international issues. We wish to establish strong ties that would enable us to initiate open and honest dialogue on our economic, social and political concerns, and on human rights.

However, these regions may form hostile and aggressive blocs. Canada has much to contribute in avoiding such a development. Canadians know the importance of dialogue and co-operation. The Government is determined to help the countries of the world to adopt this course.

To this end, we must review our priorities. In spite of our historical, cultural, political, economic and security ties with Europe, we must ask ourselves how these ties will be affected by the growing development of the European Union, which will play an increasingly important role in Europe and lead North America to reconsider its position in relation to the Old World.

North America will have to adjust its presence and influence in a Europe growing stronger and more united.

Our principal task in Europe today is building the economic and democratic structures and security of Eastern and Central Europe, including of course Russia and Ukraine.

The recent elections in Russia have confronted us with new challenges. The results of the upcoming elections in Ukraine could be critical in determining that nation's progress. We have already mentioned our interest in developing a special relationship with Ukraine and have already announced specific measures toward that goal.

There is a great deal to be done. We will continue to work closely with our traditional allies and our new friends in Europe to promote security. But the respective roles of North America and Europe will gradually change. The transition will lead to a renewed relationship as rich and harmonious as the one that saw us through the Cold War, but it will be focussed on new issues that reflect the new world environment.

Canada is by geography a nation of North America. Our relations with the United States are of paramount importance for us, and we have already established a business-like atmosphere in which to pursue our many bilateral interests. We intend to keep it that way.

The United States, too, is adapting to changed circumstances at home and abroad, and we share many of the same concerns. We believe Canadian experience, particularly our approach to multilateralism, can prove useful to the Americans as they develop new perspectives, and we look forward to working constructively on the international scene with our neighbour.

This, however, does not imply that we will jeopardize our concerns and our interest so as to avoid disagreement between our two countries at any cost. This is what I indicated to my American counterpart, Warren Christopher, during my official visit to Washington last month as I made Canada's concerns about efforts by certain groups in the United States to reduce our agricultural and other exports quite clear to him.

I also indicated to Warren Christopher that this government is determined to set its own independent course in foreign policy.

Our desire to see the end of the American commercial embargo against Cuba is a clear affirmation of our wish. This is a point I took up with my Mexican counterpart, Manuel Tello, when I visited Mexico as the head of the Canadian delegation to the bilateral Joint Ministerial Committee.

We wish to further develop our ties with Latin America. We are very enthusiastic about the possibility of creating a Community that will include the entire Western Hemisphere, from the Canadian Arctic to Tierra del Fuego.

The potential for our trade and investment is enormous. The trilateral North American Free Trade Agreement shows us the way to go. Many steps must be taken, however, before we can achieve such a community.

We wish to encourage open and honest dialogue with our partners regarding our common and respective problems. Together, we must define the results we expect to achieve in order to clearly establish our priorities.

The Organization of American States can play a decisive role in our hemispheric relations, and Canada wishes to make this organization more effective and dynamic.

This government's creation of a position of Secretary of State responsible for Latin America is an indication of our interest in the region. The Honourable Christine Stewart has already made two trips to Latin America to promote Canada's ties with its hemispheric partners. I will leave it to her to talk about our objectives in more detail. Mrs. Stewart also has the responsibility for Africa. It is in this latter capacity that she will lead the Canadian bilateral delegation to the election-monitoring mission in South Africa.

The Asia-Pacific region has become a major economic power. As we stated in our Red Book, our economic prosperity partly depends on our determination to develop our trade relations with the Pacific Rim countries. We will work continually with our private-sector partners to increase export opportunities for our businesses. We also expect to see the region play an increasingly active role in politics and security as its economic power grows.

To show the importance we attach to this area, we have also named a Secretary of State for Asia-Pacific. I know that the Honourable Raymond Chan has already taken initiatives to improve Canada's ties and exchanges with the countries of the region, and that he intends to explain them to you.

With its West Coast open to the Pacific, it is in Canada's interest to develop and diversify its economic and social ties

with the countries of the region, as the Prime Minister demonstrated at the last APEC summit in Seattle in November 1993.

Canada's interests are worldwide, Mr. Speaker, and we will continue to have an active foreign policy that reflects our interests. Over the years, Canada has played an important role in the quest for peace. We are actively participating in the Middle East peace process, and we hold the gavel of the Refugee Working Group. Last month, we held the gavel at a meeting in Montebello to co-ordinate the work of all multilateral groups involved in the Middle East peace process. We are actively participating in South Africa's transition to democracy. Elsewhere in Africa, either bilaterally or as part of the Commonwealth and la Francophonie, we are actively working with governments and NGOs to contribute to the economic and democratic development of these countries.

We will continue to be active around the world. In these days of budget constraints, however, our scope of action can no longer be as broad. Changes in the world and in our own country are leading us to make agonizing choices. If we want to have a consistent and effective foreign policy, these choices absolutely must be guided by our desire to build regional and inter-regional mechanisms that will serve us well in the new century that is approaching.

Respecting the Values and Interests of Canadians

We are often confronted by opposing arguments on foreign policy. These arguments oversimplify our debate. Realists dismiss our values, our ethical and moral principles, and insist on a foreign policy that would serve only Canada's immediate economic and political interests. On the other hand, idealists would like to see a foreign policy aimed solely at strict promotion of human rights and our values, while ignoring Canada's sometimes fundamental other interests.

Mr. Speaker, it is far too easy and dangerous to simplify the debate in this manner. In so doing, we will only put blinkers on this country's foreign policy. We must recognize that such a cut-and-dried vision of the world is wrong. Of course, our economic interests are important. Of course, we want to promote human rights. But do we have the right to impose one at the expense of the other?

Insecurity, instability and war are detrimental to international trade. Human rights, democracy and good governance are the best defences of peace and security.

History shows us that economic development and respect for human rights sometimes go hand in hand. Increased prosperity often triggers social change. When we talk about economic prosperity,

we are also talking about international trade and investment. The development of international trade and investment is clearly vital to Canada. We depend on it for our own development, for job creation and for our economic recovery. There is thus a complex interplay of values and interests, Mr. Speaker, both in developing countries and here at home.

Is there no way to better reflect our values and interests in our foreign policy? Is there no way to combine them? Can we build economic and political mechanisms that will show that the way to universal prosperity lies through fundamental rights for all? This is the challenge that I would like to propose to the members of the joint committee, to our partners participating in the Forum, and to the NGO representatives my colleagues and I will meet this year.

We must also take into account, in our foreign policy review process, the importance of our cultural presence abroad. We must recognize that this component of our international action is directly linked to our domestic efforts to enhance the creativity, innovation and development of our human resources.

We cannot separate our values from our interests. The realist versus idealist debate is absurd and will not lead to a coherent and independent foreign policy. More often than not, there is a strong relationship between economic development and social change. International commerce does not thrive on instability and social unrest. Human rights, democracy, the rule of law and shared prosperity are the best guarantors of peace and security.

This brings me to our development assistance program. Canadians are proud of our development assistance record, but there are concerns about both program delivery and the long-term effectiveness of aid. The pressures for review of the aims and utility of development assistance programs are increasing as governments and societies struggle with deficits, debts and structural adjustment. The countries we assist, too, are coming under increasing pressure to provide proof that aid works, to show that the aid provides value. Developing countries will have to demonstrate that they have adopted, or are prepared to adopt, the social, political and economic policies that will maximize the impact of development assistance programs.

We are going to review our development assistance programs. It is time to see whether our programs meet the objectives we have set for them as well as we expected. Like our foreign policy, they should perhaps focus on specific priority issues. But we are not the only ones that must review our programs. Recipient countries must also show that our assistance is useful and meets its objectives. These countries must increasingly show us that they have adopted, or will adopt, the necessary political,

economic and social measures to benefit fully from the impact of assistance programs.

The resources at our disposal are limited. We must make choices and agree together on the guidelines we will follow.

We believe-economic and social development in developing countries is a basic element of our own security. The consequences of underdevelopment, such as uncontrolled population growth, environmental damage and mass human migrations, have a long-term effect on our security.

The Government's earlier policy statements recognized the interdependent relationship between developed and developing countries. There are those who argue that we should abandon our commitments to the developing world because we cannot make a difference. My answer to that is that we must make a difference, or we will see the level of global insecurity, instability and uncertainty increase to our peril. We must work domestically, and internationally with other donors, to ensure that our assistance is applied coherently, consistently, and to the maximum possible benefit.

In conclusion, Mr. Speaker, we must not be daunted by the frantic pace of change in the world. Indeed, the end of the Cold War has ushered in an era of formidable opportunities. It is true, we still live in a dangerous world. The risks of warfare, famine, ecological disasters and economic deprivation still loom. However, great events unthinkable a few years ago have given rise to a renewed sense of hope, and must inspire us all as parliamentarians engaged in the democratic decision-making process of this country. Nelson Mandela was released from his prison cell and now leads his party in South Africa's first democratic elections. The Gdansk naval-yard electrician and underground union leader, Lech Walesa, is now Poland's democratically elected president. A political prisoner and playwright, Vaclav Havel, is now president of the Czech Republic.

Mr. Speaker, I am convinced the members of this House are well aware of the challenges we face, and I am confident they will prove equal to those challenges. This government attaches great importance to the role of Parliament in this Canadian foreign policy review exercise. This debate is not mere tokenism: it aims to involve members of Parliament in the Government's decision-making process. I cannot tell this House what shape this foreign policy will assume. It is up to Parliament and the parliamentary committee to give it its substance. However, I am sure my parliamentary colleagues will observe the Canadian values of tolerance, respect and open-mindedness. I repeat, Mr. Speaker, Canadians are proud of their country's contribution to world affairs. Maintaining our international presence and our tradition of excellence must be our first concern.

Thank you.