



STATEMENTS AND SPEECHES

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CANADA AND THE WORLD

A Policy Statement by Prime Minister
Pierre Elliott Trudeau issued on
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We Canadians found a lot to be proud of in 1967, and also some things to question.

Above all we became keenly aware in our centennial year that significant changes - political, economic, technological - have taken place in the world around us and within the body politic of our own nation. We found ourselves questioning long-standing institutions and values, attitudes and activities, methods and precedents which have shaped our international outlook for many years. We found ourselves wondering whether in the world of tomorrow, Canada can afford to cling to the conceptions and role-casting which served us in our international endeavours of three decades or more.

Those fundamentals of foreign policy did serve Canada well in circumstances of severe testing for us and for the world generally. This country played a leading part in shaping the multi-racial Commonwealth, in promoting and supporting a universal United Nations, and in trying to keep NATO attuned to changing strategic and political requirements. We made a significant contribution to international aid.

We shared the enormous difficulties which have bedevilled, in the post-war era, the best efforts to establish world order on a firm base of political and economic stability. Post-war peace had to be built on the foundations of collective security which were rendered less secure by a radically-spiralling arms race, the urgent demands of suddenly emerging nations, and a prerequisite of keeping accidental sparks of war confined, if not wholly quenched.

There has been a tendency to play upon failures and to be patronizing about successes; to pull down institutions and ideas with nothing very concrete to offer in their place; to over-simplify the possibilities for solving international issues which, even today, are as complex as they are enduring, and to forget that an anxious world was not plunged into either military catastrophe or economic chaos.

There is no reason for running down Canada's post-war record in international affairs. In many respects it was a brilliant record, for which we owe much to the inspiring leadership of the Right Honourable Lester Pearson, both as External Affairs Minister and as Prime Minister.

Re-assessment has become necessary not because of the inadequacies of the past but because of the changing nature of Canada and of the world around us.

All of us need to ponder well what our national capacity is - what our potential may be - for participating effectively in international affairs. We shall do more good by doing well what we know to be within our resources to do than by pretending either to ourselves or to others that we can do things clearly beyond our national capability.

Canada's position in the world is now very different from that of the post-war years. Then we were probably the largest of the small powers. Our currency was one of the strongest. We were the fourth or fifth trading nation and our economy was much stronger than the European economies. Ours were among the very strongest navy and air forces. But now Europe has regained its strength. The Third World has emerged.

It is for us to decide whether and how we can make the best use abroad of the special skills, experience and opportunities which our political, economic and cultural evolution have produced in this rich and varied country.

Realism - that should be the operative word in our definition of international aim; realism in how we read the world barometer; realism in how we see ourselves thriving in the climate it forecasts. For we must begin with a concrete appraisal of the prevailing atmosphere - conscious always that rapid change is likely to be its chief characteristic.

What are some of the salient features we face?

The peace which we value most rests mainly on a balance of nuclear terror. Fortunately, the two super-powers have kept the terror firmly within their grasp and have been showing increasing responsibility about unleashing it. The threat of major military clash has measurably receded, but not the need to ensure that the intricate power balance is maintained by a wide variety of means.

International tension is sustained in various regions and in varying degrees because of localized hostilities, latent disputes, racial discrimination, economic and social distress. Whatever comfort we can take from the most recent developments in Vietnam, we dare not disregard the dangers inherent in the Middle East impasse, the race conflicts in the southern half of Africa, the heavy pressure of urgent needs in the developing world. In Europe there remains the lingering threat of an unresolved German problem, which must be resolved if that continent is to capitalize on its growing desire to draw together and not to turn once again down the dangerous road to aggressive nationalism.

It is no longer realistic to think in terms of a single model of organization and development in Eastern Europe or of a monolithic Communist unity such as Stalin could impose. There has been a perceptible détente in East-West relations. There has been a growing recognition in Eastern European countries of the need through economic reforms to adapt their economies to national needs, rather than adhere in a doctrinaire way to an economic model inspired largely by nineteenth century conceptions. Although it remains true that there are some fundamental and far-reaching differences between us and

the Communist countries, it is no longer true to say that the Communist world is monolithically and implacably hostile to us.

Economic and social development continues to pose a major international problem, and it will increasingly engage the initiative, energy and resources of the world community far into the future. The essential needs of the developing countries require a vigorous, comprehensive and co-ordinated response from all the organizations, agencies and individual nations seeking to alleviate the areas of want in the world. The realities of this North-South relation are such that humanity as a whole cannot rest easy until a steady and solid progress toward a better balance between have and have-not nations has been assured.

The international institutions and methods which have been adopted for dealing with the demands of the contemporary world situation have to be brought into closer alignment with actual developments, and especially with the revolutionary desires of rising generations in all parts of the world. If man is to become the master rather than the victim of his restless genius for material progress, he must radically reduce the distance between his ever-advancing attainment in science and technology and the rather sluggish evolution of international instruments for maintaining political and economic order.

All round the earth, nations suffer the nervous exhaustion of living in an atmosphere of armed threat. It is risky enough that two super-powers, armed even now for "overkill", continue their competition for the most advanced weaponry. It does not help that secondary powers have embarked on nuclear-arms programmes. But, even if it becomes possible to contain the nuclear competition, the world will still have to face what almost amounts to an unrestrained, and perhaps uncontrollable, traffic in conventional arms of all kinds, which, far from adding to security, tend to induce insecurity and increased tension.

In most of these international contexts, China continues to be both a colossus and a conundrum. Potentially, the People's Republic of China poses a major threat to peace largely because calculation about Chinese ambitions, intentions, capacity to catch up and even about actual developments within China have to be based on incomplete information - which opens an area of unpredictability. Mainland China's exclusion from the world community stems partly from policies of non-recognition and of seeking to contain Chinese Communism through military means, and partly from Peking's own policies and problems. Yet most of the major world issues to which I have referred will not be resolved completely, or in any lasting way, unless and until an accommodation has been reached with the Chinese nation.

Those are the broad lines of the international environment in which Canada finds itself today. What are we proposing to do about it? We are going to begin with a thorough and comprehensive review of our foreign policy which embraces defence, economic and aid policies. Policy review is part of the normal process of any government, but we wish to take a fresh look at the fundamentals of Canadian foreign policy to see whether there are ways in which we can serve more effectively Canada's current interests, objectives and priorities.

Our approach will be pragmatic and realistic - above all, to see that our policies in the future accord with our national needs and resources, with our ability to discharge Canada's legitimate responsibilities in world affairs.

Our progressive involvement in international development and relations during two decades or more have given this country a position of prominence and distinction. The policy area to be reviewed is broad and complex. In our review, we shall be giving special attention to certain areas.

We as a Government must discharge our duty to the people of Canada in meeting the needs of national security. In the narrowest sense, this could mean the strengthening of North American defence arrangements in a manner calculated to safeguard our national sovereignty and at the same time to make the best use of resources allocated to national defence. But the defence strategies of our time are neither static nor restricted in scope. NATO and NORAD, though not linked organizationally, are complementary in their strategic importance and implication. They are an integral part of the delicate balance of power on which the peace of the world has rested during a long and difficult period. We shall take a hard look, in consultation with our allies, at our military role in NATO and determine whether our present military commitment is still appropriate to the present situation in Europe. We shall look at our role in NORAD in the light of the technological advances of modern weaponry and of our fundamental opposition to the proliferation of nuclear weapons.

Canada continues to have a very large stake in Europe, perhaps not so much in the military sense of two decades ago but in political, commercial and cultural terms. We have been fascinated and greatly encouraged by the marked improvements in the political and economic situation in Europe as a whole, in both the Eastern and Western sectors. It seems almost axiomatic that, far from relaxing them, Canada should seek to strengthen its ties with the European nations, whose many and varied cultures contribute so much to our own. We should seek to join with them in new forms of partnership and co-operation in order to strengthen international security, to promote economic stability on both sides of the Atlantic and in other regions of the world, to balance our own relations in the Western Hemisphere.

We have a major aim of maintaining mutual confidence and respect in our relations with the United States. We have to sort out the dilemmas which that complex relation poses for us so as to widen the area of mutual benefit without diminishing our Canadian identity and sovereign independence.

We have to take greater account of the ties which bind us to other nations in this Hemisphere - in the Caribbean, Latin America - and of their economic needs. We have to explore new avenues of increasing our political and economic relations with Latin America, where more than 400 million people will live by the turn of the century and where we have substantial interests.

We accept as a heavy responsibility of higher priority Canada's participation in programmes for the economic and social development of nations in the developing areas. We shall be exploring all means of increasing the impact of our aid programmes by concentrating on places and projects in which our bilingualism, our own expertise and experience, our resources and facilities, make possible an effective and distinctively Canadian contribution. We see Africa as an area of growing activity, but not to the exclusion of other regions in which Canada's aid effort is well established. We intend, moreover, to combine these efforts with initiatives, policies and leadership relating to trade which will enable the developing nations to attain lasting improvement in their economies.

We shall be guided by considerations such as the foregoing in sustaining our support for international organizations - and especially the United Nations family. We believe that Canada's contribution to the co-operative efforts of those organizations may benefit from some shift of emphasis but there will be no slackening of our broad policy of support. In making our reappraisal, we shall be looking for realistic means for making multilateral organizations as effective as possible and, correspondingly, Canada's participation in their endeavours.

We shall be looking at our policy in relation to China in the context of a new interest in Pacific affairs generally. Because of past preoccupations with Atlantic and European affairs, we have tended to overlook the reality that Canada is a Pacific country too. Canada has long advocated a positive approach to mainland China and its inclusion in the world community. We have an economic interest in trade with China - no doubt shared by others - and a political interest in preventing tension between China and its neighbours, but especially between China and the United States. Our aim will be to recognize the People's Republic of China Government as soon as possible and to enable that Government to occupy the seat of China in the United Nations, taking into account that there is a separate government in Taiwan.

As I suggested earlier, in reviewing the international situation and our external policies, we are likely to find that many of the problems are the same ones which Canada has faced for many years - global and regional tensions, under-development, economic disruptions. Our broad objectives may be similar, too - the maintenance of peace and security, the expansion and improvement of aid programmes, the search for general economic stability. But what we shall be looking for - systematically, realistically, pragmatically - will be new approaches, new methods, new opportunities. In that search we shall be seeking the views of Canadians, and particularly of those with expert knowledge in the universities and elsewhere.

We shall hope, too, to find new attitudes, for ourselves and in others, which will give us the latitude to make progress in the pursuit of those objectives. There is much evidence of a desire for this kind of change in most countries of the world. Our need is not so much to go crusading abroad as to mobilize at home our aspirations, energies and resources behind external policies which will permit Canada to play a credible and creditable part in this changing world.

To do this we need not proclaim our independence. We need not preach to others or castigate them. What we do need is to be sure that we are being as effective as we can be in carrying out our own commitments and responsibilities, which will be commensurate with our growing status and strength, with our special character.

What is our paramount interest in pursuing this kind of foreign policy? Well, the foreign policies of nations are grounded in history and geography and culture. There are very obvious major interests for most nations today - peace, prosperity, and progress of all kinds. There is always a substantial element of self-interest. In this general sense, Canada is no exception.

But at the present time (it may have always been so and certainly will be so far into the future) our paramount interest is to ensure the political survival of Canada as a federal and bilingual sovereign state. This means strengthening Canadian unity as a basically North American country. It means reflecting in our foreign relations the cultural diversity and the bilingualism of Canada as faithfully as possible. Parallel to our close ties with the Commonwealth, we should strive to develop a close relation with the francophone countries. It means the development of procedures so that Canada's external relations can take even more into account the interests of provincial governments in matters of provincial jurisdiction.

There are many ways of serving that paramount interest. Some of them are already abundantly apparent in the policies and methods which the Government has been promoting for some time. I have indicated throughout this statement our determination to explore every opportunity for applying such policies with maximum effect. They will be projected in the world of today and tomorrow.

. . . Our search, our exploration, our reassessment, are motivated and directed by a desire not for new approaches for the sake of novelty but for better policies and better methods which will keep Canada effectively in the forefront of those international endeavours which realistically lie within our national resources - active and potential.

While this broad review has been set in motion by the Government, we have taken some immediate steps which will give the Canadian people an indication of the direction the Government will follow and these are:

We have decided to send before the end of 1968 a special mission at the ministerial level to tour Latin America. This mission will be designed to demonstrate the importance the Government attaches to strengthening our bilateral relations with leading Latin American countries.

In order to exploit more fully the opportunities inherent in our bilingual country, it is our intention to open five new missions by 1969 in French-speaking countries. A substantially increased share of our aid will be allocated to francophone countries as an important investment both in improving bilateral relations and in contributing to national unity.

Within the general review, we have set up a special task force on our relations with the countries of Western and Eastern Europe. Its purpose is to prepare detailed recommendations concerning ways in which co-operation could be further strengthened with European countries, from which so many Canadians have originated. It will study the whole range of our economic, political and cultural ties with Europe, together with the presence of Canadian military forces in Europe.

In order to stress the true objectives of our aid programme, we shall change the name of the External Aid Office to Canadian International Development Agency. Aside from removing the resentment that might be felt by some

recipient countries, this change will illustrate that our preoccupation is with co-operative international development, not aid as such. In addition, we shall give speedy and favourable consideration to the creation of an International Development Centre. This would be an international institute established in Canada to apply the latest advances in science and technology to the problems of development and to ensure that Canadian and other aid moneys are put to the most effective use possible.

Such, then, is our liberal approach to foreign policy and Canada's position in the world. We should not exaggerate the extent of our influence upon the course of world events. Yet, because of the origin and character of our population, our history, our geographical position and our economic strength and potential, we can play a significant part in the promotion of peace and the creation of a just world society.

We shall seek a new role for Canada and a new foreign policy based on a fresh appraisal of this rapidly-changing world and on a realistic assessment of Canada's potential. It must be a policy which Canadians of all origins, languages and cultures will be proud to support. It must be a policy which is pragmatic, realistic and which contributes effectively both to Canada's political survival and independence and to a more secure, progressive, free and just world society.

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