



Bulletin

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CANADIAN FOREIGN POLICY AND THE THIRD WORLD

The following passages are from a recent address by the Secretary of State for External Affairs, Mr. Mitchell Sharp at the 1970 International Teach-In, University of Toronto:

In June, I issued on behalf of the Government a series of papers called *Foreign Policy for Canadians*. It is a simple title, yet in itself it states clearly the Government's purpose in instituting a basic, and broadly-based, review of Canada's international relations, policies and operations. This was to examine Canada's foreign policy in terms of our basic national interests, to reach conclusions as to its effectiveness in terms of Canada's position in the world in 1970, to identify areas where change was required and to indicate new directions for the future....

Carrying out the review involved identifying and challenging the assumptions on which Canadian foreign policy has been based. One assumption, however, had to be made - "...that for most Canadians their 'political' well-being can only be assured if Canada continues in being as an independent, democratic and sovereign state". Without this assumption any discussion of a foreign policy for Canadians would be meaningless. Unless we are independent

and sovereign we have no need for a foreign policy.

Unless we are democratic there is no point in public discussion.

The paper continues: "Some Canadians might hold that Canada could have a higher standard of living by giving up its sovereign independence and joining the United States. Others might argue that Canadians would be better off with a lower standard of living but with fewer limiting commitments and a greater degree of freedom of action, both political and economic. For the majority, the aim appears to attain the highest level of prosperity consistent with Canada's political preservation as an independent state. In the light of today's economic interdependence, this seems to be a highly practical and sensible evaluation of national needs."

DEFINITION OF AIMS

So much said, the Government defines basic national aims as follows:

- that Canada will continue secure as an independent political entity;
- that Canada and all Canadians will enjoy enlarging prosperity in the widest possible sense;
- that all Canadians will see in the life they have and in the contribution they make to humanity something worthwhile preserving in identity and purpose.

The foreign policy review is based on the premise that foreign policy is the means whereby these national aims are pursued in the international environment. I suggest this is a valid premise. Our foreign policy is not identical with the foreign policy of any other country, even that of our closest friends.

Every country has something to preserve and develop that is unique and something to contribute that is valuable and we need have no hesitation in asserting that Canadian foreign policy is directed to the achievement of Canadian objectives, just as the foreign policy of Denmark is directed to the achievement of Danish objectives and that of the Soviet

CONTENTS

| | |
|---|---|
| Canadian Foreign Policy and the Third World | 1 |
| Canada's New Generation of Hydro Plants | 3 |
| Academic Diplomats | 3 |
| Talking of Turtles | 4 |
| Prime Minister to Visit the U.S.S.R. | 4 |
| Donald Alexander Smith Stamp | 4 |
| Tariff Preferences for Developing Nations | 5 |

Union to the achievement of Soviet objectives....

Foreign policy for Canada as for all other nations is not made in a vacuum; the world does not stand still while Canada shapes and sets in motion its foreign policy. Canada's policy objectives may complement or compete with those of other nations. The aims and goals of other nations impinge upon Canada's freedom of action in the international sphere. We live in a world of dynamic change. Events thousands of miles away or next door can alter international relationships. Domestic developments can affect foreign policy planning. Forecasting is perhaps more difficult in this field than in any other. To quote the report:

"The problem is to produce a clear, complete picture from circumstances which are dynamic and ever-changing. It must be held in focus long enough to judge what is really essential to the issue under consideration, to enable the Government to act on it decisively and effectively. That picture gets its shape from information gathered from a variety of sources - public or official - and sifted and analyzed systematically. The correct focus can only be achieved if all the elements of a particular policy question can be looked at in a conceptual framework which represents the main lines of national policy at home and abroad."

ACHIEVEMENT OF AIMS

Having made the two more or less obvious points that Canadian foreign policy should be designed to achieve Canadian objectives and that we live in an unpredictable and dangerous world, the foreign policy review then turns to the means at hand of trying to achieve Canadian objectives.

Here, I warn you, we enter upon what is bound to be debatable ground and I offer only one guiding principle and it is this. Let us, in our foreign policy, as in our private and collective lives, try to "do our thing". We are not a great military power - we do not aspire to be one. We cannot determine the great issues of peace and war. Canada is, however, strategically located. By international standards it is comparatively rich. It is a great trading nation. It occupies an extensive land mass and has one of the longest coast-lines. We speak two of the principal languages of international discourse. We have a well-established tradition of democracy and social justice. Our people and their forefathers came to Canada from all parts of the world....

POLICY THEMES

We found that there were six general themes under which activities could be classified:

- fostering economic growth;
- safeguarding sovereignty and independence;
- working for peace and security;
- promoting social justice;
- enhancing the quality of life;
- ensuring a harmonious natural environment.

As you will see, these themes apply both to domestic policy and to foreign policy. For a great trading country like Canada, economic growth cannot be fostered at home without fostering it abroad. Safeguarding sovereignty and independence requires international recognition as well as domestic action. Peace and security are world-wide problems. Social justice cannot be compartmentalized; one cannot be effectively opposed to discrimination abroad and practise it at home. The quality of life is enhanced by contacts with other peoples. Canadians with their vast coast-line and frontier with the United States are aware that pollution of the environment knows no political boundaries....

PRIORITIES DEFINED

Looking at our foreign policy and its effectiveness today the Government decided that more emphasis than in the past should be placed upon Economic Growth, Social Justice and Quality of Life. This does not and cannot suggest that the other policy themes: Harmonious Natural Environment, Peace and Security, Sovereignty and Independence have been downgraded. This is simply not possible. All are essential ingredients of national policy and all engage the Government's attention at all times.

Emphasis upon economic growth is not a self-seeking "fast-buck" philosophy. Canada is a developing country, it is plagued by areas of chronic underdevelopment. These regional disparities must be removed if Canada is to offer a decent and rewarding life to all its citizens. Economic growth is the only answer.

Canada's international development program, which you will be considering as the teach-in goes on, comes within the policy theme Economic Growth. It is our contribution to the great task facing the developing nations - to accelerate the growth rate of their economies. For Canada, development assistance is not a series of handouts, it is an effort to work in partnership with the developing nations toward the goal of Economic Growth that is for the greater good of us all....

The policy themes can and do come into conflict and require the Government to make hard choices. An obvious and timely example is the possible conflict between Economic Growth and Harmonious Natural Environment. I do not need to labour this. The spread of industry brings jobs and wealth. It also can pollute the air, the ground and the water. Canada and every other technologically-advanced nation is facing hard choices in this area today. So, as their economies grow, are the developing countries. I hope we are ready to face the challenge and make the hard decisions.

APARTHEID

Canada condemns *apartheid* without qualification. We give greater support to the views of black Africa States when this matter comes before the United Nations than any other Western country - and this is

CANADA'S NEW GENERATION OF HYDRO PLANTS

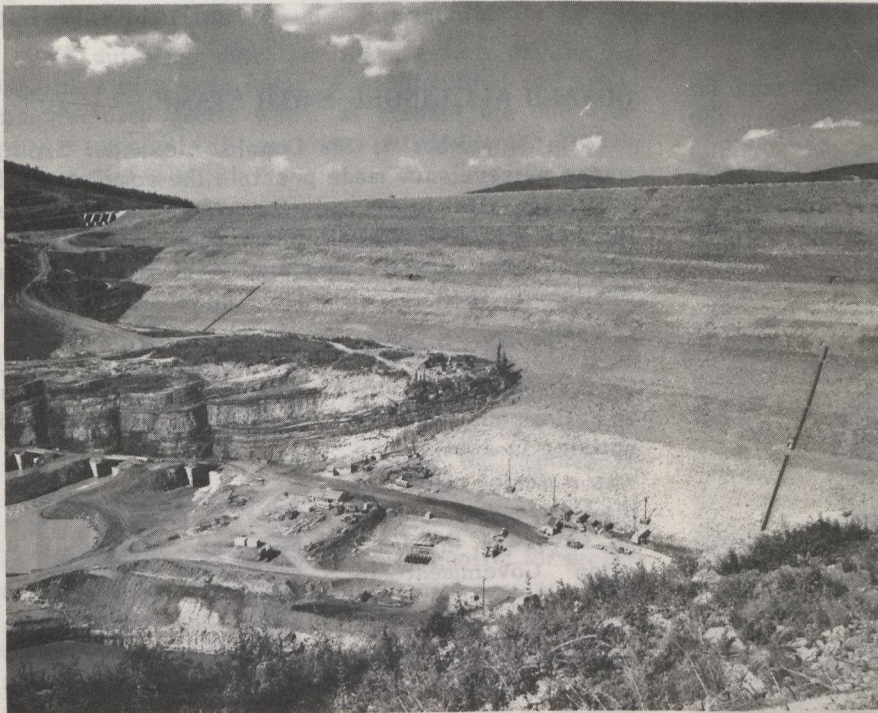
Although exceptionally large, the Churchill Falls Corporation development is by no means the only hydroelectric project worthy of note in Canada.

An earlier generation remembers Beauharnois on the St. Lawrence, Shipshaw on the Saguenay, and such giants as the Niagara River plants, Kitimat, in the wilds of British Columbia, and Bersimis, the first of the big Quebec North Shore developments.

Now, a new generation of power giants is being built to help meet Canada's ever-growing needs for

electricity — Peace River B.C., Kettle Rapids Manitoba, Manic Quebec, and, of course Churchill Falls, Labrador. Together, they span Canada. Each marks new progress.

Starting this week, the *Canadian Weekly Bulletin* will feature the first of a series of thumbnail sketches of these new developments. In this, it is indebted to David Peace of Hydro-Quebec's public relations department for a background paper, *Canada's Major Power Projects*, which he recently compiled.



The W.A.C. Bennett Dam, Peace River, British Columbia, is one of the world's largest earthfill structures.

THE PEACE RIVER PROJECT

The \$725-million Peace River project, in British Columbia, has been producing power since September 1968, when the first units were commissioned in the Gordon M. Shrum generating station — the largest operating underground station in the world. When the 890-foot-long powerhouse is completed, by the British Columbia Hydro & Power Authority, it will contain ten units with a total installed capacity of 2,300,000 kilowatts.

A net head of about 540 feet will be provided by the W.A.C. Bennett Dam when its reservoir is full. The dam is a 57-million-cubic-yard earthfill structure 6,700 feet long and 600 feet high. Despite its size, the dam was built in just under four years, with earthfill speeded to the construction site from a glacial moraine quarry four miles away, by a series of conveyors. The main conveyor, 15,000 feet long, ranked as the longest single-flight, high-capacity conveyor in the world. It operated at speeds exceeding 12.5

miles an hour to maintain a maximum hourly delivery rate of 12,000 tons.

The dam has created a reservoir with a surface area of 680 square miles and a capacity of about 1,300 billion cubic feet.

ACADEMIC DIPLOMATS

The Department of External Affairs has announced the assignments as "foreign service visitors" of Mr. John O. Parry to the University of Toronto and Mr. Jacques Roy to Laval University for the academic year 1970-71. These assignments are the result of the policy outlined by the Secretary of State for External Affairs early in 1969, of increasing contacts between the Canadian academic community and the Department of External Affairs. They are part of a program aimed at developing closer relations between members of the Department and those who

teach and undertake research about international affairs.

Mr. Parry has been deputy head of the Department's United Nations Division since August 1968, following a term at the Canadian Embassy in Vienna, where he was also Alternate Governor for Canada to the International Atomic Energy Agency. Mr. Roy has recently served in the Personnel Branch of the Department, following postings in Czechoslovakia and Cuba.

This is the second year the Department has assigned foreign service visitors to Canadian universities.

TALKING OF TURTLES

Turtles have been popular pets in Canada for many years, the green, red-eared slider being the most common. This little turtle from the southern United States can reach a shell length of 12 inches and live for over 16 years. It is bred specially for the pet industry and is not in danger of becoming extinct.



"Me eat you?"

Canned dog food is recommended as part of the pet turtle's regular diet.

Some turtles, however, are in such danger owing to improper care, reports the Ontario Department of Lands and Forests, and members of the Canadian Amphibian and Reptile Conservation Society are trying to breed the spotted turtle in the hope of saving it. In Ontario, Midland painted turtles are often kept as pets, and the small musk turtle could also become a pet, but unless the Canadian species are specially bred for this purpose they should not be kept in captivity.

Improper food, states the Department of Lands and Forests, is a main cause of deaths among pet

turtles, which require a highly varied diet such as raw lean beef, beef heart, kidney, chicken, raw fish, shrimps, canned dog food or cat food, earthworms, snails, aquatic plants, lettuce, spinach and raw tomatoes.

PRIME MINISTER TO VISIT THE U.S.S.R.

Prime Minister Trudeau will visit the Soviet Union from October 19 to 29. In Moscow he will have talks with his host Mr. Alexei Kosygin, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the U.S.S.R., and other Soviet leaders, on matters of mutual interest.

DONALD ALEXANDER SMITH STAMP

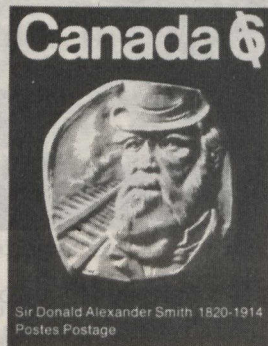
On November 4, Sir Donald Alexander Smith, whose perseverance made possible the completion of a railway, vital to the existence of Canada, will be the subject of a commemorative stamp marking the hundred and fiftieth anniversary of his birth in Scotland in 1820.

HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY TIES

Smith emigrated in 1838 while he was a Hudson's Bay Company apprentice. By the time of the Red uprising in 1869-70, he was a senior officer of the Company and served as envoy of the Canadian Government to the Indians and Métis during negotiations for the transfer of the Company's western territories.

Always interested in railways, Smith realized that the Canadian West needed immigrants to fulfill its great potential. British Columbia had entered Confederation on the understanding that a railway would be built. Smith, though not officially a member of the 1880 syndicate formed to build the line, risked his personal fortune to keep the venture afloat. The honour and recognition of his persistence came with an invitation to drive the last spike in 1885, a year before he was knighted by Queen Victoria. He was raised to the peerage as Baron Strathcona and Mount Royal in 1897, while serving as Canadian High Commissioner to Britain, a position he held until his death in 1914.

The six-cent Sir Donald Alexander Smith stamp was designed by Miss Dora de Pedery-Hunt of Toronto. It measures 24 mm. by 30 mm. and is printed in yellow, brown and green, by the Canadian Bank Note Company Limited of Ottawa.



TARIFF PREFERENCES FOR DEVELOPING NATIONS

The Secretary of State for External Affairs, Mr. Mitchell Sharp, announced recently that Canada, with the other developed countries that are members of the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) and New Zealand, had submitted to the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD) firm offers of tariff preferences for developing countries. The Canadian offer is substantially the same as the provisional offer submitted last November, which was outlined by Mr. C.M. Drury in the House of Commons on November 14, 1969. Its main features are:

(1) duty-free entry for imports from developing countries of a wide range of manufactured and semi-manufactured goods which at present are duty-free only if imported from countries entitled to the British preferential tariff;

(2) tariff reductions amounting to at least a third of the most-favoured-nation tariff rates on most other manufactured and semi-manufactured goods originating in developing countries;

(3) tariff reductions of varying magnitude, in many cases complete removal of the tariff, on a selected list of agricultural products of special interest to developing countries;

(4) no quantitative limitations on imports of goods eligible for preferences;

(5) goods which have not been wholly produced in a developing country would still qualify for preferences if a substantial percentage of the value of the goods was attributable to the industry of a developing country. Provided other preference-giving countries are prepared to adopt similar rules of origin, Canada would treat as "local content" the value of processing performed in any developing country instead of just that performed in the country of export.

The Canadian offer, like those of other pro-

spective preference-giving countries, also provides for safeguard procedures under which the preferences could be withdrawn from particular products if imports of those products caused, or threatened to cause, market disruption or serious injury to domestic producers. In the case of Canada, application of this clause at the beginning of the preference scheme will mean that a limited number of sensitive products — mainly textile products for which Canada has requested or negotiated export restraints with countries exporting them to Canada — will be excluded from preferences at the outset.

The Government is convinced that its offer will provide maximum trading advantages to the developing countries consistent with the need of Canadian industries for tariff protection. In revising its offer, Canada took into account, to the extent possible, the comments made by developing countries at a meeting of the UNCTAD Special Committee on Preferences in Geneva last April. In reviewing the specific requests made at that time, the Canadian Government was also able to confirm that a great many products of export interest to the developing countries already entered Canada free of duty on a most-favoured-nation basis.

The Canadian Government is fully aware of the importance the developing countries attach to early implementation of the new preference scheme, and will continue to participate constructively in international deliberations aimed at bringing this about. However, it will wish to ensure that the scheme does not place an undue burden on Canada. As the preference system evolves, the Canadian position will be that Canada is ready to move in concert with other countries so that the burden of adjustment to the reduced tariffs, and the impact on the imports and exports of preference-giving countries will be equitably distributed.

CANADIAN FOREIGN POLICY AND THE THIRD WORLD

(Continued from P. 2)

recognized by them. We have abided by UN resolutions on the sale of arms to South Africa. We give important and growing development assistance to the neighbours of South Africa and Rhodesia. We are extending our diplomatic ties with those countries. Polymer is in process of divesting itself of the small investment it has in South Africa. We strictly observe the United Nations trade embargo of the illegal regime of Rhodesia. We took the lead in expressing our concern to Britain about the resumption of arms sales by that country to South Africa.

It has been suggested that Canada should also

cut off or discourage trade with South Africa because it practises *apartheid*. I suggest to you that this is a debatable proposition. In principle (and with the exception of sanctions approved by the UN) Canada does not refuse to trade with a nation because it disapproves of its form of government or finds some of the actions of its government repugnant or repulsive. From time to time we had been urged to do so by Canadians and foreigners who dislike regimes like those in Cuba, China and the Soviet Union, but we did not follow this advice, indeed we encouraged trade with those countries as a means of promoting contacts between our respective peoples and I believe the great majority of Canadians approved of the Government's position.

The nub of the matter is the purpose of cutting

off trade. What is the intention? To change the policy of the South African Government? If so, the embargo would have to be extensive before it would have much effect and there is no evidence at all that an embargo would be widely supported by the principal trading nations.

Is it to punish the South African Government or the white minority? I am inclined to think that the worst sufferers would be the black majority who do most of the work in South Africa in producing goods for export.

Or is it to satisfy our own emotional needs to express our repugnance for *apartheid*. If so, then I think that emotional satisfaction has to be measured against the considerations I have mentioned. This is not callousness or putting money-making ahead of principle. Our embargo on arms shipments is evidence that Canada should cut off or even discourage trade in peaceful goods with South Africa should be looked at honestly and forthrightly and the decision made in the interest not only of ourselves but of the oppressed for whom we have sympathy and to whom we want to give support.

If trade sanctions imposed unilaterally are a form of punishment not likely to bring about reform it is perhaps strange that many people who decry punishment as an answer to crime and social misbehaviour within their own societies are so eager to see it imposed internationally where the possibilities of good results are so much more remote....

VALUE OF POLICY REVIEW

Is there anything new in the papers? Leaving aside the specific Government decisions they contain, which are obviously new, I think there is. First, we have thought out our foreign policy in a more systematic way than ever before. This is more than an intellectual exercise, it will affect the formulation and operation of specific policies in the future.

For many years a great many Canadians had seen Canada primarily as an active member of the Commonwealth, the United Nations and NATO and as a close ally and partner of the United States. The foreign policy papers represent a view of the world much more specifically from a Canadian vantage-point. We have decided that Canada should continue to be active in its alliances and the international groupings of which we are a part, including, and this is something new, the grouping of nations wholly or partly of French expression, La Francophonie. But we continue these associations not because we have had them for years, but because the Government is satisfied that they help to foster our national aims and goals.

For a large part of its history Canada's attention has been focused southward upon the United States and eastward upon Europe, more particularly Britain and France. We have seen ourselves as a Northern Atlantic nation. Looking at the world from a Canadian vantage-point we have come to realize that we are, and to begin to accept our responsibilities as, an American nation, an Arctic nation and a Pacific nation. The paper on Latin America indicates our growing interests in the hemisphere as a whole including, of course, the Caribbean. The recent Arctic legislation presented in the House of Commons represents our assumption of responsibility for the ecology of the Canadian Arctic, not only in our own interest but in the interest of all. The growing importance to Canada of the Pacific nations is dealt with in the paper on the Pacific. And what we are seeing in this geographical dimension is not so much change as enlargement. The widening of our horizons does not lessen the close ties we have with the United States, although it may help us avoid increasing our economic dependence upon the American economy. In Europe our traditional ties with the Western states are being strengthened and new ties forged with the nations to the East. Our traditional relationships with India and Pakistan have not been lessened, in Africa our historic connections with the new states of English expression are being enriched by new relationships with new states of French expression. It is difficult to see how some observers at home and abroad can suggest that Canada is retreating into isolationism simply because we look at the world, as all countries do, from our own point of view.

The review has brought home to us many things we already knew but to which we had not given due weight. As people get older they tend to look back and identify a golden age they feel has gone for ever. In the late Forties and early Fifties Canada, emerging from the war with its economy strengthened when the economies of most countries had been weakened, enjoyed a brief spell of unusual prominence upon the international stage. Since then, friends and former enemies have rebuilt their economies, the Soviet Union has emerged as a super-power, China has come to have the potential to be a world power. All this is true, but what is even more true is that Canada has grown in strength and independence since those days to an extent not generally realized or accepted at least by some Canadians. Our brief day of prominence in a world devastated by war may be over, but we are coming of age in the world of today, we are taking our place and playing our part in the world as it is....