

CANADIAN INTERNATIONALISM:

*The Nation's Contributions to
International Peace and Human Security*

by

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INTERNATIONALISM ...

- Commitment to
 - civilized relations among nations
 - law and order in the world
 - peace and harmony among human beings
- Long-standing Canadian ideal with broad multiparty support
 - Pearsonian internationalism (Liberal)
 - “Constructive internationalism” (PC)
 - “Human Security”: Humane internationalism (Axworthy)
 - “New internationalism” (Manley)
 - Cf. Canadian Alliance

CONTRASTING “ISMS”

- Nationalism
- Bilateralism
- Regionalism / Continentalism
- Multilateralism

- “Imperialist”, “Isolationist”

- “Communism”, “Capitalism”, “Fascism”, “Colonialism”
- “Neo-isms”

WHY INTERNATIONALISTIC?

- Canada recognizes the need for the rule of international law
 - Basis of internal governance
 - “Whereas Canada is founded upon principles that recognize ... the rule of law” (Charter)
 - Important for conduct of its external relations

WHY INTERNATIONALISTIC? (CONT'D)

Smaller nation needing protection of the law

- “Might is right” counterbalanced by “Right is might”
- Invaded by United States (War of 1812), ended with 1814 Treaty of Ghent, establishing a boundary commission to settle disputes
- Early arms control treaty: 1817 Rush-Bagot agreement limited naval armament on the Great Lakes, preventing an arms race there
- Longest undefended border in the world

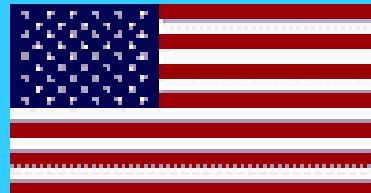
WHY INTERNATIONALISTIC? (CONT'D)

- Historically associated as a junior partner of a world superpower

* British Empire



* United States



- Not in a position to exert power unilaterally
 - Relying on diplomacy more than military might
 - A middle power, “helpful fixer” role
- Both historical and contemporary situation

HISTORICAL TRADITION

- Peaceful nation
 - Born of the pen, not the sword
 - British North America Act, Entry Into Force: July 1, 1867
 - Peace, Order and Good Government (POGG)
 - Rival battleground of two empires, long since friends
 - Not directly threatened by attack
 - No invasion or territorial attack since War of 1812
 - War as a divisive internal issue
 - Conscription crises

HISTORY (CONT'D)

- Creating Quintessential Canadian symbols
 - Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP) officer
 - Bringing law and order to the wild west; “We always get our man!”
- Treaties with Indians
- No slavery
 - Terminus of the “underground railroad”
- Strict gun control
- Renounced option to build nuclear weapons

OTHER FACTORS

- Multicultural fabric
 - Two founding European cultures
 - First-nations contributions and claims recognized
 - Bilingual government (today)
 - A nation of immigrants
 - Differences: not only tolerated but celebrated
 - Not "melting pot" but "salad bowl"
- Quintessential Canadian symbols
 - RCMP officer; Peace Tower
- A trading nation
- An outward-oriented attitude
 - Not isolationist, Not self-centred



“Canada is a nation founded on a union of two great races. The harmony of their partnership is an example to all mankind -- an example everywhere in the world.”

– US President Franklin Roosevelt, 1943,
Address to the House of Commons

CANADIAN MILITARY HISTORY

- No wars on Canadian soil for almost two centuries
- But involved in foreign wars
 - more than 100,000 died overseas
- Aid to empire (Boer War, WWI)
 - Boer War in South Africa (1899-1902)
 - WWI automatically at war
 - 600,000 men; 3,000 women (nurses) to war
 - 60,000 killed



Victory in South Africa -
Canada's first coalition war

MILITARY HISTORY (CONT'D)

- Aid to Europe (WWII, Cold War)
 - Mackenzie-Papineau Battalion in Spanish Civil War (1936-39)
 - WWII (Canada declared war *on its own*)
 - One million Canadians, 45,000 women (most military roles, except combat)
 - 42,000 service people killed
- Aid to UN (global contributions)
 - Korean War (1950-53)
 - 26,791 Canadian soldiers served
 - 1,558 casualties
- “Other people’s wars have been our business”

CONT'D

- No conquests, no wars of aggression, no enemies!
 - No attacks on Canada since confederation & no bilateral wars
 - Still 1.5 million served abroad; over 100,000 never returned
 - No lost wars (Boer, WWI, WWII, Korea, Gulf)
 - Tradition of peacekeeping, over 100 “supreme sacrifice”
- Contrast to US military history
 - Internal: Civil war
 - External/bilateral: Spanish-American, Vietnam
 - Teddy Roosevelt: “Walk softly and carry a big stick”
 - US Army: “Fight and win the nation's wars”

EVOLUTION IN FOREIGN AFFAIRS

- Evolution not revolution
- Gradual development of an independent voice in foreign affairs
 - Department of External Affairs, 1909-
 - Mackenzie King insists on own foreign policies, recognized at the Imperial Conference and 1931 Statute of Westminster
- Desire to lend a helping hand
- No messianic calling

-
- 1926 Imperial Conference
 - Dominions are “autonomous communities within the British empire, **equal** in status, and in no way subordinate one to another in any aspect of their domestic or external affairs, though united by a common allegiance to the Crown, and freely associated as members of the British Commonwealth of Nations.”
 - Balfour committee’s statement, 1926



National Archives of Canada

Ernest Lapointe, Mackenzie King,
Vincent Massey and Peter Larkin.

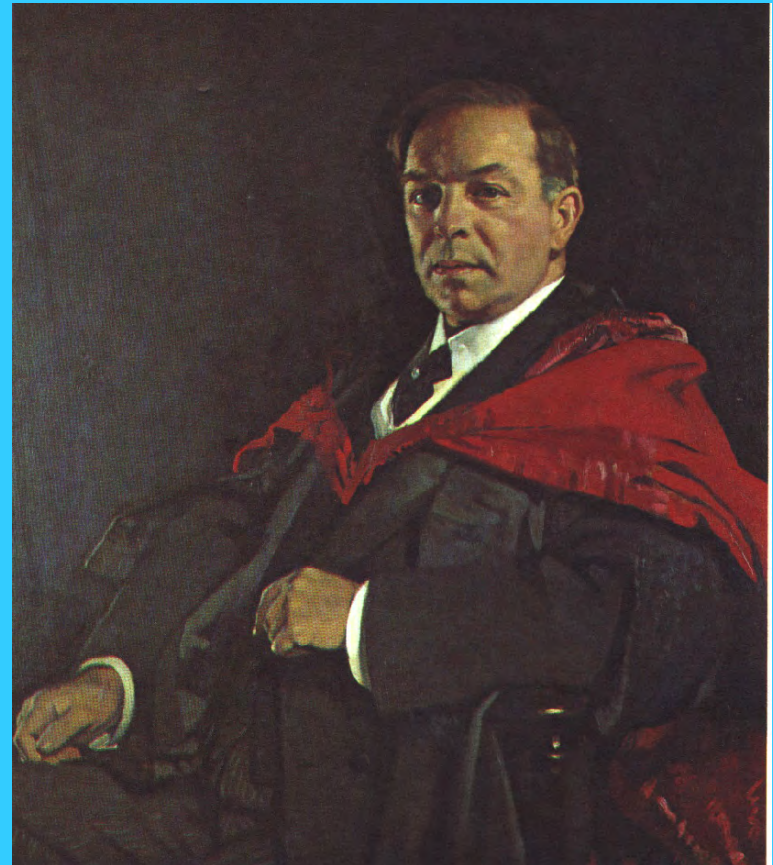
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- Mackenzie King signs the **Kellogg-Briand Pact** (“**Multilateral Treaty for the Renunciation of War**”) renouncing war as an instrument of national policy, **Paris, France, 1928**
 - August 27, 1928, Paris,
 - Along with 15 other nations
 - high hopes, ineffective, counterproductive, utopian



National Archives of Canada

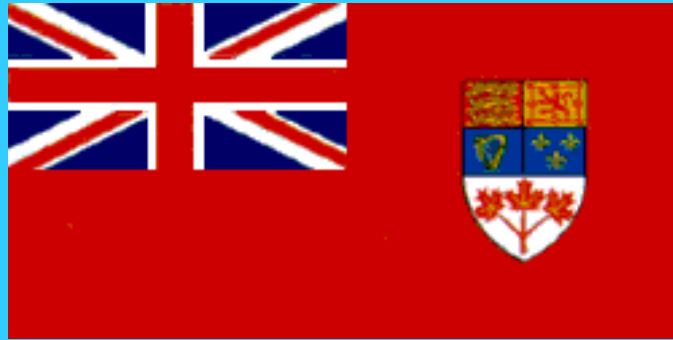
Statute of Westminster 1931

- Confirmed the right of dominions to independent conduct of their external relations
- "We in Canada have just as good material and brains for the Foreign Service as any other part of the Empire."
- Mackenzie King



EVOLUTION IN DOMESTIC AFFAIRS

- Official Languages Act 1969
 - Both French and English languages in parliament, federal courts and government offices
- Universal Health Care
 - Hospital Insurance and Diagnostic Services Act (1957); Medical Care Act (1968), Health Care Act (1984)
- Gun control
 - 1995 Firearms Act for licensing and registration



DETAILED HISTORICAL REVIEW



PRE-CONFEDERATION: TURBULENT TIMES

- 1750s: full scale war
 - 1755: expulsion of the Acadians
 - 1759: Battle of the Plains of Abraham
- 1775: loyalists start moving to Canada
- 1812: US attack on Canada and its repulsion
 - October 13, 1812 - Battle of Queenston Heights, Lt.Gen. Brock



PRECUSOR TO INTERNATIONALISM?

- Loyalty to Empire
 - A different form of order and governance
 - Defence of the "Motherland"



- Fighting in the Boer War, WW I

“For the empire” - Memorial Arch, 1924



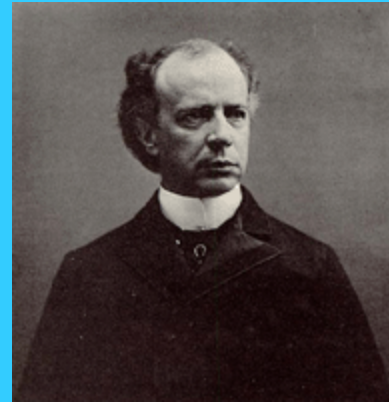
SIR WILFRED LAURIER

- “The twentieth century belongs to Canada.”
 - Sir Wilfred Laurier
 - One century too early?
- “Those who accept a share in a responsibility for the defence and security of this vast Empire are no longer to be considered as wards by self-constituted guardians.”
 - Sir Robert Borden, 1912 (after making \$35 million contribution to building of British Dreadnoughts)



WORLD WAR I

- As a member of the Empire, Canada became a belligerent the moment Britain declared war.
- Sir Wilfred Laurier: “The call had come, and the only conceivable response was the historic British answer to the call to duty: 'Ready, aye, ready'.”



Sir Wilfred Laurier



Sir Robert Borden



Imperial War Cabinet, London, 1917

WW I RECRUITING POSTER



WORLD WAR I

Over 60,000 Canadians dead,
another 173,000 wounded on the
battlefields of Europe



Vimy Ridge, 9 April 1917

PARIS PEACE CONFERENCE

- Negotiations for the League of Nations Covenant
 - Canada gets independent seat
 - Canadian vote recognized as separate from the Empire



The question having been raised as to the meaning of Article IV of the League of Nations Covenant, we have been requested by Sir Robert Borden to state whether we concur in his view, that upon the true construction of the first and second paragraphs of that Article, representatives of the self-governing Dominions of the British Empire may be selected or named as members of the Council. We have no hesitation in expressing our entire concurrence in this view. If there were any doubt it would be ~~xxx~~ entirely removed by the fact that the Articles of the Covenant are not subject to a narrow or technical construction.

Dated at the Quai d'Orsay, Paris the sixth day of May, 1919.

U. S. S. S.
Woodrow Wilson
D. Lloyd George



DOCUMENTS RELATIFS AUX RELATIONS EXTÉRIEURES DU CANADA

VOLUME 2

CONFÉRENCE DE LA PAIX
PARIS, 1919

Compilé par R. A. MacKay
Carleton University

MINISTÈRE DES AFFAIRES EXTÉRIEURES

“The self-governing Dominions of the British Empire may be selected or named as members of the [League of Nations] Council”

PARIS PEACE CONFERENCE - AFTERMATH

- Canada argues against collective security
 - Article X: members to "respect and preserve as against external aggression the territorial integrity and existing political independence" of all League members
 - Canada seeks to reduce commitment

IN THE LEAGUE

- “in this association of Mutual Insurance against fire, the risks assumed by the different States are not equal. We live in a fire-proof house, far from inflammable materials.”
 - Senator Raoul Dandurand, leader of Mackenzie King’s Liberal government in the Senate, to the League Assembly 1924
- Attempts to emasculate Article X

Canadian delegation, 1928

L to R: O.D. Skelton, P. Roy, Sen. R. Dandurand, W.L. Mackenzie King, C. Dunning and W. Riddell



SLIPPING TO WORLD WAR II

- Japan invades Manchuria, 1931
 - Canada opposes the imposition of economic sanctions by the League
- Mussolini invades Abyssinia, 1935
 - PM R.B. Bennett: "No doubt we signed the Covenant; no doubt of Italy's guilt; we must take the consequences."
 - Walter Riddell, at the League, proposes economic sanctions, including oil, in the "Canadian proposal"
 - **PM Mackenzie King** (1936) publicly repudiates Riddell

RENOUNCING SANCTIONS

- “In 1936 King went to Geneva where he renounced the notion of collective security, asserting that the League's role should be one of conciliation and mediation, not punishment.”
- “The League of Nations, with assurances of the most distinguished consideration, was ushered out into the darkness by Mr. Mackenzie King.”

– John W. Dafoe, *Winnipeg Free Press*



W.L. Mackenzie King and W.A. Riddell,
Geneva, September 1936.

- King supports policy of appeasement followed by the British government of Neville Chamberlain

ABYSSINIA, 1936

- **W.L. Mackenzie King and W.A. Riddell in September 1936.**
- King, who succeeded Bennett, was furious. Not only had Riddell exceeded his instructions, but he had also placed Canada squarely in the international spotlight, which King much preferred to avoid. **Such leadership should be left to the great powers.** Worse, sanctions received only moderate support in English Canada and outright opposition in Quebec. The government publicly repudiated Riddell. In the end Italy, like Japan, went unpunished. The League of Nations was effectively dead.

WORLD WAR II

- Germany invades Poland: September 1, 1939
- Britain declares war two days later
- Canadian Parliament votes declares war: September 10



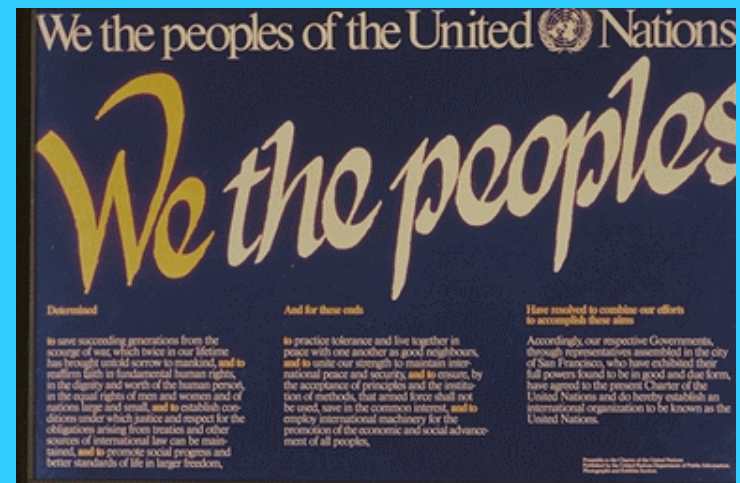
UNITED NATIONS

- Active participation in the creation of second generation international orgs



Canadian delegation in San Francisco, 1945

- Drafting of UN Charter at the Conference on International Organization
- Bretton Woods institutions



EARLY CONTRIBUTIONS

- John **Humphrey** of McGill University, prepared the first draft of the 1948 Universal Declaration of Human Rights
- Dr. Brock **Chisholm** was first director-general of the World Health Organization



“Golden Age” of Canadian Diplomacy 1945-1957

- Canada will "fulfil the growing responsibilities in world affairs which we have accepted as a modern state"

– Louis St. Laurent, 1947

- 1948, General Andrew McNaughton appointed Canada's first permanent delegate to UN in New York.



Gen. Andrew G.L. McNaughton
as UN Security Council
President, 1949.



Gen. McNaughton (left) with Lionel Chevrier, Charles Ritchie, and John Holmes at the United Nations General Assembly in Paris, 1948.

QUOTES

- “The UN’s vocation is Canada’s vocation.”
– Prime Minister Louis St Laurent, 1946
- “Whether we live together in confidence and cohesion; with more faith and pride in ourselves and less self-doubt and hesitation; strong in the conviction that the destiny of Canada is to unite, not divide; sharing in cooperation, not in separation or in conflict; respecting our past and welcoming our future.”
– Lester Pearson

CANADA AT THE UN



General Assembly:
“Always someone
in the Canadian
Seat”



Security Council:
“Once a decade”



Secretariat: Hundreds of Canadians

SOLDIERS FOR PEACE

Lt.Gen. Burns

- Chief of Staff, UNTSO, 1955-56
- First Commander, UN Emergency Force, 1956-



NAC

ELM Burns at UN

Brig. Henry Angle

- Chief Military Observer, UNIMOG, July 1950
- First Canadian to die in a peacekeeping mission



DND

Henry Angle in Kashmir, 1949

PEACE ENFORCEMENT: KOREA 1950-53

- June 25, 1950 - North Korea invades its southern neighbour.
- June 25,27: UN Sec. Council authorizes use of force
- First time an IO mandates use of armed force to repel an attack
- In July 1950, three Canadian destroyers were placed under UN command. Later a Brigade group is sent.



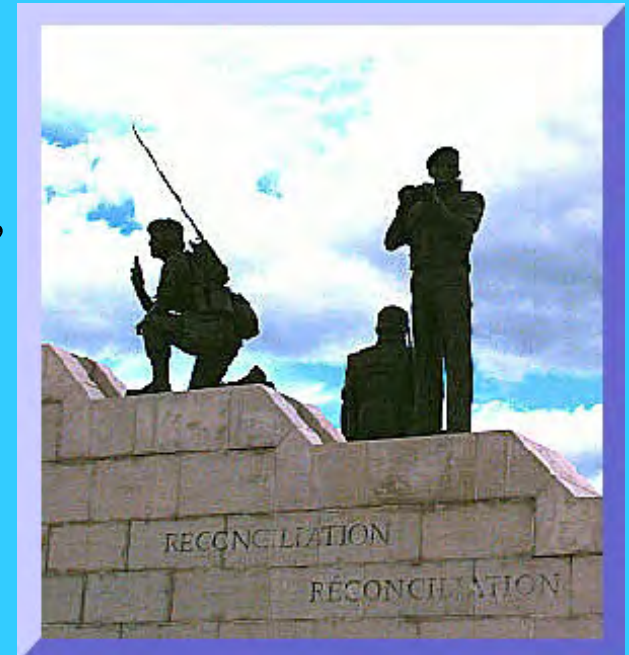
DND

Raising UN flag, Jan. 1951

PEACEKEEPING: SPECIAL CANADIAN CONTRIBUTIONS

COMMITMENT

- Early “peacekeeping missions”
 - Korea (1947)
 - Palestine (1949)
 - Kashmir (1949)
- The invention of “peacekeeping forces” (1956)
 - Pearson’s proposal for UN forces in Suez Crisis
- From 1946-99, no other country participated in as many peacekeeping missions



PEACEKEEPING “FORCES”

- Suez Crisis (1956)
- France, UK and Israel agree to withdraw if UN takes position
- First UN peacekeeping force created at the initiative of Lester B. Pearson (For. Min. and President of the GA)
- First Commander: General ELM (Tommy) Burns



UNITED NATIONS EMERGENCY FORCE (UNEF)

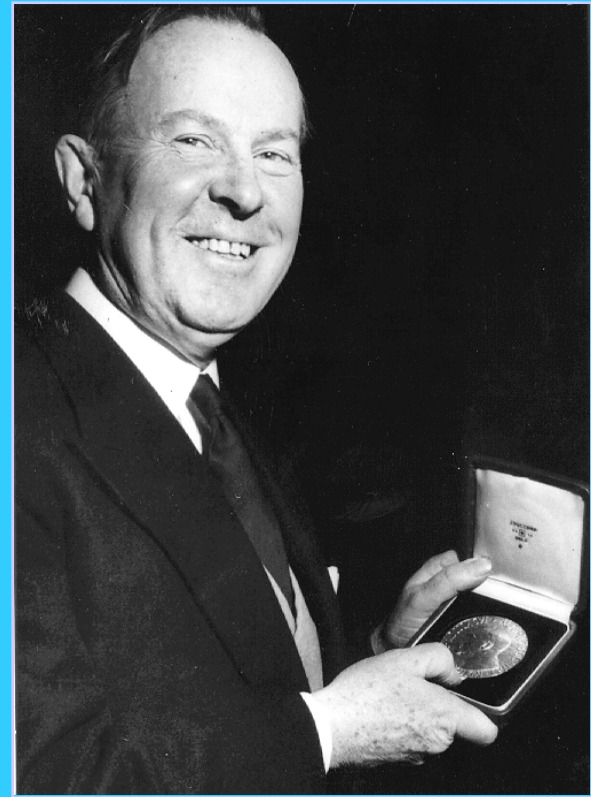


Canadian members of the United Nations
Emergency Force (UNEF) inspect an Egyptian
base in the Sinai peninsula in 1958.

NOBEL PEACE PRIZE 1957

“To Canada's Lester Bowles Pearson was given primarily for his role in trying to end the Suez conflict and to solve the Middle East question through the United Nations.”

- Norwegian Nobel Committee



Lester B. Pearson, Nobel Prize acceptance, Oslo, Dec. 11, 1957

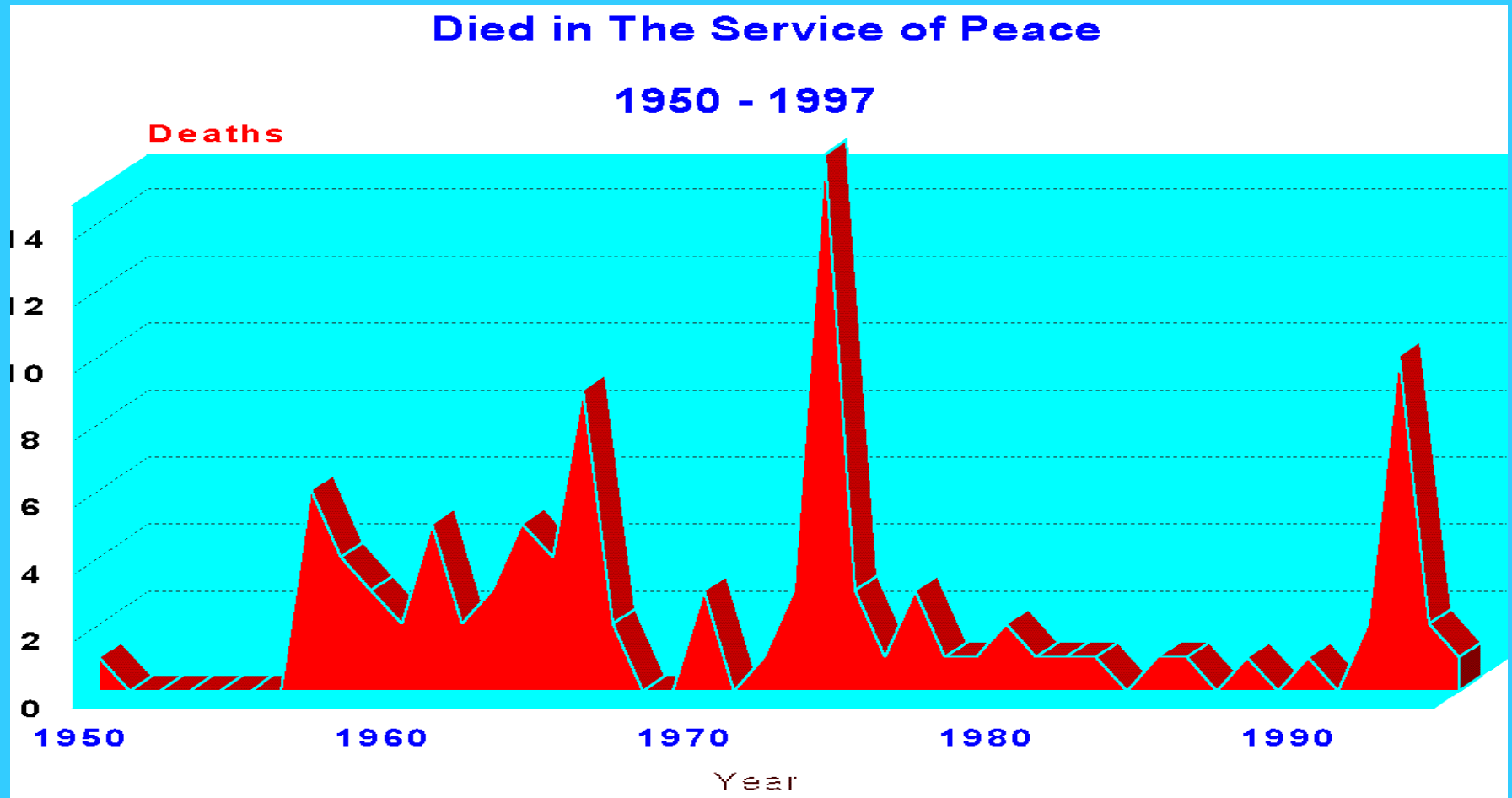
“BUILD ON THAT FOUNDATION” – PEARSON’S NOBEL SPEECH

“We made at least a beginning then. If, on that foundation, we do not build something more permanent and stronger, we will once again have ignored realities, rejected opportunities and betrayed out trust.”

- Lester B. Pearson, Nobel Prize acceptance speech,
Oslo, Dec. 11, 1957



CDN FATALITIES DURING PSO



Source: Peace Support Training Centre (Kingston)

FATALITIES WITHIN UN-PK OPS BY RISK TYPE

1948 - AUGUST 1998 (Selected Missions with high Fatalities)

MISSION	Accid.	Hostile	Illness	Other	total
<u>UNAVEM III</u>	13	6	16	1	36
<u>UNDOF</u>	19	7	6	7	39
<u>UNFICYP</u>	91	15	40	22	168
<u>UNIFIL</u>	93	83	42	10	228
<u>UNOSOM II</u>	30	110	8		148
<u>UNPROFOR</u>	98	75	29	10	212
<u>UNTAC</u>	33	25	21	5	84
<u>UNTSO</u>	8	24	4	2	38
overall Total	657	573	271	80	1581

Source: Peace Support Training Centre (Kingston)

1990s - VAST INCREASE IN PEACEKEEPING MISSIONS

- Canadian participation
 - 3-4 new missions each decade (1945-90)
 - 33 new missions in past decade (1990s)
- New sponsors
 - NATO

MEDALS FOR PEACEKEEPERS

- 1988 Nobel Peace Prize awarded to all UN Peacekeepers
- Canadian Peacekeeping Service Medal (2000-)



RECOGNITION AT HOME



PEACEKEEPING DEPLOYMENTS: SHIFT TO NATO

- Shift to NATO
 - 20:1 troops (4,000 NATO to 200 UN)
 - Bosnia, Kosovo and Afghanistan
 - Contributor to UN: positioned in low thirties (1995-)

CONTEMPORARY INTERNATIONAL ISSUES

- Disarmament
- Peacekeeping
- Diplomatic relations
- Human security
- Support for the UN
- Military forces abroad only in coalitions or multilateral operations

HUMAN RIGHTS & SECURITY

- “Everyone has the right to life, liberty and security of the person and the right not to be deprived thereof except in accordance with the principles of fundamental justice.”
 - Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms
- Human Security Agenda - Presentation

PROBLEMS OF INTERNATIONALISM?

- Potential loss of short term benefits
- Dependent on others
 - Most powerful
 - International community
- Requires trust in the roles
- Further distance from sources of hard power
 - Less role in balance of power
 - Further removed from collective defence
- Taken advantage of
 - Rule-breakers take advantage of “do-gooders”

ALTERNATIVES TO INTERNATIONALISM

- Nationalism
 - Self-reliance and self-assertion
- Alliance with the most powerful
 - Allied to Britain, US
 - “Loyal ally” or “lackey”?
 - Meet demands of most powerful
- Balancing the tension: bilateral vs international
 - Role of peacekeeping as both
 - NATO versus UN peacekeeping
 - US-led versus UN-led military enforcement

CONCLUSIONS

- “Inescapable internationalism”
- Balancing act
 - Interests of allies, with national and global interests
 - Compromises

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Note: The views expressed in this presentation are those of the author and do not necessarily reflect those of DFAIT, DND or the Canadian government.

QUESTIONS AND COMMENTS



PICTURE CREDITS

- DFAIT: www.international.gc.ca/history-histoire/photos/index.aspx
 - links to www.canschool.org/relation/history
- DND: www.dnd.ca/menu/galleryindex_e.html
- UN: www.unmultimedia.org/photo

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- DFAIT: www.dfait-maeci.gc.ca/hist
- Human Security:
www.dfait-maeci.gc.ca/foreignp/humansecurity/menu-e.asp

In addition, refer to the DFAIT publication:

“Human Security: Safety for People in a Changing World”, available on the Web