

HIS311 – April 7, 2016

Concluding Remarks & Exam Review

FINAL EXAM on April 20th

- **ST.Vladimir, April 20th@9am-12pm**
- Be there by 8:30am!
- Bring t-card, water, writing utensils
- **SECTION A: Terms (answer 5 out of a list)**
- **SECTION B: Essay**
- **SECTION C: Essay**
- Spend no more than 1 hour per section
- All sections are of equal value
- Past exams available thru the U of T library

WHAT IS HISTORY?



E. H. CARR
WHAT IS HISTORY ?

His acclaimed reflections on the theory of
history and the role of the historian

NATIONAL BESTSELLER

• The ~~rewards~~ ~~uses~~
• Uses ~~rewards~~
and ~~abuses~~
• Abuses ~~rewards~~
and ~~abuses~~ of ~~History~~
History best

Margaret MacMillan

What is History?

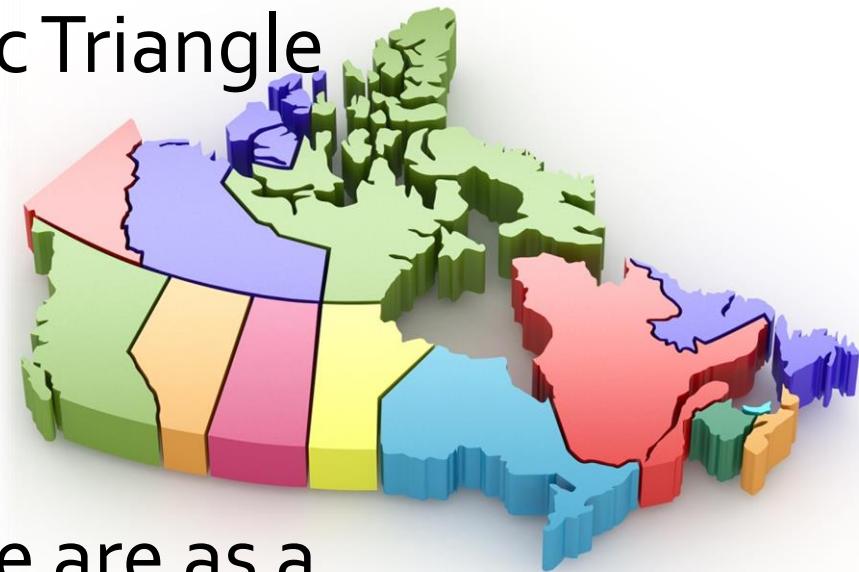
- 19th century empirical approach
- E.H. Carr - historians arbitrarily determine which of the "facts of the past" to turn into "historical facts" according to their own biases and agendas
- A relationship "of equality, of give-and-take" between the historian & their evidence.
- A meeting of characters and circumstances
- *** History is " a continuous process of interaction between the historian and his facts, an unending dialogue between the past and the present." -Carr

FOCUS ON CANADA #cdnpoli



Why does it matter? *EXAM

- Size of our country & population
- Federal-Provincial relations
- Shift in the North Atlantic Triangle
- Foreign investment
- Canada-U.S. relations
- \$\$\$ Economy
- Public opinion!
- Ultimately tied to who we are as a nation



Geography matters ***

- spreads over 3,000 miles from coast to coast
- 10 million sq. km, Canada is the second-largest political jurisdiction on earth
- Away from any immediate danger
- Also one of the emptiest (approx. 35 million in 2016), 95% of them live within 250 km of the US border
- Fragmented on north-south & east-west
- British heritage important but physical and cultural proximity to the U.S. also helped to distance Canada from Great Britain

Key themes: #HIS311

- National Unity & tension between English-Canada and French-Canada
- Federal-Provincial relations & geography
- The British Empire & the Commonwealth
- Canada-U.S. relations
- Commitment to global humanitarianism
- Impact of domestic politics & economy on F.P.
- Characters & Circumstances *personalities
- WWI, WWII, the Cold War, 9/11...>>>

The North Atlantic Triangle *EXAM

- David Haglund 1945
- the notion of “triangle” evolved over time
- The North Atlantic Triangle differentiated as well as unified its participants (room for balance or counter-balance)
- From 1950s onwards, Canadian govts talked of Europe rather than Britain and proclaimed an “Atlantic” destiny
- Economics mirrored politics throughout the Cold War; Cultural similarities continued to matter

The North Atlantic Triangle *EXAM



The rise of the U.S. & the Cold War

- ideology
- culture/propaganda
- military/strategy
- intelligence evolution & “covert ops”
- political spheres of influence
- economic expansion & affluence
- “American way of life”
(progress + prosperity)

Louis Armstrong playing jazz music at the Giza Pyramids in Egypt during the Cold War



American “exceptionalism”?

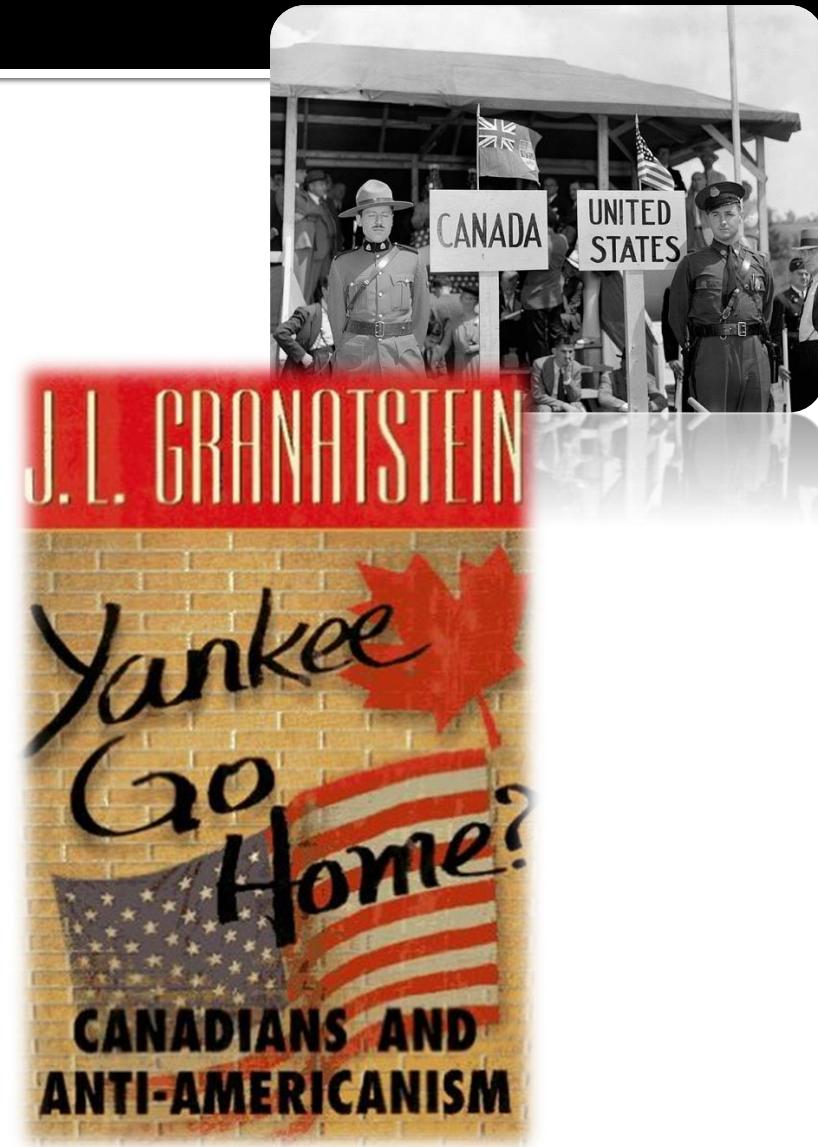
- “leader of the free world”
- “empire of liberty”
- “shining city on a hill”
- “last best hope of Earth”
- “indispensable nation.”

Idea that the U.S. is inherently different than other nations, that it has a mission to transform the world, and that its history and its mission give the United States a superiority over other nations...



Canada & Anti-Americanism*exam

- Perpetual fear in the Canadian psyche?
- Love-hate relationship?
- Relationship of desire or necessity?
- Diplomacy of constraint?
- Gradual shift in the North Atlantic Triangle during the Cold War



Canada-U.S. relations in quotes

**“Living next to the U.S.
is in some ways like
sleeping with an
elephant. No matter
how friendly or
temperate the beast,
one is affected by every
twitch and grunt.”**

- Pierre E. Trudeau, National Press Club in Ottawa 1969



Defining the Cold War

- A period of conflict, tension & confrontation between the Communist and non-Communist blocs that lasted for many decades without the outbreak of a major war between the contending camps.
- Global in nature & a dominant force in IR
- ideology, intelligence, strategy, culture, nuclear arms race, proxy wars, covert ops, etc.
- Perception & fear = very important drivers
- Fought at multiple levels & public participation

Origins of the Cold War: RECAP

- ❖ What's in a name? Defining the Cold War
- ❖ Illusions, Ignorance & Isolation
- ❖ Contextualizing the Cold War: When & How
- ❖ "The Seeds are Sown:" WWII -> Cold War
- ❖ Atomic weapons & new modes of warfare
- ❖ The Gouzenko Affair
- ❖ Kennan's Long Telegram
- ❖ Churchill's Iron Curtain Speech
- ❖ Strategies of "Containment"
- ❖ The early Cold War in Canada
- ❖ #Propaganda & winning "hearts & minds"
- ❖ Fear & Paranoia



RECAP: Key dates *EXAM

1945

- UN Charter signed by 51 nations (San Francisco)
- German & Japanese surrender
- Gouzenko affair

1946

- First session of the UN opens in London
- **Churchill's “iron curtain” speech** @Foulton, Missouri
- Canadian loan to Great Britain \$1.25 billion
- Royal Commission report on the Gouzenko spy ring

RECAP: Key dates *EXAM

1947

- St.Laurent delivers the Gray Lecture @U of T
- Discussions in Paris for the Marshall Plan

1948

- General Agreement on Tariff and Trade (GATT) signed in Geneva (Canada+22 countries)
- Discussions about the North Atlantic Pact in DC
- The Berlin Blockade begins
- Pearson becomes our external affairs minister & St.Laurent becomes our PM

RECAP: Key dates *EXAM

1949: NATO signed (Canada a founding member)

1950: Outbreak of the Korean War (June 25th)

1951: Canadian troops to Europe for NATO

1953: End of the Korean War

1956: The Suez Crisis & UNEF

Chronology of leadership *EXAM

Canada	United States
W.L. Mackenzie King (35-48)	Franklin D. Roosevelt (33-45)
Louis St. Laurent (48-57)	Harry S. Truman (45-53)
John G. Diefenbaker (57-63)	Dwight D. Eisenhower (53-61)
Lester B. Pearson (63-68)	John F. Kennedy (61-63)
Pierre E. Trudeau (68-79)	Lyndon B. Johnson (63-69)
	Richard Nixon (69-74)
	Gerald Ford (74-77)

GRAY LECTURE (1947)



“The Foundations of Canadian Policy in World Affairs” by St. Laurent @U of T

- (1) the maintenance of national unity;**
- (2) respect for political liberty;**
- (3) the importance of the rule of law in international affairs;**
- (4) Promotion of human values and moral principles in external policy; and**
- (5) active involvement in international affairs**

Significance of the Gray Lecture

- **First public definition & justification for Canada's Cold War**
- **Working multilaterally:** St.Laurent identified the Commonwealth, France, the US, the UN as partners for Canada to work with
- **Sense of proportion:** Canada was a secondary power and it would cooperate in constructive international action but not waste its efforts

The Gouzenko Affair, Sep 1945



Soviet
defector

*Igor
Gouzenko*



- King's cautious response
- Kellock-Taschereau Commission, 1946

Significance of the Gouzenko affair

- Starting gun of the Cold War
- Soviet spies were everywhere! (DEA, National Research Council, the Wartime Info Board, the British High Commission, House of Commons)
- Nature of the Soviet society: suspicious & skeptical
- Relative naiveté of the Canadian government
- Greater knowledge -> sense of disillusionment & growing fear
- End of meaningful communist activity in Canada -> RCMP officers tended to outnumber actual communists in Canada
- Worsening of relations between Canada & Soviet Union, as well as the Western allies vs the USSR
- Was the Soviet Union a true ally?
- Royal Commission findings -> Public fear of the “reds” in Canada, especially from Quebec > US public opinion
- Increased cooperation between CA/US/GB
- Inspired one of the seminal speeches of the era, the Iron Curtain address from Churchill

The Origins of the Cold War *EXAM

- **Key terms:** Yalta, Potsdam, George F. Kennan, the “Iron Curtain”, containment, the Gouzenko Affair, the Gray Lecture, the “spheres of influence” & winning “hearts and minds”
- Practice questions:
 1. **Discuss the origins of the Cold War & Canada’s role in the early phase of the Cold War.**
 2. **To what extent does the Gouzenko affair shape Canada’s approach towards the Cold War?**
 3. **Discuss the importance of the Gray Lecture in understanding Canadian foreign policy during the Cold War.**

@NATO: Overview



- NATO Today & A brief history (video)
- WHY: The Origins of the North Atlantic Treaty
 - The British Proposal
 - The Brussels Pact
 - The Tripartite Discussions
 - The Berlin Blockade
- HOW: The Negotiations
- The “Canadian” article: Article II
- Warsaw Pact
- NATO today & NATO Association of Canada



What is NATO?



- longest-lasting military alliance, est. April '49
- Currently has 28 members
- NATO membership is open to “any other European state in a position to further the principles of this Treaty and to contribute to the security of the North Atlantic area.”
- A “**NATO decision**” is the expression of the collective will of all 28 member countries since all decisions are taken by consensus.

NATO Article II: The Canadian Article

Article 2

- “The Parties will contribute toward the further development of peaceful and friendly international relations by strengthening their free institutions, by bringing about a better understanding of the principles upon which these institutions are founded, and by promoting conditions of stability and well-being. They will seek to eliminate conflict in their international economic policies and will encourage economic collaboration between any or all of them.”
- Canadian diplomatic success in the [North Atlantic Treaty](#)
- If trade wars occurred among alliance partners, it would weaken our defence efforts
- Ultimately, did not have much consequence...

@NATO & #CDNPOLI *EXAM

- Back to geography: Canada is a country with vast size, minimal population and limited military budget
- Not an American scheme, but Canadian-British effort to commit the US senate to the defence of Western Europe!
- Canada's first peacetime military alliance
- Adaptation from our traditional reliance on the North Atlantic Triangle (decline of British/rise of American power)
- Guaranteeing a place at the table & soundest/cheapest way of defending Canada while preserving our independent policy (NATO does not demand a unified foreign policy)
- General domestic support for fighting communism & hope for peace and progress
- "An armed attack on one member would be an armed attack on them all" -> Our #1 priority is not the defence of Canada but of an international system favourable to our security and international order

FINAL EXAM PREP:NATO

- 1) Discuss the birth of NATO and Canada's participation in NATO during the Cold War era. Has it been beneficial for Canadian foreign policy?
- 2) Why did Canada station troops in Europe during the Cold War era?
- 3) How do our strategic interests intersect with our political and economic interests over the course of the Cold War?
- 4) Discuss NATO's evolution since its founding. Is NATO still a relevant organization for Canada in the post-Cold War period?

Canada & the Korean War

PART I

- ❖ A glimpse of Korean History
- ❖ Early Canadian-Korean Relations (Missionaries)
- ❖ Japanese Colonial Era
- ❖ Dr. Schofield & March 1st movement
- ❖ The Cairo Declaration 1943
- ❖ Japan's Defeat & End of WWII
- ❖ Korean Independence
- ❖ 45-47: division of Korea
- ❖ United Nations Temporary Commission on Korea & Canada
- ❖ "Fall of China" 1949

PART II

- ❖ Outbreak of the Korean War
- ❖ Immediate responses
- ❖ Historiography on the Korean War
- ❖ Nature & Causes of Canadian involvement in the Korean War
- ❖ Commemorating the Korean War
- ❖ Lessons of the Korean War for Canadian foreign policy
- ❖ Since the Korean War: Evolution of Canadian-Korean relations
- ❖ RECAP & EXAM PREP
- ❖ Guest presentation: Jean Riley

Significance of the Korean War *exam

- The first armed test of the rivalry between the East and the West in the Cold War *CREDIBILITY
- The first test of American leadership of the Western alliance & the legitimacy of the UN
- First test of alliance relations between Canada and the US ("diplomacy of constraint")
- Signal for a change in the direction of Canadian domestic policy (rearmament & maintenance of a large peacetime military)
- Firmly sets Canada's position during the Cold War in the minds of the public ("red menace")

Grey Lecture & the Korean War

- Instead of forced conscription, volunteer forces made up the Canadian contribution to the Korean War, with nearly 1/3 from French-Canada
- Fear of the Soviet Union & communism
- Supporting our allies
- Galvanizing military capacity



Canada & the Korean War



- ❖ Historical foundations: missionary ties & the UN Temporary Commission on Korea
- ❖ Public's attitude on the Cold War
- ❖ “Red menace” & post-Gouzenko fear
- ❖ Supporting our ally, the United States
- ❖ Defending legitimacy & relevance of the United Nations = important
- ❖ Galvanized the defense industry & Impact on the domestic economy
- ❖ St. Laurent's Gray Lecture: fulfilling our responsibility

The Korean War & CA-US relations

- Korean War (1950-53) as a turning point in Canadian-Korean relations, the Cold War, and CA-US relations
- “Red menace” & NSC-68
- Issue of credibility
- Collective security through the lens of international communist menace & UN-authorized military involvement
- The war necessitated close collaboration with the US
- Truman: flexibility important for democracy



Canada & the Korean War: RECAP & EXAM PREP

- Key terms: Cairo Declaration, General Order No.1, UNTCOK, NSC-68, Domino effect, containment, diplomacy of constraint, St.Laurent, Pearson
- **Korean War as a turning point in Canadian-Korean relations, the Cold War, and CA-US relations**
- **Collective security through the lens of international communist menace & UN-authorized military involvement**
- **Relationship with the United States**
- **Emergence of Canada as a true “middle power”?**

The Dissolving Commonwealth: Overview

- Shifting international order (Post-WWII)
- The decline of the British Empire ***EXAM**
- **Meet Mike Pearson** ***EXAM**
- Canadian view on the changing IR order ***EXAM**
- Time travel to Egypt....
- Anthony Eden & British presence in Egypt ***EXAM**
- Meet General Nasser & nationalization
- The Aswan Dam & Soviet-Egyptian relations
- **The Suez Crisis** ***EXAM**
- Pearson's proposal & UNEF ***EXAM**
- Public reaction at home & the Election of 1957
- Recap & Exam prep

Shifting international order *EXAM

- IR of the 1950s: easy to focus on the Cold War
- The confrontation btw the US & the Soviet Union dominated international affairs, but:
 - Decline of old European colonial empires
 - Continued decline of Great Britain
 - The dominance of the US
 - Arab-Israeli conflicts & rise of nationalism
 - NOTE: anti-American sentiments / residual imperial sentiments in Canada
 - Cold War did not start these problems

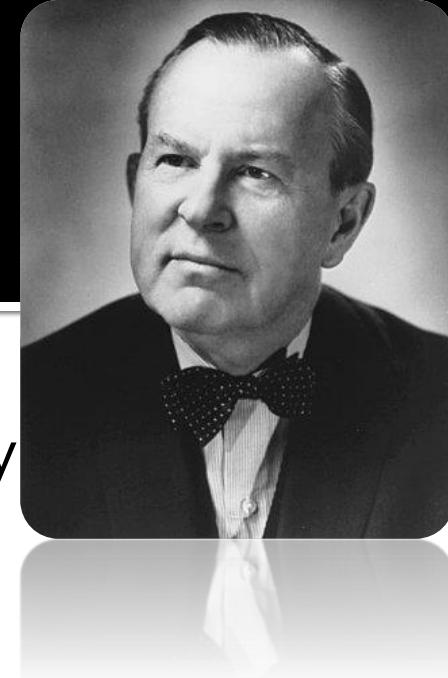
The decline of the British Empire



- "the empire on which the sun never sets"
- By 1922 the British Empire encompassed about 458 million people, $1/5^{\text{th}}$ of world population
- The empire covered over $33,670,000 \text{ km}^2$, almost a quarter of the Earth's total land area
- WWII >> damage
- India's independence
- **Commonwealth:** comforting illusion to ease British transition



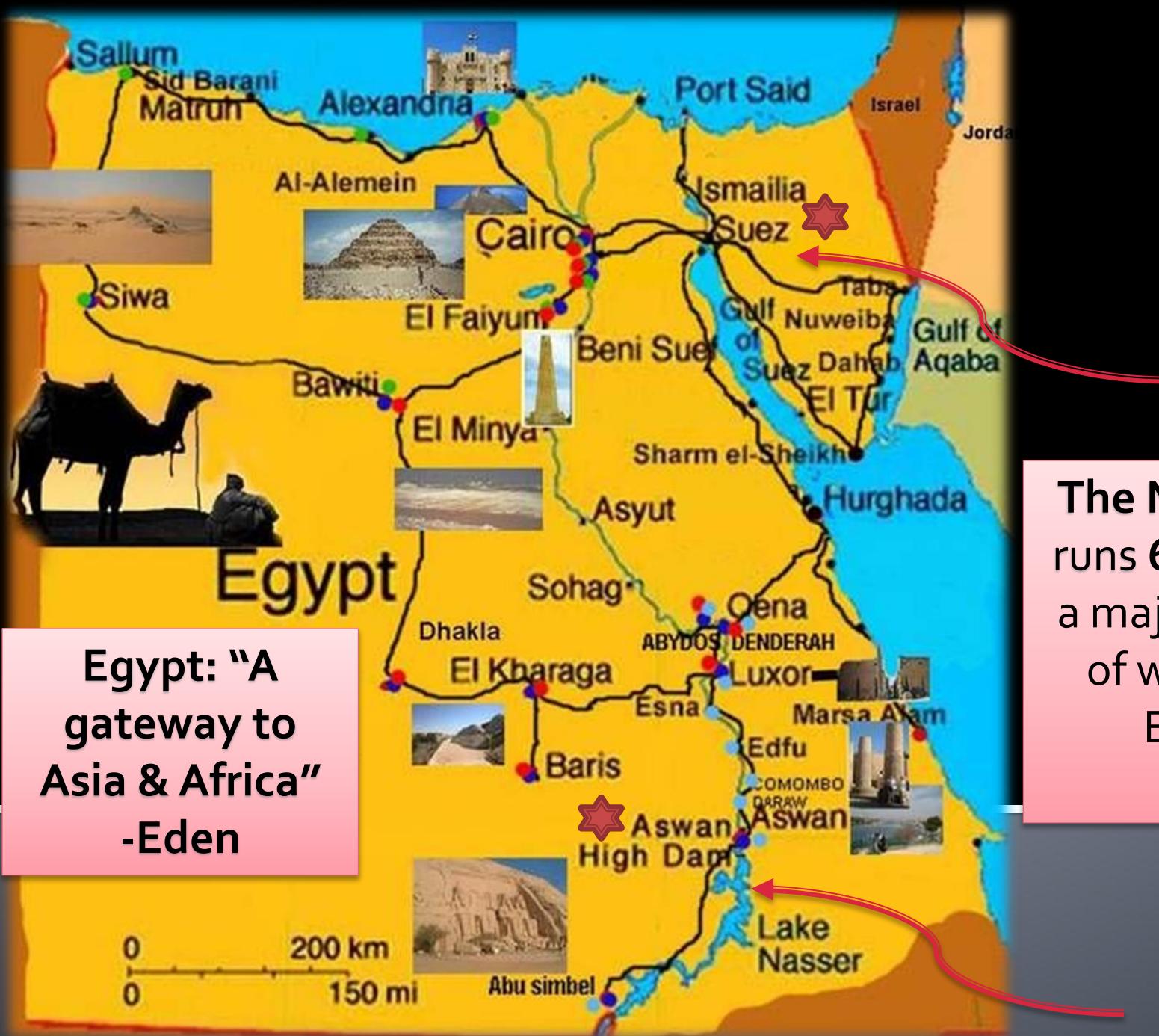
Lester B. Pearson *EXAM



- “Mike” Pearson (1897-1972)
- Son of a Methodist parson, charming personality
- **Studied history @ U of T (BA 1919)**
- Oxford fellowship >> History Prof @ U of T
- Joined the DEA & quickly promoted
- **1935**: Served in London as first @Canadian High Commission
- **1945**: Canadian ambassador to the United States & went to the founding conference of the UN @San Francisco.
- **1946**: Under-Secretary of the DEA
- **1948**: Minister of External Affairs & M.P. (Algoma East, ON)
- **1952**: President of the UN General Assembly
- **1956**: **Suez Crisis & Proposal for UN Peacekeeping Force**
- **1957**: Nobel Peace Prize
- **1963–6**: Prime Minister of Canada

Canadian view on the shifting international order *EXAM

- Britain & France: substantial colonial powers in 1950 and faced colonial rebellions. **Britain's inability to adjust to the lesser international status** + the constant danger of the Middle East
- The Cold War's danger could be mitigated if the West could manage **anti-colonialism & forces of nationalism**
- Americans focused on containing communism and were tempted to support Brits/French; pursuit of the “American solution”
- The **negative example of the West**: colonial connection can be a handicap for the Cold War and the adjustment of the international system
- On both sides, communist and anti-communist, **ideological approach distracted resources & attention**



The Suez Crisis 1956 *EXAM

- Nasser retaliated by nationalizing the Suez Canal; Egypt would run its own canal, collect tolls, and finance the Aswan Dam
- Eden: went ballistic and called Nasser as the “Hitler of the Nile” & planned an invasion of Egypt to restore British power and prestige
- Eden gave instructions for military attack to reclaim the Suez canal with the Israelis on the frontline (only told the French...didn’t even tell all of his cabinet!)
- Dulles thought Eden was not serious & US doesn’t support British-French military plan
- Dulles: Creation of the Suez Canal Users’ Association (only buys time)
- Military and political confrontation that threatened to divide the United States & Great Britain
- Potentially harming the Western alliance & further destabilization in the Middle East
- WHAT TO DO???



Suez: Diplomatic Quagmire!



Pearson's proposal

*EXAM

- Free-standing UN peacekeeping force, only lightly armed and purely defensive
- intervene with the permission of both sides and simply stand in between the two sides to eliminate further conflict
- Pearson had the respect of the international community: Saving Britain's face, working with the Americans & maintain Anglo-American unity
- Maintained the credibility of the UN & ensure the survival of the Commonwealth (India upset)
- Since the Soviet Union was an Egyptian ally, also avoid a larger conflict in the Middle East

Resolving the Suez Crisis

*EXAM

- Pearson's proposal is **unanimously passed** for the **Emergency UN Force** to secure and supervise the cessation of hostilities (Nov 4, 1956)
- **A formal ceasefire announced 2 days later**, despite Nasser's protest that Canada's uniform resembled British uniforms
- Canada sent its supply, transport and troops and **contributed to UNEF for the next 11 years!**
- Pearson received a **Nobel Peace Prize** in Oct 1957 for his leadership in the Suez crisis
- **UNEF: the birth of modern peacekeeping!**

The Suez Crisis in retrospect

- Two contrasting perspectives of the Suez Crisis in Canada
 - The reality of what actually happened 56-57
 - Or the memory of the crisis in retrospect
- Canada made a crucial and effective intervention in the Suez Crisis, rescued the British and the French from their own hole, and established peacekeeping as a vocation for Canada and the UN.
- Pearson had the experience, reputation and skills that the diplomats at the UN trusted
 - >> British diplomats did not trust their own government
 - >> Americans agreed with him (it was actually their idea)

Western alliance would never be the same...

SUEZ CRISIS: EXAM PREP

- Key terms: **the British commonwealth, Eden, the Colombo Plan, Pearson, UNEF, Nasser, the Aswan High Dam, the Suez Crisis, peacekeeping, 1952 revolution in Egypt, the Election of 1957 in Canada**
- Remember that the **Commonwealth was mostly a psychological phenomenon** – a comforting illusion to help with the British transition
- But Canada continued to believe in the importance of the Commonwealth
- **Q1. To what extent does the Suez Crisis illustrate the changing dynamics of international relations in the 1950s, specifically concerning the GB, the US & Canada?**
- **Q2. How important was Mike Pearson's personal role in resolving the Suez Crisis?**
- **Q3. Do you think that Canada's response to the Suez Crisis reflected our foreign policy traditions & key principles?**

Canada-U.S. relations during the Cold War

- **Military** partnership: alliance & illusion?
- **Strategic** alliances (UN, NATO, NORAD, etc)
- **Trade & Economic** relationship
- **People-to-people** (migration, draft dodgers, etc)
- **Ideological/cultural orientation** ***
 - Fear & paranoia: the nuclear bomb & the “red menace”
 - Psychological mobilization (propaganda)
 - Intelligence evolution & espionage
 - Sovereignty vs security

C.D. Howe: Minister of Everything

- **Clarence Decatur Howe**, engineer & politician
- A link between the Liberal party & Canadian business industry; Straight-forward, blunt personality
- Engineering degree @MIT
- Successful business -- built elevators (1916-35)
- 1935: Entered politics as a Liberal MP (Thunder Bay ON)
- Mackenzie King Cabinet: **Minister of Transport**, created Trans-Canada airlines (later Air Canada)
- 1940: Minister of **Munitions & Supply** (Canada's wartime production) *brilliant in this role
- 1955: Minister of **Dept of Reconstruction**
- 1950s: Re-designed parts of Canadian economy, ie steel
- **As Minister of Trade & Commerce, sponsored a trans-Canada pipeline in 1956**

C.D. Howe (documentary)

- “Minister of Everything”
- Available at

https://www.nfb.ca/film/minister_of_everything/

DIEF THE CHIEF: CA-US relations

**1957: Diefenbaker becomes PM
North American Air Defense Command**

1958: US President Eisenhower visits Canada

1961: US President JFK visits Canada

1962: The Cuban Missile Crisis

**1963: Pearson's Liberals defeat the
Conservatives**

Some questions to explore.. *EXAM

- 1) What kind of transformations do we see in Canadian-American relations in the Cold War era?**
- 2) To what extent could we attribute the role of personal leadership in shaping Canadian-American relations?**
Discuss with reference to the 1945-1963 period.

FOCUS: CA-US relations ***EXAM

- Canada and the U.S. generally agreed on opposing communism, fearing war, supporting NATO and blaming the Soviets
- Polls suggested: most Canadians regarded that communism posed a danger to the West, not sure how this should be handled
- Restless dragon of Canadian nationalism >> anti-Americanism? Dual sentiments about American leadership, culture, \$\$, etc.

Cold War in Canada

- 1940s-1990s: the WESTERN CAMP
- An integral component of the “Free World”
- Dominance of the Cold War in Canadian way of life & the lives of ordinary Canadians
- Communist party of Canada & the CSFS *EXAM
- Balance between internal vs external policy
- Proximity to the US (geographically, politically, economically, culturally...)
- Challenge: carefully balancing our relationship with the United States

Recap: Culture & Cold War



Pearson's Temple Speech **EXAM

April 1965 @ Temple University, Philadelphia

Pearson urged the US to consider suspending air strikes against the North to encourage Hanoi to move towards negotiation

“There are many factors which I am not in a position to weight...But there does appear to be at least a possibility that a suspension of such air strikes against North Vietnam, at the right time, might provide the Hanoi authorities with the opportunity, if they wish to take it, to inject some flexibility into their policy without appearing to do so as the direct result of military pressure.” – Lester B. Pearson

Vietnam War & Quiet Diplomacy

- “You pissed on my rug!” – President LBJ at Camp David, Maryland
- Quiet diplomacy? Or Quiet complicity?
- Arnold Heeney: “**Principles for Partnership**” (1964) commissioned by Pearson/LBJ

“It is in the abiding interest of both countries that, wherever possible, divergent views between two governments should be expressed and if possible resolved in private, through diplomatic channels.”

“Give Peace a chance”

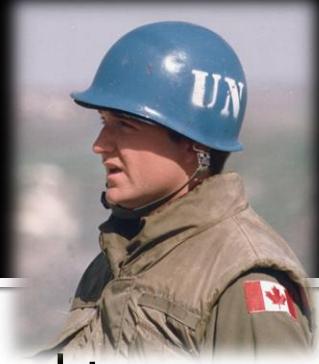


**John Lennon
and Yoko
Ono with PM
Pierre
Trudeau,
December 22,
1969**

RECAP: IndoChinese Shadows

- The tragedy of the Vietnam War & evolution of Canadian-American relations
- Cold War in Asia & the role of public opinion
- **KEY TERMS: Ho Chi Minh, Dien Bien Phu, ICSC, Geneva Conference, Blair Seaborn, Operation Rolling Thunder, the Temple Speech, Principles for Partnership, Quiet diplomacy, anti-Americanism, “Give peace a chance”**
- Q. Discuss the Canadian involvement in Indochina from the end of WWII until the early 1970s. To what extent were we affected by the American priorities in the Cold War?

#UNPKO in a nutshell *EXAM



- Remember the **Cold War** paradigm: not intended to resolve conflicts but a “**confidence building measure**”
- Primarily focused on stationing **blue-helmet troops** in the immediate aftermath of a ceasefire to constrain or deter any new outbreak of hostilities and help implement the agreement negotiated between the parties to the conflict
- First began with observer missions in **Palestine & Kashmir in 1948**.
- **Total of 71 UNPKO missions since 1948**
- Pearson: “The UN should not only bring about ceasefire but make arrangements for long-term viability of peace...”

Canada & the UNPKO *EXAM

- Canada's geostrategic realities & outstanding record in peacekeeping operations => influence
- raison d'être for our military?
- myth of the "blue helmet" nation?
- endorsement by English- & French- Canada
- "embedded in our genetic code as a nation"
- "an aura of independence and the satisfaction of serving higher interests than those pursued by the US or even the West" – J. Granatstein
- "a nation that speaks on the international scene with great moral authority." – PM Jean Chrétien

Canada & the UNPKO *EXAM

- Canada participated in **twelve peacekeeping operations between 1945 and 1970**
- Canada's belief in the relevance and importance of the United Nations
- Recall: **involvement on the Korean peninsula & Indochina** from previous lectures
- Canadian public opinion & self-perception about its role on the international stage
- Our role as a Western ally, through the UNPKO & NATO in the Cold War context

Canada & the UNPKO *EXAM

1. Canadian involvement with peacekeeping must be seen beyond the blue helmet mythology: many different interpretations!
2. The Cold War, the NATO, the UN & PKO
3. Rise of ethnic nationalism & limits of #UNPKO mandate
4. The role of leadership *Lester B. Pearson?
5. The #UNPKO & Canadian identity/external relations >> In our “national interest”?

Questions to consider...*EXAM

- 1) How important is peacekeeping in Canadian political culture & its history of external relations?
- 2) In examining Canadian external relations in the 20th century, is it fair to call Canada a “blue helmet nation” or is peacekeeping a “giant national myth”?
- 3) To what extent was our involvement in the UNPKO influenced by the Cold War and our relationship with the United States?

FOCUS on: Quebec & Canada

- Contextualizing Quebec's place in Canada
- The Quiet Revolution in the 1960s *EXAM
- Charles De Gaulle & Expo '67 *EXAM
- The Gabon conferences *EXAM
- 1968 Constitutional Conferences
- “La guerre des drapeaux” * EXAM
- The Kinshasha conference *EXAM
- The Niamey Conference & Agence de cooperation culturelle et technique (ACCT)

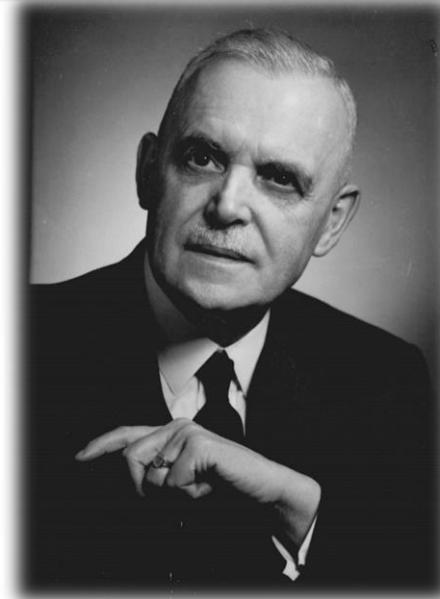
The Canadian reality >>

- Large Land mass, low population density
- **English Canada vs French Canada**
- Federal vs provincial
- Regionalism
- Resource dependency
- The British heritage
- Living next to the U.S.
- Immigration & diversity in views
- **NATIONAL UNITY = always a top priority**



St.Laurent's Grey Lecture (1947)

- key pillars of postwar Canadian internationalism
 1. **National Unity**
 2. **Political Liberty**
 3. **Rule of Law**
 4. **Supporting our core values in IR**
 5. **Accepting international responsibility**



** THE COLD WAR united Canada but there were residual differences...

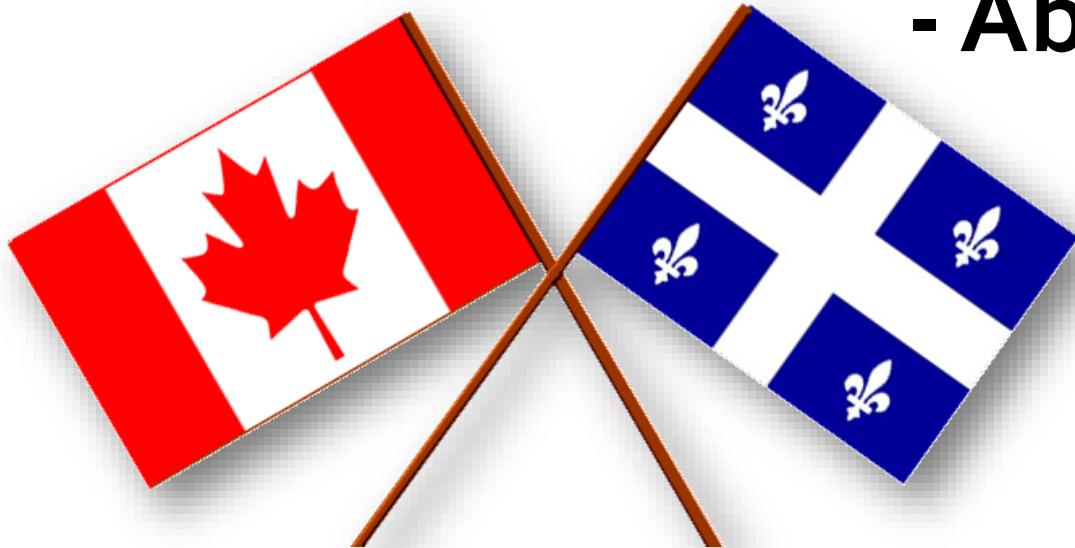
Issue of national unity in #Cdnpoli

- “Colony to nation” narrative
- BUT: First Nations & **the French Canadians**
- Grievances: War of 1812, WWI, WWII, etc..
- Decline of the British Empire post WWII >> shedding off British connection and the rise of welfare state in Canada (ie medicare)
- **New search for Canadian Identity in the 60s**
- Sense of coherence and consensus: The Cold War & the menace of communism in IR
- **1967: Celebration of Canada vs “Vive le Quebec libre” and the century of “injustice”**

Quebec & Canada **EXAM

**"A house divided against
itself cannot stand"**

- Abraham Lincoln



Politics in Quebec in the 60s **

- **Jean Lesage** (Provincial Liberal Party) became the premier in June 1960: “It’s time for change”
- **“The Quiet Revolution”** (*Révolution tranquille*)
 - >> Heavily depended on using the powers of provincial govt to carve out cultural, economic, and political space for Quebec’s French majority
 - 1) greater control of Quebec’s economic resources, ie nationalization of private electric companies
 - 2) Re-define the francophone society in Canada

Charles De Gaulle (video*)



De Gaulle at Expo '67 ** EXAM

- July 24, 1967, a state visit to Expo '67
- General Charles De Gaulle, President of France, proclaimed from the balcony of Montreal's City Hall, proclaimed: "**Vive le Québec libre.**"
- slogan of a Québec separatist party
- De Gaulle provoked a diplomatic incident that resulted in the cancellation of his visit, initiated a campaign of French interference in the domestic affairs of Canada and, above all, lent his prestige to the Québec independence movement.

De Gaulle & Quebec: EXAM prep

- Evolution of the challenge of national unity in Canadian history & Canadian external relations
- **Q. Discuss the phrase, “A house divided against itself cannot stand,” with reference to the impact of French-Canada in Canadian foreign policy in the 20th century.**

“A citizen of the world”



- Born 18 October 1919 in Montréal
- the son of a successful French Canadian businessman and a mother of Scottish ancestry
- Wealthy family, extremely protective mother
- Jesuit Collège Jean-de-Brebeuf, Université de Montréal, Harvard, and the London School of Economics, Sorbonne
- Travelled a lot in his youth (backpacking)
- *Cité Libre & a spirit of contradiction (Duplessis)*
- Law professor (constitutional law)

Trudeau's style **EXAM

- High standard for intellectual conversation
- Perfectionist but preferred genuine interactions
- Believed in discussions & emphasis on process
(hated artificial settings) => NOT a fan of UN/NATO
- Had a coherent approach to policies
- Stress on informality (enjoyed the Commonwealth PM's Meetings)
- Visionary in domestic affairs but extremely pragmatic in international affairs
- Not a fan of the British Empire/did not get along with many of the US presidents (Nixon, Reagan..)

1977 “Pirouette” -Queen Elizabeth II



The “Third Option” (1972) **EXAM

- Mitchell SHARP, secretary of state for external affairs, **calling for a lessening of US economic and cultural influence on Canada.**
- Noting an increasing nationalism on both sides of the border, the question of how to live "distinct from, but in harmony with" the US.
- He rejected 2 options, status quo and a deliberate policy of "closer integration with the United States."

The “Third Option” (1972) **EXAM

- Instead, he argued for a "third option" which would "develop and strengthen the Canadian economy and other aspects of its national life and in the process reduce the present Canadian vulnerability."
- Looking towards Asia & Japan...Ultimately failed because of geostrategic realities
- Mulroney's era: Free trade with the U.S.!

Trudeau & Communism



“Viva Cuba!”
Trudeau says to
a crowd of
25,000 Cubans
(Feb 1976)

**Trudeau recognized
PRC in 1970**



TRUDEAU: EXAM prep

- EXAM: “Just watch me”, “A citizen of the world,” the Charter of Rights and Freedoms, Pirouette, Walter Gordon, FIRA, the Third Option, the October Crisis, “Give Peace a Chance”, “Viva Cuba”
- Qn: “Assess Pierre E. Trudeau’s conduct of Canadian foreign policy, with particular reference to political, economic and diplomatic relations.”

The Mulroney Era

Q. Discuss the Mulroney era in Canadian foreign policy. Did we in fact achieve “super relations” with the United States?



“Good relations, super relations”

- Attempt to recover from Trudeau's policies
- Replace FIRA with Investment Canada & scrapped the NEP
- Domestic economy: unemployment dropped from 11.8% to 7.5% between 1983 and 89
- Rate of inflation also reduced under Mulroney
- National debt continued to grow (yearly deficit of \$20-30 billion)

Mulroney's priorities



- **Federal-Provincial relations**
- **Building “super relations” with the U.S.**
- “Unlike Trudeau, however, we expect Mulroney to refrain from gratuitous negative comments about U.S. foreign policy and to remain evasive or silent when it is politically possible to do so.” – CIA’s analysis

“When Irish Eyes are Smiling” **



1988 Election (Nov) **EXAM

- Fought over the issue of free trade
- John Turner appealed to nationalist sentiments (the giant US & tiny Canada)
- Mulroney had politics on his side, certainty of a treaty, appeal to hope and change



FREE TRADE



LEONARD
1985

LIBRE ÉCHANGE



1988 Election **EXAM

- video (CBC)
- Turner: "You have sold us out"
- Mulroney: "It's pretty clear that the only job John Turner is interested in protecting is his own."
- The Canadian business community (Canadian Alliance for Free Trade and Job Opportunities), provided support to the Conservatives.
- More than \$1 million was poured into an advertising campaign in support of free trade

The Mulroney era: Exam Review

- Key terms: KAL 007, Shamrock Summit, “When Irish Eyes are Smiling,” 1984 Election, “Super Relations with the U.S.,” acid rain, Ronald Reagan, Margaret Thatcher
- **Assess the impact of the Mulroney era in Canadian external relations, paying particular attention to Canadian-American relations, Cold War politics, and the effect of domestic issues on our foreign policy.**

The Mulroney era: Exam Review

- Consider the role of public opinion, anti-Americanism and political leadership in the processes leading to the Canada-US Free Trade Agreement.
- One journalist argued that Brian Mulroney was “too cozy with the Americans, too close to business elites, and too ready for corruption.” Do you agree?
- Did we in fact achieve “super relations” with the United States under PM Mulroney?

The 1990s, UN, R2P...

- The post-Cold War era & an uneasy chaos
- A “New World Order”
- Somalia, Rwanda, Kosovo...
- Humanitarian interventions & shortcomings
- The Human Security Agenda & Axworthy *EXAM
- Responsibility to Protect
- ICISS – 9/11 – 2005 World Summit Outcome
- Three Pillar Approach
- Case studies (Kenya, Libya, Syria)
- R2P, Human Rights Up Front, shifting paradigms

Historical context: the 1990s **

- A sharp rise in violent conflicts in Africa, Asia & the Balkans
- Traditional security paradigm and neoliberal institutions not ready for new threats & conflicts
- “Humanitarian intervention” became the new buzzword
- Controversies when it took place (Somalia, Bosnia, and Kosovo) and when it failed to take place (Rwanda)
- Problem: militarization of interventions & the issue of selectivity



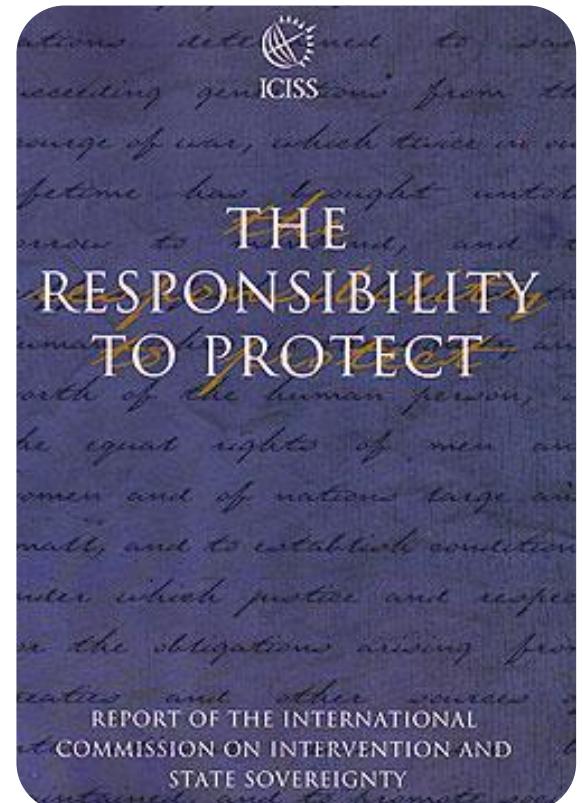
Meanwhile in Canada...



- **Team Canada Missions: CHRÉTIEN**
- **Lloyd Axworthy: Canada's minister of foreign affairs (1996-2000) >> limited resource, civil society**
- **Human Security Agenda *****
 - *The International Coalition to Ban Anti-Personnel Landmines (Ottawa Convention, '97 & Treaty '98)*
 - *International Criminal Court (est. 2002)*
 - *Human Security Network (10 states+ collaboration)*

ICISS 2001

- Responding to the then United Nations Secretary-General Kofi Annan's call to build a new global consensus for protecting people in peril...
- Canadian leadership with the **International Commission on Intervention and State Sovereignty** (ICISS).
- Axworthy chaired the ICISS advisory board
- Report on the *Responsibility to Protect* (2001)



THE RESPONSIBILITY
TO PROTECT
REPORT OF THE INTERNATIONAL
COMMISSION ON INTERVENTION AND
STATE SOVEREIGNTY

What is Responsibility to Protect?

- R2P or RtoP; a humanitarian principle coined in 2001 & later adopted by 150 countries at the 2005 World Summit
- **when sovereign states are unable or unwilling to fulfill their responsibility to protect their own populations from genocide, war crimes, ethnic cleansing and crimes against humanity, the international community has the responsibility to protect populations at risk.**

Significance of R2P *EXAM



- In IR: normative and conceptual shift from a Westphalian notion of absolute sovereignty to **“sovereignty as a responsibility”**
- **Canadian leadership** with the ICICSS & our long-standing tradition in global humanitarianism
- Canada as a **“norm entrepreneur”** for giving birth to R2P & nurturing its growth

2005 World Summit Outcome

Paragraphs 138-139

150 heads of state

- Genocide
- War crimes
- Crimes against humanity
- Ethnic cleansing



- PREVENTION & DIPLOMACY
- INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY &
Chapter 7 'collective use of force'

R2P & Canadian foreign policy

- R2P is an inherently Canadian legacy
- Disregarded as a “Liberal legacy” under the Harper government
- Efforts to bring it back to the Canadian agenda, both on normative and institutional levels.
- Canada’s search for the seat on the UNSC & “punching above our weight”



Sept 11, 2001

- The **September 11 attacks** (also referred to as **9/11**) were a series of four coordinated terrorist attacks by the radical terrorist group Al-Qaeda on the United States on the morning of Tuesday, September 11, 2001.
- The attacks consisted of suicide attacks used to target symbolic U.S. landmarks.
- Twenty-four Canadians died in the attacks

Sept 11, 2001 **EXAM

- Nineteen terrorists hijacked four airliners, deliberately flying two of them into the World Trade Center towers in New York City, and a third into the Pentagon building in Arlington, Virginia, on the outskirts of Washington.
- Passengers on the fourth plane, Flight 93, fought back against their hijackers and their aircraft crashed into a field in Pennsylvania.
- The attacks killed almost **3,000 people from 93 countries**, most of the deaths occurring during the collapse of the World Trade Center towers.

The War on Iraq: Significance **

- Chrétien's decision & public opinion in Quebec >> issue of national unity in Cdn f.p.
- NO WMD found, Iraqi sectarian divisions, costly civil war
- Increased opposition to US foreign policies
- Bush administration not very happy with Chrétien (spineless/soft on terrorism)
- For Canadians: reinforced an outdated distinction between peacekeeping and war

Key Harper Foreign Policy Elements

- Role of Values: rule of law, democracy, gender equality, loyalty to allies, no “going along to get along” - distaste for “moral equivalency arguments”, enhanced role of parliament in military deployments (take note debates vs actual votes)
- First Foreign Minister - Peter McKay, former leader of the pre-merger Progressive Conservatives; second FM John Baird (former Ontario Minister) - who chaired both of Harper’s Leadership Campaigns
- i.e.: Ambassador for Religious Freedom, More robust military procurement in support of Liberal commitment to Afghanistan, early restraint on China, Manley Task Force, the War in Libya (Liberal doctrine of responsibility to protect (R2P)) Break with Iran, Strong less equivocal support for Israel, Commonwealth Reform, support for Gay Rights in Africa, Reconciliation and end of impunity in Sri Lanka)
- CIDA reform
- Less Mulroney like engagement on Climate Change

Thank
you

Questions?

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