312 Canadian Foreign Policy
The Mulroney-Campbell Years

Lecture 10
POL 312Y Canadian Foreign Policy
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Introduction: The Mulroney Era Assessed

The arrival of the Progressive Conservative government of Brian Mulroney on September 17, 1984 appeared to mark a decisive change in the longstanding Trudeauvian, or even more venerable Pearsonian, approach to Canadian foreign policy. The prospective change was most apparent in the area of Canada-U.S. relations. Here the new prime minister promised to restore "super relations" with the United States, a country to which he would give the "benefit of the doubt." He soon embarked on a highly controversial campaign to secure a comprehensive continental free trade agreement with the United States. The campaign gave rise to an unusually passionate public and scholarly debate about what Canada's foreign policy was and should be. The debate continued to the Mulroney government's end on June 25, 1993, and indeed to this day.

The Debate

Continentalism

In this debate the first school of thought claims **continentalism** was the central thrust (Taras 1985; Martin 1993; Clarkson 1985, 2007). In this view, Mulroney's priority was to maintain a close, supportive relationship with the U.S., due to the prime minister's personal beliefs, and his government's rational calculation of a rising America's strength and a declining Canada's weakness in the world. As David Taras (1985, 40) put it: "Mulroney's foreign policy is likely to differ from Trudeau's in a number of important ways. The sharpest difference will probably be in the realm of Canadian-American relations, which the new Prime Minister sees as the cornerstone of Canada's foreign policy. Mulroney will attempt to fashion a **special relationship**, where each country recognizes the value of the other as 'neighbour, ally and best friend' ... Towards NATO [North Atlantic Treaty Organization] and on East-West issues, the Mulroney government can be expected to **support** the Reagan and Thatcher positions." This school thus saw a sudden, sharp shift to a peripheral dependence **(PD)** pattern and the support for the anglo-American imperial powers it contained.[1]

[1] The strong focus on the U.S. as "cornerstone" is PD's imperial-focused interaction. "Support" for Ronald Reagan and Margaret Thatcher on the major East-West and alliance issues is PD's support, in this case support for both the associated imperial powers (with France absent). The preference for a "special relationship" with the US points to the traditional model of special partnership with the US (outlined in Kirton 2007, Chapter 16).

Constructive Internationalism

A second school sees **constructive internationalism** (Doxey 1989; Keating 1993). It suggests that Mulroney's continentalist challenge to the prevailing Pearsonianism was a short-lived failure, just as Trudeau's complex neo-realist (CNR) one had been before. Adherents point to the clear "law" that whenever Prime Minister Mulroney faced a direct choice between the U.S. and the United Nations (UN), he always chose that liberal internationalist (LI) icon, the UN.[2] As Margaret Doxey wrote in 1989, "respect for international institutions and enthusiasm for role playing within them have been consistent themes in Canadian foreign policy since World War Two and the retreat from **multilateralism** which was a feature of recent U.S. foreign policy, particularly under the Reagan administration, found no echoes in Ottawa ... Although ratification of the bilateral Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement which was finally completed by Canada in December 1988 will usher in a new era of closer ties with the United States, one need not expect a consequent dampening down of Canada's multilateral proclivities. On the contrary, multilateralism in Canadian foreign policy ... will continue to receive considerable emphasis in government policy." This familiar "continuity of internationalism" argument suggested that LI patterns dominated throughout the Mulroney years.[3]

Assertive Globalism

A third school sees **assertive globalism** arising **at the midpoint** of the Mulroney years (Cohen 1989; Michaud and Nossal 2001). This school takes its cue from Mulroney's conviction that Canada had **four best friends**—not just America alone, but Britain, France, and Israel as well. As Andrew Cohen declared at the start of the second Mulroney mandate in 1989, "long cast as a middle power, Canada seems less middling today. What it lacks in power it makes up in influence; where it sometimes fails in its relations with one country, it often succeeds in its relations with all countries. It seems to be everywhere, with everywhere a role to play. Overwhelmed by this **diversity of interests** and objectives, the Conservative government spent much of its first term assessing positions ... Foreign policy is likely to be more important to the government in its second term." Cohen concludes: "If ever there were a time for Canada to perform on the world stage, it is now. Whatever the designation—middle power, foremost power, **principal power**—Canada is undeniably **a player of authority and influence**." It was thus clear that CNR patterns had come to dominate the same majority Progressive Conservative government of Brian Mulroney once the cold war had disappeared.[4]

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[2] This choice was seen under Mulroney over the US mining of Nicaragua's harbour and later over the US-led war in Iraq in 2003.

[3] The emphasis on continuity, role and multilateralism affirm the LI authenticity of this school (Keating, see Chapter 23)

[4] Here is CNR's "global involvement" in a country that is everywhere, involved in relations with all countries. It is a country with diverse interests and objectives—CNR's interest-based involvement. In rank, it is at worst a middle power, at best a foremost or principal power, but certainly a player of authority and influence. This

The Thesis of Sustained Assertive Globalism from the Start

The actual record of Canadian foreign policy during the nine Mulroney years and Kim Campbell's four months that followed reveals a pattern somewhat different than any of these three schools. It shows Canada's **sustained assertive globalism almost from the start**.

The **meta-theory of hegemonic transition** accounts well for Canada's rapid CNR charted rise. In 1980, the U.S. had only **35** percent of the capabilities of the world's nine major powers, but by 1985 had soared to **46** percent (Kirton 1999c). During this half-decade, the U.S. share of G7 capabilities also leapt from **41 to 52** percent. The U.S. thus **almost returned** to its singular hegemonic position in the world **and did regain its former majority** in the G7. All G7 principal powers declined relatively in the face of this remarkable American rise. During this "**Reagan revival**", and Trudeau's final majority, Canada's relative capabilities declined, from 9.8 percent of America's in 1980 to 8.8 percent by 1985.[5] Any new prime minister entering office in September 1984 would have recognized this fast changing world of an **America** rising to a lofty pre-eminence, and other principal powers and a Canada in steep decline. Capability **concentrated** sharply, which along with the new cold war helped create a closed **top tier** occupied by two superpowers alone. It was only rational for Brian Mulroney, and those who elected him with the largest numerical majority in Canadian parliamentary history, to conclude that a declining Canada had little choice but to develop a closer relationship with a rising, again system-dominant America alone.[6]

That the new Mulroney government did. Its September 1984 *Speech from the Throne* and its spring 1985 green paper on foreign policy outlined this grim new world of a rising America and a declining Canada and drew the logical conclusions. Then followed the early decisions—a quick trip by Mulroney to Washington to develop a close personal relationship with Ronald Reagan, the start of institutionalized continental summitry with the first annual "Shamrock Summit" held in Quebec City in March 1985, rebuilding the

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argument of a shift late in the second mandate to assertive globalism is consistent with a systemic theory in which polarity—the end of the Cold War and opening up of the USSR—is as causally potent as power—the decline of the U.S. and USSR and the resulting diffusion in the major power system. However, a closer look at the second mandate shift amidst the expansion—from the Atlantic to Asia—shows that it is the rising power of Asia that is driving the late-awakening second-mandate shift.

[5] The impact was seen in Trudeau's difficulty in securing his more ambitious CNR thrusts, his turn to explore sectoral free trade with the U.S. and to test US cruise missiles over Canada in 1983 and the advent of the Schultz-MacEachern quarterly foreign ministers meetings. But although it took much longer and involved more conflict, Trudeau did achieve many of his objectives in the end, such as the Canadianization of the National Energy Program (NEP) and his peace initiative in 1983-4.

[6] Changes in systemic power, not polarity, are the primary driver of changes in Canadian foreign policy. Changes in American power did, however, help induce changes in Soviet foreign policy and thus in the polarity of the system as a whole.

northern defence radars through the new North Warning System (NWS), and the move toward comprehensive continental free trade. A sharp shift to PD patterns dominated Mulroney's first year.

But one year after Mulroney had taken office, the Reagan revival came to an **abrupt end** with the G5's September 1985 Plaza Accord. America resumed its post-1945 - **decline**.[7] In the three short years between 1985 and 1988, U.S. capabilities among the major powers **fell from 46 percent to 38 percent**—a stunning drop that erased the Reagan revival in full. Within the G7, the U.S. capabilities plunged from 52 percent in 1985 to just over 38 percent in 1992. Meanwhile, Canada rose from 8.8 percent of U.S. gross domestic product (GDP) in 1985 to 10.6 percent by 1990.

Moreover, as the Cold War thawed, American **vulnerability** shifted from old to new forms, and moved closer to, and then into, America itself. The Islamic revolutionary terrorist attacks on American diplomatic and military personnel in Iran in 1979 and the murder of American marines in Lebanon in 1983 were followed by Libya's London and Lockerbie bombings. And then **Al Qaeda hit the World Trade Center** in New York City in a deadly attack in early **1993**. In sharp contrast, Canada remained virtually free from deadly terrorist attacks on or over its own territory, while the terrorist murders by the FLQ in 1970 disappeared (English 2009).[8]

This new world of a more vulnerable, declining America, diffusing global power and a more vulnerable, rising Canada allowed and encouraged even a personally pro-American prime minister to pursue a strongly CNR path. With the one major exception of the Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement (CUFTA) the American-led legacy of 1976 and 1981, the initial shift to a pro-American PD position was replaced within a year by constructive internationalism, nationalist divergence, and, above all, **assertive globalism**. An even closer look shows that even in the autumn of 1984, over Africa's Ethiopian famine and Canada's official development assistance (ODA) budget, the personal convictions of Mulroney and Clark, and media and public opinion led by Quebec, pushed the government onto the assertive globalist path. The CNR progression in Canadian foreign policy thus flowed from almost the start of the Mulroney years. It expanded significantly after 1988 with the further **decline** of a soon recession-ridden America, the **diffusion** led by a reinforced Germany, and the increasing incorporation of a democratizing Russia into a new top tier concert where Canada's place was secure.

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[7] The Reagan revival had delivered a great success. Its expansionist Cold War rival, the USSR, was finally defeated in Afghanistan and elsewhere, and Mikhail Gorbachev arrived in the Kremlin as the Soviet empire and economy began to crumble under the impact of the falling world oil and resource prices engineered by the G7 from 1979-1984. But just at the moment when the other side "blinked," the victorious but exhausted U.S., much like Britain at the end of World War II, turned inward to rebuild its overexploited domestic base.

[8] Many Canadians were killed in the Air India bombing outside Canada in 1985, and the 1990 Oka insurrection saw a Quebec police officer killed.

Doctrines

The Foreign Policy Review

This rapid CNR charted rise was evident in the two documents outlining the formal foreign policy doctrine of the Mulroney government. The first document, entitled *Competitiveness and Security*, was a green paper or discussion document, issued with a grey cover on March 14, 1985, to launch a comprehensive, parliamentary-based foreign policy review (Department of External Affairs 1985, Kirton 2007: Appendix 15).[9] It set the agenda as well as the parameters and priorities for the review's result (Stairs 1977–78). Its overriding themes of competitiveness and security suggested a "we-they," zero-sum world in which Canada, afflicted by declining competitiveness and security, was on the way down. In its heavily PD view, Canada's economy depended heavily on trade and featured severely declining export shares, low productivity, poor research and development, and inadequate education. Canada thus badly needed a close, cooperative, more integrated relationship with the United States (Kirton 1985a).

Yet there were also clear CNR components. Canada remained "a country of economic **weight**," the world's **ninth** largest economy, and a country of "**consequence**" in a political and military sense. Canada ranked **sixth** in official development assistance (ODA) spending among the 17 members of the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD), and **sixth** in defence spending among its allies in the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO).

The green paper presented **six priorities**, which were endorsed by the parliamentary committee that reported the following year. In first and second place came the two largely CNR priorities of **unity** and of **sovereignty and independence**, both with national interests at the core. Then followed the two largely LI values of justice and democracy and of **peace and security**, based on values shared in common with the likeminded, but with the former signaling an intrusive promotion abroad of freedom, democracy, the rule of law and human rights. In conclusion came the two CNR priorities of **economic prosperity** and the **integrity of the natural environment**, where the national interest of relative capability and the distinctive national value of environmentalism respectively showed their now bipartisan face.

These priorities were largely the same as Trudeau's "Foreign Policy for Canadians" 15 years earlier. But national unity now came first, as it had in 1947 and 1968.[10] Democracy and justice were added, and Trudeau's "social justice" removed.[11] Economic

[9] In the Canadian parliamentary tradition green papers are discussion papers and white papers are statements of government policy.

[10] For the Mulroney government, the *Constitution Act*, which was brought to—or some say imposed on—Canada and Quebec from Britain by Pierre Trudeau and Jean Chrétien in 1982, had not settled the national unity challenge; indeed, it had exacerbated it. Foreign policy was to be mobilized in the search for a solution.

[11] This represented a shift from "red" to "blue" rights, from the economic redistribution of classic socialism (red) to civil and political liberty (blue). It marked in part a return to the "political liberty" and "rule of law" of the 1947 Gray lecture, but with a more

growth fell from first to fifth place.[12] The uniquely Trudeauvian addition—quality of life—disappeared. The result was a priority list at least as CNR as the Trudeau government's 1970 version had been. The items defined as fundamental, and thus beyond review and change, similarly showed the CNR thrust.[13]

The review process culminated in a **white paper**, entitled "Canada's International Relations," released with a blue cover in December 1986 (Department of External Affairs 1986). It endorsed the theme of **active internationalism** from the parliamentary committee's report and identified **three fixed axes**: First, "Canada often relies on multilateral institutions such as the United Nations, the Commonwealth, and la Francophonie, supported by an active global diplomacy to make its contribution to the national management of world order. In such ways Canada ... in special circumstances

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expansive conception and application. It heralded a more active intervention in the internal affairs of other countries than social justice—centered on giving Canada's wealth to the governments of poor countries—ever had. It set the stage for the Conservatives' emphasis on what would emerge as "human rights, democratic development and good governance." And it provided the conceptual basis for the vigorous, unilateral, leadership in the campaign against apartheid in South Africa and the promotion of human rights in Africa, China, and elsewhere. It also foreshadowed Canada's role, largely through the G7, in successfully securing the "second Russian revolution"—the surprisingly peaceful transformation of the USSR into a market-oriented, democratic Russia.

[12] Despite the need for improved Canadian competitiveness, the search for economic advantage—through trade promotion and other means—was by no means the defining theme.

[13] The preface to the green paper began by stating—twice—that it was a time of "dramatic change" in the world. But it declared that "not everything, however, is open for review." It then listed four key exclusions—the untouchable elements of its approach. First, it pledged to protect Canada's democratic values and thus its membership in NATO and cooperation with the U.S. in the North American Aerospace Defense Command (NORAD). This was a LI-PD start. Second, it promised to "play an active, constructive role in the management of international affairs, in the Economic Summit, the United Nations and its economic and social institutions, the Commonwealth, La Francophonie and the OECD." Its conception of world order thus began with the CNR's core G7 summit and included the CNR twins of the Commonwealth and Francophonie. Third: "we intend to do our part, and more, in preserving the peace and bringing arms, especially nuclear arms, under control." The distinctive national value of antimilitarism as well as Li impulses are evident here. Fourth: "we are determined as well to help alleviate the poverty and hunger of those less fortunate than we and to help eradicate human rights abuses that deny our fellow human beings the freedom and dignity to which all are entitled." LI's distributive internationalism and values shared in common with the likeminded as well as CNR's instinct of intervening in the internal affairs of other countries are evident here.

can influence world events ... **Going it alone** is never ruled out."[14] The second fixed axis was "an open and stable international trade and payments system to ensure access to markets worldwide." Canada "must constantly promote such **openness both bilaterally** with key economic partners such as the United States, the European Community and Japan and through multilateral institutions such as the Economic Summits, GATT [General Agreements on Tariffs and Trade], OECD and IMF [International Monetary Fund]."[15] Third, "Canada must always direct an important part of its foreign policy effort to the task of seeking to manage its vital and enormously complex relationship with the **United States**."[16] The world came first, the G7 and its members second, and the U.S. third.

The white paper further noted that "our international goals may be achieved by means of **concerted** action, **unilateral** action, or the exercise of **leadership** and **coalition building**. Given the increasing complexity of the international scene, coalitions of countries, both within and outside multilateral institutions, are becoming more important." It went on to note that "bringing about needed reforms within the United Nations system will remain a priority, but a corresponding effort will be made in **more restricted groups** such as the **Economic Summit**, the **Commonwealth** and la **Francophonie**." The new emphasis was on the CNR concepts of concert, unilateralism, leadership, plurilateralism through ad hoc coalitions, and working outside the multilateral institutions of old (see also Clark 1988).

The Four Throne Speeches

This same doctrinal transition, from the initial concentration on PD's pre-eminent America to CNR's unilateral global leadership, also arose in the Mulroney government's four speeches from the throne. The first, on November 5, 1984, opened with a pledge "to

[14] LI was evident in the opening reference to the UN and the concluding preference for multilateralism. But the addition of strong CNR elements were striking in the equal status assigned to both the Commonwealth and la Francophonie, the recognition of Canada's influence over world events, and, above all, the affirmation of the option of unilateral action.

[15] The first component was LI, the second CNR.

[16] "Our relationship with the United States affects virtually every aspect of our national life. It is essential to our security and prosperity. It expresses values shared by the free peoples of our two nations ... My government has taken the initiative to restore a spirit of goodwill and true partnership between Canada and the United States." Only then did the speech proceed to declare its determination that "Canadian internationalism will again be active and constructive in the wider world." There was a hint of CNR's globalism in its desire for "concerted action with other nations in every part of the world," and of diversification in its recognition of the "promising new horizons of the Pacific Rim and ... our traditional trading partners in Western Europe." But the overwhelmingly LI tone was evident in the following declaration: "Canada's opportunity to influence the course of world events lies primarily in sound multilateral institutions."

renew this tradition of **constructive Canadian internationalism**," but then focused squarely on the United States. The second, on October 1, 1986, saw "constructive internationalism" remain but the focus on the U.S. and on the UN disappear.[17] The third, on April 3, 1989, gave **ecologically sustainable economic development** and thus the distinctive national value of environmentalism pride of place.[18] The final throne speech, on May 13, 1991, placed foreign policy as central to domestic **national unity** concerns in a world of rapid change.[19] Unity would allow Canada to make a "major contribution to world affairs." Moreover, "to reduce Canada's **vulnerability** in an age of rapid, even turbulent change and of growing interdependence, it is more important than ever that we speak to the world with one clear and united voice."[20] With states now falling apart from

[17] This was a discovery made during Mulroney's travels to Italy and the Vatican, the Commonwealth conference, the UN (for its 40th anniversary), the Francophone Summit, the Tokyo G7 Summit, and France, Japan, China, South Korea, and (in last place) the United States. It started with the desire of other countries for Canada to play "a vital role" in the international community. Multilateral institutions would remain the cornerstone of Canada's foreign policy but the emphasis was now on the Commonwealth, the abolition of apartheid in South Africa, African famine and relief, development, superpower dialogue, and Arctic sovereignty. Apart from one reference on the list of the prime minister's travel destinations, the U.S. had entirely disappeared.

[18] Foreign policy had become integral to the governments' two overall national objectives, defined as "an economy fully competitive among the world's trading nations" and a commitment "to give firm leadership and support to international efforts to overcome the environmental threat to our planet." Its institutions of choice were the UN, NATO, Commonwealth, la Francophonie, the G7 Economic Summit, and GATT. The issues where it would provide leadership were human rights, peacekeeping, international development, strengthening international organizations, and famine and natural disaster relief. And its immediate concerns were the Arctic, East-West relations, agricultural subsidies, and high seas overfishing.

[19] Canada remained a country of unparallel potential—an upward myth and model of the historical process. The speech began by proclaiming Canada to be "a society that is as free and fair as any on earth; ours is one of the oldest functioning democracies, a beacon of freedom to people everywhere. Around the world Canada is respected for the constructive role we play in global affairs, for the protection we accord human rights, for our tolerance of diversity, for our environmental sensitivity, and for our cultural accomplishments." After these largely distinctive national values came power. "Canada is also envied for our economic prosperity; we rank only thirty-first in population but we have built the world's eighth largest economy."

[20] The result was "an active foreign policy in support of the full range of Canadian interests around the world—economic and security, environmental and social." Promoting democratic values, human rights and development assistance were key. To promote Canadian prosperity, trade and inward direct investment were central. The North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) was "the logical next step" to CUFTA, but the effort would also focus on opportunities flowing from the integration of Europe, "the extraordinary economic growth in Asia," and the multilateral trade

within in a post Cold War world where France's de Gaulle was long gone. Canada's foreign policy doctrine thus recognized the increasing importance of the new vulnerability that the post–Cold War world was bringing to all.

Joe Clark's "New Internationalism" Lecture, May 22, 1986

The Mulroney government's new foreign policy philosophy was affirmed by Canada's foreign minister, Joe Clark, at the University of Toronto on May 22, 1986 (Clark 1988). Clark's Gray Lecture — like address on "Canada's New Internationalism" emphasized **change** and the need to use the "**new groupings**" that had "burst into life." He declared that "our **interests** and our **influence** are global" and noted the need for the "skilful deployment of our resources among all the available channels—broad multilateral, plurilateral, bilateral." In regard to association, he continued: "We have to be adept, as a considerable power, in forming fluid, issue-specific working relations with other countries." In regard to Canada's approach to world order, he declared: "We have been placing special emphasis on the smaller or **restricted forums** in which we enjoy membership." Canada has a "**remarkable range of connections**.... There is simply no other country in the world that belongs to this particular combination of restricted forums: [G7] Summit, OECD, G7 [finance ministers], [Trade Ministers] Quadrilateral, NATO, Commonwealth, La Francophonie." Canada thus stood as **the most well connected country** in the world.

Clark concluded: "No other **major power** has our institutional reach ... The Economic **Summit** has come into its own over the past decade. I can't emphasize strongly enough the significance of this institution, the key symbol of the unity of the industrial democracies and a vital stimulus to policy co-ordination and **concertation** by those nations." In Clark's conception, Canada had explicitly become a major power in a global democratic concert institutionalized in the G7.

Defence White Paper, June 5, 1987

The Mulroney government's CNR doctrine arose again in its defence policy white paper, *Challenge and Commitment: A Defence Policy for Canada*, released on June 5, 1987 (Department of National Defence 1987). It identified **five** defence policy **priorities**, as follows: strategic **deterrence**, conventional **defence**, Canadian **sovereignty** protection, peacekeeping, and arms control (Ripsman 2001: 101).[21] The document contained decisions to acquire up to 12 nuclear-powered attack submarines, to strengthen Canada's role in Germany, and to develop a space-based surveillance system.

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negotiations in Geneva. Competitiveness abroad required environmental consciousness at home, the promotion of environmentally friendly products, improved education and training levels, and greater investments in children.

[21] It is noteworthy that the CNR priority of sovereignty protection preceded the LI icon of peacekeeping, even if the overall list had an LI tone.

Development Policy

Further CNR impulses came in the development assistance document, *Sharing Our Future: Canadian International Development Assistance*, presented in 1987 (Canadian International Development Agency [CIDA] 1987; Morrison 1992). Its ODA charter highlighted helping the world's **poorest**. It declared that in setting objectives for development assistance **development** priorities must prevail.[22] It allocated Canada's bilateral ODA among regions as follows: **Africa**, 49 percent; Asia, 39 percent; and the Americas, 16 percent. It thus focused on the poorest people in the poorest countries in the world.

Canada's Role

This doctrinal CNR-charted rise was further evident in Canada's **asserted position** as articulated by its leading international affairs ministers and leaders during Mulroney's second mandate (Donneur and Alain 1996; Holsti 1970).[23] References to Canada's **rank** arose more than those to its role. By far the most frequent conception of rank was that of "**major power** but not a superpower."[24] Among the roles, the LI mediator-integrator one was primordial. But it was now advanced as a symbol of **national identity** (along with democracy, peace, and freedom) more than a reflection of middle power status. Personian was now put to use to promote the national interests of unity and legitimacy at home.

Kim Campbell's May 1993 Doctrine

Distributions of Resources

These CNR doctrines were carried through, even more strongly, into the Mulroney government's resource distributions for international affairs.

The Budget

The federal budget backed Canada's swift, sustained move to assertive globalism. In his first economic statement, delivered on November 8, 1984, finance minister Michael Wilson announced a cut of $180 million from the 1984–85 allotment for foreign aid, and $154 million from that for national defence. But a mere eight days later, on November

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[22] The document adopted most of the recommendations made by the May 1987 report published by the House of Commons Standing Committee on External Affairs and International Trade. The report highlighted the strong support behind Canada's aid program, which had come to constitute the fifth largest in the industrialized world.

[23] André Donneur and Caroline Alain (1996) used a method pioneered by Kal Holsti (1970). Holsti had found that during the Pearson government (from 1965 to 1967) Canada had most frequently asserted its foreign policy roles as those of mediator-integrator, developer, and faithful ally, supplemented by the minor roles of regional-subsystem collaborator and independent.

[24] There is a predictable trend over these five years, as the decline of the USSR/Russia propelled Canada into a higher rank. In 1989, "important trader" outweighed "major power" four to three. By 1993, "major power" outweighed all others by at least a two-to-one margin.

16, Joe Clark told the House of Commons that in response to public pressure over drought-stricken Ethiopia, some of the CIDA cuts would be restored (Mulroney 2007: 331-2). This populist, TV-transmitted African famine-driven restoration of ODA funds set the trend. During Mulroney's first mandate, from 1984–85 to 1988–89, ODA increased by an average annual rate of 7.4 percent, making it the fastest growing envelope in government program spending.[25] At the outset of the second mandate, CIDA's budget was first cut, but then raised ODA by cumulatively significant amounts.[26] Only when it was clear that Prime Minister Mulroney was leaving office did sustained decreases come.[27]

Similar increases came in the military field, as seen in the 1990–91 special increase of $350 million to finance Canada's participation in the Gulf War. But when the cold war ended Canada's anti-militarism meant reduced defence spending could come just as it had in the "After Victory" moments of 1946. The government clearly felt that Canada had a great deal of surplus capacity to deploy for international influence and global public goods during the Mulroney years, in spite of continuing fiscal deficits and cumulating government debt.

Diplomatic Representation

In standard diplomacy the cadence was one of **decline then rise**. Partly as a result of Wilson's first budget statement, the Department of External Affairs (DEA) closed two embassies and four consulates, including one in France. The first Mulroney mandate saw a PD decline in Canada's resident diplomatic representation, from 113 posts in 1984 to

[25] As this rate of increase was substantially higher than the average annual gross national product (GNP) growth, Canada made steady progress toward the 0.7 percent figure set as a target by the Commission on International Development (known as the Pearson Commission) and its "Partners in Development" report released on September 15, 1969.

[26] The budget of February 20, 1990, gave ODA a 5 percent increase annually in both 1990–91 and 1991–92. The following year, the projected increase was confirmed, if at a lower level of 3 percent in the budget of February 26, 1991. A year later, on February 25, 1992, the new finance minister, Don Mazankowski, again increased the external affairs and international aid budget (from $3,866 million in 1991–92 to $4,197 million in 1992–93). With these moves, the total anticipated funding for ODA would thus reach $2.9 billion in 1990–91, or $189 million more than in 1989–90. CIDA's budget alone increased from $1.9 to $2.1 billion. The ODA to GNP ratio was expected to reach 0.47 by 1994–95.

[27] In May 1993, Mazankowski's second budget forecast $159.5 billion in government spending and a $32.6 billion deficit. He had announced most of his expenditure cuts in a December 1992 economic statement, which provided a 10 percent decrease in the international assistance budget in each of the next two years, for a projected savings of $642 million. On April 21, 1993, international cooperation minister Monique Vézina announced that CIDA expenditure reduction measures would be allocated as follows in the bilateral account: Africa, 45 percent; Asia, 37 percent; and the Americas, 37 percent.

107 by 1987 (see also Kirton 2007: Appendix 10). But, as the school of assertive globalism suggests, the second mandate saw a strong increase, to a new high of 121 by 1993. Also evident was a strong shift in the regional distribution of Canadian posts from the Atlantic to Asia. Asia was the only region to gain (+6.6 percent) while Europe lost the most (–2.8 percent).

Summitry

In summit diplomacy both PD and CNR patterns arose (see Kirton 2007: Appendix 11). A PD pattern came in the strong lead of the U.S. as a target of Mulroney's "visits given" in a self-contained bilateral context, in his choice of the U.S. as the destination of his first visit given, in its rapid accomplishment a mere 20 days after he was elected and in the positive balance of outward over inward summit diplomacy arose (Mulroney 2007: 326-28.[28] But a CNR pattern in the sheer intensity of Mulroney's summitry and his wide range of global partners. Above all, when compared against the importance or weight of these countries in the world, as measured by their relative capability in market valued GDP, the U.S. and especially Japan were strongly **underrepresented**. France, Britain, and Italy were **overrepresented** a great deal.[29]

Part of the explanation for the CNR pattern lies in advent of the new internationalism — especially the plurilateral summit institutions (PSI) — of which Joe Clark spoke (see Kirton 2007: Appendix 14). Standing out as an incubator of summit diplomacy were Mulroney's 1986 creation of the Francophone Summit to equal the Commonwealth Heads of Government Meeting (CHOGM), the more frequent pace of NATO summits, and the intensification of G7 summits with the intersessional meeting in New York in September 1985 (Kirton 1987b). In first place stood the G7 and NATO, followed by the CHOGM and la Francophonie (see Kirton 2007: Appendix 11). The result was to boost summit contact with Britain and France, equalize the two of them, and connect Canada more closely to the democratic principal powers of the G7 and the world. In all Mulroney was saved by the plurilateral pull of global summits from an undue preoccupation with a prominent continental U.S.

Bilateral Institutions

Bilateral institution-building also showed a **CNR rise**. To be sure, the advent of annual shamrock summitry, and the continuation of the quarterly foreign ministers meetings, brought a new imperial focus on America, starting at the very top. But despite its alleged

[28] During the second mandate, from November 1988 to June 1993, the prime minister travelled outward to visit the U.S. president 24 times, but received him in Canada on only seven occasions. In the visits Mulroney gave on a bilateral basis, unlinked to any plurilateral or multilateral gathering, the U.S. had a commanding lead of 12, followed by Britain with 4 and France with 3.

[29] Stated differently, in a comparison of the pattern of summit diplomacy given to the major powers with the chart of relative capability, Canada's pattern shows a largely rational response to current capability distributions in the international system, despite the rhetoric of continentalism.

continentalism, the Mulroney government was also a vibrant practitioner of autonomous bilateral involvement on a global scale (see Kirton 2007: Appendix 13).[30] It was involved in 18 bilateral institutions with 15 different countries beyond the U.S. in its 9 years. It engaged in 5 in 1990 alone. Its preferred partner was Japan, followed by China. Regionally, it focused first on Asia, then Europe, then the Americas, then Africa and the Middle East — a wide global spread. Six institutions tied Canada to its G7 partners, all arising in or after 1988. None was with the Trudeauvian favourite — the USSR.

Combat Operations

Perhaps the greatest innovation and sign of assertive globalism, came in Canada's combat operations abroad, for Canada started going to war again for the first time since the 1950 Korean War. Canada sent and used combat forces to the Gulf in 1990-1, to the Balkans in 1992 and, under Prime minister Campbell, to fight at Medak Pocket in September 1993 (Off 2005).

Decisions: The First Mandate

The major decisions of the Mulroney government again show this pattern of an immediate predominant PD retreat, followed by a rapid rise to the sustained assertive globalism of CNR. Mulroney's first year was dominated by PD decisions of shamrock summitry and the North Warning system. But it also showed a CNR impulse over Ethiopian famine relief from the very start. In the September 1985 foreign policy offensive, the CNR dynamic arose in full force.

Ethiopian Famine 1984

No sooner had Mulroney been sworn into office than the Ethiopian famine erupted onto Canadian television screens (Mulroney 2007: 331-2). It activated the humanitarian instincts of Mulroney, Clark and Stephen Lewis, Mulroney's newly appointed ambassador to the UN. They instantly took the lead in the global community in mounting a major relief effort. In a replay of prime minister Clark's 1979 initiative with the Indochinese boat people, Canadian government money was reinforced by the populist outpouring of contributions by Canadians themselves.

[30] During its first three years, from 1984–85 to 1986–87, the Mulroney government built on the Trudeauvian edifice, engaging in bilateral institutional activity with 14 countries per year (as opposed to creating or reviving them after the interlude of the new cold war). Its major bilateral partners were Britain, Japan, and Mexico with three encounters each, followed by the USSR, China, Venezuela, Brazil, Argentina, Morocco, and Poland with two each. Particularly noteworthy is the extension of bilateral institutional activity to African states, and particularly francophone African states, notably Morocco, Ivory Coast, Algeria, Tunisia, Gabon, Senegal, Cameroon, Niger, Zaire, and Burkina Faso.

Free Trade with the United States, 1984–88

Mulroney also began by seeking, and ultimately securing, a comprehensive continental free trade agreement with the U.S. alone (Hart 1992; Tomlin 2001, "Free Trade" 2007, Mulroney 2007: 375-388, 562-77, Burney 2005, Doern and Tomlin 1991). Signaled in the Mulroney's first summit visit to Washington a mere 20 days after his election, it surfaced on September 26, 1985, when the Mulroney government announced its intention to negotiate an agreement with the United States. Then came the long negotiations with the U.S. and provincial premiers in Canada, a major debate within Canadian society, and Canadian voter approval in the general election of November 1988. Canada's choice of this PD, imperial-focused interaction of the second option was a dramatic reversal of the Trudeau government's response to the surcharge crisis of August 1971. Indeed, CUFTA was an American initiative, not a Canadian one; it was conceived by Ronald Reagan in 1976 and patiently pursued by him thereafter (Kirton 2007: Chapter 18, Sears 2007). It resulted in an agreement that was better than the status quo that Mulroney inherited but unbalanced in favour of the United States. This reflected the relative capability ratios between the two countries (in their systemic context) at the start of the project in 1984.[31]

Strategic Defence Initiative, September 1985

But beyond this PD start in trade relations with the U.S., and in the North Warniong System in defence, CNR decisions soon prevailed almost everywhere else (Ripsman 2001, Mulroney 2007: 349-60). In September 1985, the antimilitarist Canadian government formally declined a U.S. invitation to participate at the government-to-government level in Reagan's beloved U.S. Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI). Ottawa did permit Canadian companies to become involved on a commercial basis. But without the participation of their government, their prospects were limited indeed.

Polar Sea, September 1985

Another CNR initiative came over Arctic sovereignty. On September 10, 1985, the Canadian government enclosed the waters of its Arctic archipelago with baselines and declared them to be territorial waters under the full sovereignty of Canada (Huebert 2001, Mulroney 2007: 491-501). This move came in response to the transit of the Northwest Passage that summer by the U.S. Coast Guard's new heavy icebreaker *Polar Sea*. Built in response to the American loss over the Arctic waters in 1970, the ship gave the Americans the dominant physical specialized capability this time. But Mulroney went beyond Trudeau's claim for functional jurisdiction based on the distinctive national value of environmentalism, to assert the national interest of full sovereignty over the expanded territory as a whole. The fact that he won, over no U.S. opposition, was a testament to his

[31] The imbalance is evident in Canada's failure to ensure its desired guaranteed assured access to the US market through binding legalized dispute settlement mechanisms (Hart and Dymond 2007) and its awarding to America of national treatment in access to Canada's abundant energy supplies.

good personal relations with the United States. "Super relations" had secured these Arctic waters for Canada, apparently for good.

South African Apartheid, September 1985

CNR initiative was also directed far abroad. Mulroney's successful crusade against constitutional racism in apartheid South Africa showed the effectiveness of Canadian foreign policy in distant Africa and the strength of the distinctive national value of multiculturalism at work.[32]

Mulroney's crusade started almost from the start when he met with South African archbishop Desmond Tutu in December 1984. In September 1985, the Canadian government announced stiff sanctions against South Africa (Redekop 1992; Black 2001, Mulroney 2007: 398-412, 461-472). Building on Canadian initiatives in July 1985, these sanctions placed Canada in the forefront of countries moving forcefully against the apartheid of the South African regime. Canada continued with initiatives at the CHOGM in October 1985, the Francophone Heads of Government Summit in spring 1986, and the G7 summit in Tokyo in the summer of 1986. These culminated at the 1987 Venice G7 Summit. Here Canada successfully stood alone against all its summit colleagues until apartheid was put on the agenda and the summit sent a message to South Africa that genuine change must come. Mulroney continued to advance the case at the Toronto 1988 G7 Summit, which he hosted, and at subsequent ones. Canada's "diplomacy of concert" soon helped secure the successful internal transformation of the South African regime, with an assist from the end of the cold war and the triumph of open democracy in its wake.

Space, March 1986

In March 1986, at the second "Shamrock Summit," the Canadian government announced its participation in the U.S. space station project. It later unveiled a comprehensive Canadian Space Program. Although intensive cooperation with the U.S. was the centrepiece, the space station itself was a CNR creature, as all G7 countries participated. Only America had assisted when Canada first got into space with the Allouetta in 1958.

The Francophone Summit, 1987

In 1987–88, CNR patterns arose strongly in the three plurilateral summits Canada hosted within a year, in the lead up to the general election in the autumn of 1988 (Kirton 1987: 1-14, Mulroney 2007: 332-4, 413-428). The three summits were la Francophonie in Quebec City on September 2–4, 1987, the Commonwealth in Vancouver in October 1987, and the G7 Summit in Toronto in June 1988. The first was a Canadian creation, born in 1986 as a biennial plurilateral gathering of the leaders of 40 francophone states from around the world (Kirton 1987b). It came from a compromise within Canada between Mulroney and Quebec premier Pierre Marc Johnson and then one across the Atlantic between Mulroney and president François Mitterrand of France. Under the

[32] Here there are strong signs of the 1776-1793 anti-slavery component at work.

compromise, Quebec and New Brunswick secured membership to deal with matters under their jurisdiction at home. At the first Francophone Summit in Paris in February 1986, and the second, hosted by Canada in Quebec City in September 1987, this formula for Ottawa-Quebec co-operation proved it could work.

The Toronto G7 Summit, 1988

The culmination of this Canadian-hosted summit hat trick was the fourteenth G7 Summit, held in downtown Toronto, Canada's largest city, on June 19-21, 1988 (Mulroney 2007: 599-609). It was the second G7 summit Canada hosted and the first hosted by Mulroney. He hosted in the immediate lead-up to an election widely anticipated within the year. The Toronto Summit was the last for the G7's other North American leader, Ronald Reagan. Reagan was retiring after eight years at U.S. President and G7 participant. He had just concluded with Mulroney a draft bilateral free trade agreement that was emerging as the dominant issue in the looming Canadian election campaign. The Toronto Summit was held amidst a booming North American and G7 economy. It was recovering steadily from the sudden stock market crash in a financially shocked and vulnerable America on "Black Monday," October 19th, 1987, but attacked by an unusually hot and dry climate by the summer of 1988.

Mulroney sought to make the Summit a domestically compelling event. His first objective was to secure the endorsement of his G7 colleagues for his controversial FTA with the United States. A second was to advance several more specialized multilateral projects, notably the Uruguay Round of multilateral trade negotiations (MTN) as its December 1988 ministerial mid-term review in Montreal approached. Other initiatives were debt relief for the poorest countries (many of whose leaders Mulroney had just met when he hosted the Commonwealth in Vancouver and the Francophonie in Quebec City, and the campaign against South African apartheid that Mulroney had launched at the Tokyo summit two years before. Another objective was to reinvigorate the Summit process by adding an initial half day discussion on economic issues, inserting a mini-retreat to focus on the future, and injecting issues of environmentally sustainable development, education and literacy, and aging populations into the G7.

In the end, Toronto proved to be a successful Summit for Mulroney and for Canada. Mulroney secured a strong endorsement from G7 leaders individually and collectively for his continental free trade agreement. The summit's concluding communiqué said all seven leaders "strongly welcome" the deal. Mulroney also secured the favourable publicity and public opinion that helped propel him to re-election with a majority government in the fall. It spilled over to help Reagan's Vice President George Bush win election as US President in November as well. Mulroney was able to build on the momentum of the Quebec City Francophone and Vancouver Commonwealth Summits to achieve agreement on the "Toronto Terms" for relief of the debt of the poorest, thus pioneering a G7 involvement that expanded until its completion in 2005. The Toronto Summit also made some progress on agricultural subsidies and multilateral trade liberalization, sufficient to maintain momentum for the ministerial-level mid term review Canada hosted in Montreal in December 1988. Through the G7's foreign ministers,

Mulroney and his foreign minister, Joe Clark importantly advanced the G7's consensus on South African apartheid, by having the Group endorse specific and ambitious conditions for South African reform. Canada also introduced the Hart House mini-retreat through which the Toronto Summit added education and demography to the G7 leaders' agenda and pioneered the environmental protection and sustainable development agenda and principles that were to dominate the Summit at Paris in 1989 and beyond. And most importantly for Canada's long term interests, the G7 leaders left Toronto with a warm feeling about the usefulness of the annual Summit, and with an invitation from Francois Mitterrand for the seven to meet in Paris to inaugurate a third round of Summitry the following year.

In 1989, Canada helped draft the one third of the communiqué innovatively devoted to environmental issues. Starting in 1991 he used the G7 summits to press successfully for diplomatic support, financial assistance, and greater G7 participation to be given to a Soviet Union shifting to openness and restructuring and to the reforming Russia that soon came in its wake. He invited the American and Russian presidents to a special summit on April 3–4, 1993, in Vancouver to move the process forward at a critical time. Mulroney proved to be a devoted and effective practitioner of such PSI diplomacy.

Decisions: The Second Mandate

During the second Mulroney mandate, the CNR pattern emerged even more strongly. The government moved in its major decisions beyond America into diversification on a global scale. For more on this topic, go to www.kirton.nelson.com.

Negotiating the North American Free Trade Agreement, 1989

The first move beyond America came in trade policy. From 1990 to 1993 the government reluctantly decided to join U.S.-Mexican free trade discussions and eventually to join the resulting North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) (See Kirton 2007: Chapter 18, Mulroney 2007: 572-4, 730-1). A continentalist PD start produced a trilateral CNR North American community in the end. In it environmental and labour cooperation along with trade had an integral place, producing the world's first such integrated architecture and embedding Canada's distinctive national value of environmentalism in a free trade regime.

Joining the Organization of American States, October 1990

Another CNR move brought Canada even more broadly into the Americas across a wider array of functional fields It came in October 1990, when Canada joined the OAS (Mace 2001, Mulroney 2007: 692-4). It did so in response to the desire for support from its Commonwealth Caribbean colleagues, Mulroney's meeting with Mexico's president at the 1989 G7 Paris summit, and the promise of a rapidly opening and democratizing region at the dawn of the post–Cold War years. It did not come in a response to a request from the United States.

Concluding the Cold War, 1989

Canada also played its part in the successful and surprisingly peaceful end of the Cold War (Mulroney 2007: 356-7, 685, 699-709, 873-4, 892-5, 988-91). The process began at the G7 Summit in Paris in July 1989, when Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev sent the leaders a letter saying, in effect, "I want into the West." On August 19, 1991, the West learned of an attempted coup by Communist hardliners in the Soviet Union against Gorbachev and later of the triumph of a democratic Boris Yeltsin. Mulroney's approach was "we say yes" to a democratic Yeltsin and Russia. He worked effectively within the G7 alongside Germany, against an often reluctant U.S. and especially Japan, to give the new remnant Russian Federation the financial assistance and G7 participation it needed to keep the democratization process on track.

Gulf War, 1990–91

Just as the Cold War was ending, Canada entered its first hot war in 40 years. It did so in the Persian Gulf where it had never fought before (see Kirton 2007: Appendix 12). On August 2, 1990, Iraq invaded and quickly conquered Kuwait, presenting Canada and other major western countries with the choice of how best to respond (Kirton 1992, Mulroney 2007: 799-804, 829-835). Within weeks, the Canadian government had imposed comprehensive sanctions and agreed to send two destroyers and a supply ship to the region. In subsequent months, it sent CF-18 fighter aircraft and some ground support personnel. On November 29, it voted at the UN Security Council (UNSC) to use force if necessary to liberate Kuwait. As the UN's deadline of January 15, 1991, approached, Canada reinforced its forces in the theatre. After the coalition offensive began, Canada expanded its aircraft's role from combat air patrols to sweep and escort missions and, eventually, to ground attack. Canada thus proved at the start of the post–Cold War era that it was prepared to use military force, and to do so even if the UNSC Permanent Five had vetoed UN legitimacy for the move.

United Nations Convention on Environment and Development, June 1992

The distinctive national value of environmentalism served as the foreign policy hallmark of Mulroney's second mandate (Smith 2001, Mulroney 2007: 621, 903-10). Building on earlier initiatives, such as producing the Montreal Protocol on Substances That Deplete the Ozone Layer and hosting the Toronto Conference on the Changing World Atmosphere in 1988, the Mulroney government began to prepare for the United Nations Conference on Environment and Development (UNCED, also known as the Earth or Rio Summit) in Brazil in 1992. There were delays in preparing Canada's domestic "Green Plan" and divisions within the country. Yet abroad Canada exerted leadership in the face of opposition from principal powers in the North and important countries in the South. Mulroney helped persuade U.S. president George H. Bush to go to Rio and sign the UN Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC). In addition, as one of Canada's leading environmentalists, Elizabeth May, put it, "Let's face it. Mulroney saved the Biodiversity Convention." Mulroney also made progress with the U.S. on the home

continent, getting Bush to sign a long-sought bilateral acid rain accord (Munton and Castle 1992).

Former Yugoslavia, 1991–93

Canada's willingness to use force and its new initiative and leadership are best seen in the foreign policy issue that dominated the last two years of the Mulroney government, namely Yugoslavia (Mulroney 2007: 985-6).[33] Canada was the first major country to send its forces into the former Yugoslavia, dispatching them in the spring of 1992 along with France. Canada acted with a promise from American president George H. Bush that, if required, the U.S. military would provide "over the horizon" support for Canadian troops.

Medak Pocket, 1993

In September 1993, faced with an ethnic-cleansing genocide, Mulroney's Progressive Conservative successor, Prime Minister Kim Campbell, authorized Canadian troops to engage in military action in the Battle of Medak Pocket (Off 2005). For the second time in just over two years, Canada had gone to war. This time it did so unilaterally. For here its distinctive national value of multiculturalism, in its hard core component of the basic right to life of minorities was urgently at stake.

Outcomes and World Order

Through these doctrines, distributions of resources and major decisions, Canada did much to realize its preferences, promote its national interests and distinctive national values, and start to achieve the world order it desired. In its relationship with the United States, Roy Norton's 1998 (1998: 15-36) analysis shows that the Mulroney approach worked well to secure Canadians goals. A similar analysis of outcomes of trade-environment issues in North America points to the same conclusion, even before NAFTA and its institutions came formally to life (Rugman, Kirton and Soloway 1999).

A systematic analysis of the 15 cases of major decisions in the Mulroney-Campbell years that were explored above shows a more striking story of Canadian success from the start (See Appendix B). During these years Canada was seldom the initiator, starting only four of the decision sequences, and reacting to external events in eleven. But Canada secured its opening preferences in twelve cases, tied in two and lost (to thus) in only one — the controversial CUFTA case from 1984-1988.

Moreover, through these decisions, Canada acted on the basis of, affirmed, and achieved its national interests and its distinctive national values, as well as subnational

[33] Canada's substantial relief contribution was issued as follows: October 9, 1991, Canada donated more than $1 million in humanitarian aid; January 16, 1992, Canada disbursed $1 million in humanitarian aid to Croatia, Slovenia, and Yugoslavia; January 12, 1993, Canada funded the secondment of Canadian Red Cross delegates and provided a further $9.5 million to relief organizations in the former Yugoslavia. It also provided $1.5 million to help women and children subject to rape, sexual abuse, and other trauma.

interests or preferences and values shared in common with the likeminded of the world (See Appendix C). All of Canada's national interests were affirmed and achieved, with sovereignty standing out. Far more plentiful were the six distinctive national values that were forwarded, with multiculturalism taking pride of place.

Finally, Canada achieved its desired world order in the realm of both institutions and ideas (Appendix D). Institutionally, it co-created the Francophone Summit and the Biodiversity Convention and Secretariat (headquartered in Montreal, Canada). In addition, it took initiatives that led later to the WTO, NAFTA's CEC and CLC, a G7 with Russia as a regular participant and then member, and the UN's Framework Convention and Secretariat on Climate Change. Ideationally, it pioneered the principle and practice of debt relief for the poorest with the 1988 "Toronto Terms", anti-apartheid among the world's major democracies, and humanitarian intervention. It also acted against high seas overfishing, helped bring education and the environment onto the G7 agenda and reinforced the principle that ice is land in the fragile Arctic domain.

Conclusion

Those who see Canadian foreign policy during the Mulroney years as a sharp PD shift to "**continentalism"** find strong evidence at the very start of the 1984–93 period. Then Canadian foreign policy was indeed dominated by a major change in focus toward a closer, more integrated, supportive relationship with the U.S. The prime minister's own promise of "good relations, super relations" with the U.S. was followed by the major messages of the first Speech from the Throne, the green paper, the decision to explore and initiate negotiations for a comprehensive free trade agreement with the U.S., Mulroney's first quick bilateral visit with the U.S., and finance minister Michael Wilson's slashing of defence, ODA, and foreign affairs spending in his first economic statement of November 4, 1984.

In the analysis of Canadian foreign policy, however, all three theoretical perspectives are needed. For while the PD pattern dominated Mulroney's first year, it was soon replaced by the LI theme of "**constructive internationalism"** and a continuing preference for the UN over the U.S. whenever a clear choice came. Moreover, there was a strong thrust toward CNR's **"assertive globalism"** from the start. It became central after the major decisions of September 1985 set a new path. During the second mandate, full-scale assertive globalism dominated almost everywhere. It was left to the new prime minister, Kim Campbell, to capture the logic of the new era in her major foreign policy doctrine unveiled in May 1993 (Campbell 1993).

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Appendix A: Doctrines and Distributions in the Mulroney Years

Doctrines	
Foreign Policy	
Green Paper 1985	Unity, Sovereignty-Independence, Justice-Democracy, Peace-Security, Economy, Environment
Blue Paper 1986	World, G7 members, U.S.
Throne Speech 1984	Constructive Internationalism Renewed, U.S.
Throne Speech 1986	Constructive Internationalism
Throne Speech 1989	Ecologically Sustainable Economic Development
Throne Speech 1991	National Unity
New Internationalism 1986	Global interest/influence, all channels, res'd forums
Defence Policy 1987	Deterrence, Defence, Sovereignty, Peacekeeping, AC
Development Policy 1987	World's poorest, development priorities first
Canada's Roles	Major power rank, mediator-integrator roles
Distributions	
Aid Budget	1989-90 = $2.7b, 1990-91 = $2.9b
Diplomatic Representation	1984 = 113, 1987 = 107, 1993 = 121
Summit Visits Given	U.S. 35, UK, 25, France 24, Germany 18, Italy 18, Japan 11
Bilateral Institutional Activity	Asia (Japan, China), Europe, Americas, Africa, Middle East
Decisions	
Outcomes	
First Mandate	Won 7, Tied 1, Lost 1
Second Mandate	Won 6, Tied 1, Lost 0
National Interests and Values	
National Interests	Unity n, Secy n, Sovy n, Terry n, Legit'y n, Cap n
Distinctive Values	Amil n, Mult n, Envn n, Glob n, Instn n
Achievements in World Order	
Institutions	Francophone Summit, Biodiversity Convention
Ideas	Debt relief for the poorest, humanitarian intervention

Appendix B: Outcomes in the Mulroney Years

	Decision Case	Initiator	Adjuster	Outcome (Short/Long)
First Mandate (8)				
1984	CUFTA	U.S.	Canada	U.S.
1984	Ethiopia	Canada	World	Canada
1985	SDI	U.S.	U.S.	Canada
1985	Polar Sea	U.S.	U.S.	Canada
1985	South African Apartheid	Canada	G7/South Africa	Canada
1986	Space	U.S.	Canada	Tie
1987	Francophone Summit	Canada	Francophonie	Canada
1988	Toronto G7	G7	Canada/G7	Canada
Total:		3-1-4		6 -1- 1
Second Mandate (7)				
1989	NAFTA	US	Canada	Canada
1990	OAS	Canada	OAS	Canada
1990	Cold War	USSR	USSR	Canada
1990	Gulf War	Iraq	Iraq	Canada
1992	UNCED	G7	USA	Canada
1992	Yugoslavia	Yugoslavia	Yugoslavia	Tie
1993	Medak Pocket	Serbia	Serbia	Canada
Total:		1-1-5		6-1-0
Grand Total:		4-2-9		13-2-1

Appendix C: National Interests and Distinctive National Value Affirmed in the Mulroney Years

	Decision Case	National Interests		Distinctive National Values	
First Mandate (8)					
1984	CUFTA	-		Openness	
1984	Ethiopia				
1985	SDI	-		Antimilitarism (Space)	
1985	Polar Sea	Sovy, Territy		Environmentalism	
1985	South African Apartheid	-		Multiculti, Institutionalism	
1986	Space	-		-	
1987	Francophone Summit	Unity, Leg, Sovy		Multiculti, Institutionalism	
1988	Toronto G7	-		Openness, Multiculti	
Total:		Sovereignty	2	Multiculturalism	3
		Legitimacy	1	Intl Institutionalism	2
		Territory	1	Openness	2
		Unity	1	Antimilitarism	1
				Environmentalism	1
		Interests	4 (5)	Values	5 (9)
Second Mandate (7)					
1989	NAFTA	Capability		Env, Mul, Inst, Openness	
1990	OAS	-		Inst, Mult	
1990	Cold War	Security		Openness, Antimilitarism	
1990	Gulf War	-		-	
1992	UNCED	-		Env, Inst, Globalism	
1992	Yugoslavia	-		Multiculturalism	
1993	Medak Pocket	-		Multiculturalism	
Total:	Capability	Capability	1	Antimilitarism	1
		Security	1	Openness	2
				Multiculturalism	4
				Environmentalism	2
				Globalism	1
				Institutionalism	3
		Interests	2 (2)	Values	6 (13)
Total	Interests	Interests	6 (7)	Values	11 (22)

Appendix D: Achievements in World Order in the Mulroney Years

Institutions (and Law) Created by Canada

1986	Francophone Summit	Co-created with France
1988	FOGS for WTO	Canada initiated, Italy supported
1989	NAFTA's CEC, CLC	
1990	G7 with Russia	
1992	UNCED Biodiversity	"Mulroney saved the Biodiversity Convention"
1992	UNCED Climate Change	

Ideas Created by Canada

1985	Arctic Sovereignty	Ice as land reaffirmed in Polar Sea case
1987	Anti-Apartheid	1987 South Africa
1988	Education, Environment	G7 agenda, 1988, 1989
1988	Debt Relief for Poorest	Toronto Terms
1990	High Seas Overfishing	Houston G7 Summit
1993	Humanitarian Intervention	Militarily at Medak Pocket, Stanford Speech