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# THE TOURIST AS CITIZEN DIPLOMAT

BY

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## ABSTRACT

This paper introduces a role of citizen diplomat for tourists. The concept of innovative diplomacy, i.e. citizen and municipal diplomacy is applied to tourism. A model of a tourist diplomat guide is outlined, using Canada as the host country. Critical to this guide is describing the identity of the host country through a list of basic elements and situating the role of tourist diplomat in a global context of issues. Peace, human rights and environmental protection are the major issue categories of the context.

Given space limitations, the section on the identity of the host country is compressed into an overview essay while the broad issue of peace is chosen to illustrate the global context. This model will provide the basis for the production of full tourist diplomat guides for the U.S.S.R. and People's Republic of China.

## THE TOURIST AS A CITIZEN DIPLOMAT

### PREFACE

It is our contention that the twin concepts of modern tourism and innovative diplomacy are naturally related, born out of the real world in which we live and the future world we must build. At an unplanned, unconscious and unstructured level, tourism was always informal diplomacy, and tourists informal diplomats. What has created a searing relevance to this connection are the global threats to this small planet Earth, threats of nuclear war, environmental disruption and violations to human rights which spawn and reinforce the others. Technology has rendered our planet even smaller than its relatives in our solar system. Electronic eyes, ears and sight in space and on land communicate information at the speed of light. Intercontinental ballistic missiles can reach the critical targets of the nuclear bipolar powers in 30 minutes with resulting devastation that can threaten the continuity of life. And, on the positive side, the technological revolution in travel

and infocommunications is transforming the tourist industry.

## TOURISTS AND TOURISM

Tourism is the organized activity of people visiting a particular place, foreign or domestic, for the general purposes of visiting and vacationing or the more focused purpose of attending conventions, taking lecture or nature tours, art tours or scientific studies. Since tourism means travel the tourist is tied into special means of transportation which may include car, bus, rail, boat and plane (or combinations of these). The choice of destination, the mode of travel and the target of activities linking the tourist, tourist businesses and host communities (or governments), together with their multiple relationships and interactions, represents the phenomenon of tourism. The tourist business provides the goods and services of the tourist market which is not a closed system, but rather a multiplier of exchanges to meet the needs and wants of travellers. An excellent conceptualization of tourism that lends itself to the analytical approach is to view it as a system.(18) Since tourism per se is not our concern, there will be no major amplification except the linking of the key elements of our thesis.

Tourism, like all social activities, takes on organic functions, i.e. it is both evolutionary and ecological. The former aspect is fueled by the exponential growth of associated technical means, i.e. travel, accommodation, etc., tourism tending to grow in accord with the availability of these means. The second, perhaps more subtle aspect, is that tourism is also intimately related to its social environment. It cannot escape the context of critical ideas and ideology or the broader context of global problems and opportunities.

What was heralded as the New Tourism a decade ago (23) with its emphasis on heritage, environment and conservation, and its anticipation of energy scarcity, is now going through a second revolution. The new trend has been described by Arthur Haulot, Past President of the World Tourist Organization (WTO), who states that tourism must become "an opportunity to create a more cultivated and peaceful life".(18, p. ix) In the preface to this book, Gustavo Diez Ordaz, Constitutional President of Mexico, writes, "The world should no longer regard tourism merely as a business, but as a means by which (people) may know and understand one another, human understanding being so essential to the world at this time."

The tourist industry does not merely thrive on peace, its very life depends on peace. Thus the topic of this conference is not merely symbolic or a band-wagon effect but rather it represents the integral connection between tourism and peace. And whether conscious or not and whether structured or not, the tourist is a citizen diplomat, in the broad sense of that concept, i.e. of communication and exchange between peoples of different countries. People exchanges and encounters build human bridges, breaking down barriers and revealing the common heritage and the mutual threats and promises of a unitary species travelling

together on a long voyage on this Spaceship Earth.

## DIPLOMACY AND DIPLOMATS, FORMAL AND INFORMAL

Diplomacy is the art of mediating international relations, whether bilateral or multilateral, between nation states through their official representatives. Such mediation is often directed to maintaining relations, resolving conflicts, negotiating arrangements and treaties, conducting trade and establishing norms of behaviour in relations between nation states. The body of such diplomatic acts constitutes the foreign policy of the nation state. Besides the exchanges of diplomatic corps and the establishment of residences under bilateral arrangements, there are also multilateral bodies where nation states are represented by diplomats, i.e. the United Nations and its subsidiary bodies, military pacts, i.e. NATO and the Warsaw Pact, trade talks, common markets, disarmament talks etc. All of this is part of formal politics, where the individual actors are nation states acting through appointed representatives, i.e. diplomats.

Coexisting with the world of nation states is the world of informal politics where the actors are individuals, citizens or groups, Non-government Organizations (NGO's), i.e. those citizen groups having some level of recognition, nationally or internationally and municipalities. Municipalities are the only level of government that possess sufficient independence and are sensitive enough to citizen input to entertain diplomatic initiatives. These two types of diplomacy are sometimes in conflict, i.e. the informal diplomacy of citizens and municipalities does not subscribe to the foreign policy of the nation state, i.e. formal diplomacy. Such conflicts often focus on major global issues such as peace, human rights and environmental protection. This trinity of issues provides the global context in which the twin activities of tourism and diplomacy will be united.

Informal diplomacy may be further assessed under the concepts of citizen diplomacy and municipal diplomacy, the two major groupings, both being examples of innovative diplomacy and informal diplomacy. All are processes of exchanges and communication between countries. The conceptual framework and many of the practical activities of this informal diplomacy have been described by the Center for Innovative Diplomacy (CID) of 17931 Skypark Circle, Suite F, Irvine, California 92714. They have published several valuable booklets as well as producing a regular newsletter, the CID Report.

This paper extends the application of innovative diplomacy to tourists and tourism. It is a further intention to develop a model of a tourist guide oriented to participation in global policy issues and based on the concept of innovative diplomacy. The original model described in this paper will be based on Canada as the host country but it is also an intention to fully develop two tourist diplomat guides, i.e. for the Soviet Union and China. Tourist diplomacy is merely a special case of innovative citizen diplomacy where the exchanges are focused on the global agenda of major issues that confront the world.

It should be recognized that diplomatic exchanges between citizens are not binding on nation states, nor do they represent foreign policy and they may actually conflict with it. Nevertheless they are a legitimate extension of participatory democracy. But further than this, the vision and action of citizens and grassroots movements are often the leading edge of meaningful policy changes, domestically and internationally. This contention is historically validated, particularly in reference to the issues of peace, human rights and environmental protection. In the area of achieving arms control and disarmament agreements viz the Intermediate Nuclear Forces Treaty (INFT) of December, 1987, the struggle against apartheid in South Africa, the fight against hunger, the attempts to save endangered species or the heritage of Nature from mindless exploitation and despoilation have not been the gifts of governments or their leaders so much as the direct impact of these informal actors exercising the power of democratic appeal in their Easter marches of peace, rock concerts in the case of overcoming hunger and apartheid, municipal divestment, through the establishment of sister cities, through projects of economic conversion and through the declaration of Nuclear Weapons Free Zones (NWFZs). The Nobel Peace Prize has recognized this by honouring Amnesty International and Physicians for the Prevention of Nuclear War. It is people who build the bandwagons, play the music and march in the streets. It is governments who are compelled to get on board. The flowering of grassroots is our major hope for healing our planet (28) Peace, justice and ecology are too planetary in scope to be left in the hands of military and political leaders or multinational corporations confined to maximizing the security of narrow jurisdictional sovereignties. It is now possible for citizens to not merely think globally and act locally but to think and act globally from their bases in their own localities. The communications revolution has literally converted our planet to a "global village", albeit with its slum areas, its homeless and street gangs. We are all fellow travellers on Spaceship Earth. Given the technological explosion in the mobility of people and information and its consequence in the vast increase in tourism and citizens delegations, we are witnessing the evolution of planetary citizenship and loyalty. Thus we are engaged in the search for sustainable solutions to planetary problems. This is necessary for survival. The barriers of misunderstanding, fear and distrust are being taken down and rebuilt as bridges of understanding, love and trust as "ordinary" human beings face each other and recognize themselves in the other.

This tourist guide concept does not usurp or replace the legitimacy of traditional guides to travel, recreation or vacation, of visiting "places", seeing the "sights" or "nature in the raw" or exhibitions of art, performances of the fine arts or the necessary technical basis of travel and accommodation. In fact the norms of traditional tourism should be enriched by this tourist diplomat guide which elucidates the anatomy of the host country's relationships to global issues.

#### THE GLOBAL CONTEXT

Observing the world on a planetary scale, certain problems/issues assert themselves as planetary in the scope of their threat. By an

ecological principle, the solution must match the dimensions of their impact. There is a trinity of such issues, i.e. peace, human rights and environmental protection and preservation. These provide the global context for the tourist/diplomat guide.

The threat of war in the nuclear age would appear transcendent in its capacity to destroy human life in the hundreds of millions, to produce incredible physical and environmental damage and to lead to adverse climate change, i.e. nuclear autumn. This threat is unique, given the arsenals of the superpowers, the danger of accidental war and the fact that the effects are radically different in terms of time and space. Radioactive contamination and radiation-induced diseases last for thousands of years and thus effectively mortgage the future.

Violations of human rights coexisting with vast regions of poverty and hunger are possibly the major source of global conflicts, particularly in the Third and Fourth Worlds. They spawn violence, structural and planned. They lead to the surrogate wars and rebellions that plague the planet and can catalyze superpower confrontations where the firebreak between conventional and nuclear force is breached by intent or miscalculation. The powder keg of the world, the Middle East, with its multiple eternal conflicts, is also the region where one of the nations, Israel, has nuclear weapons, and others are seeking them. Militarism in all its manifestations as a huge drain on physical, capital, environmental and human resources, is a classic example of how good money is driven out by bad. War, militarization, hunger, poverty and the rape of the environment are ecologically linked in a web of multiple interconnections.

The protection of environmental goods and services is essential to the sustaining of life on our planet. Impacting negatively on the great cycles of nature and the large-scale ecosystems that mediate, regulate and sustain. Preservation of the oceans, the tropical rain forests and the ozone layer, maintaining species habitat and climate stability and applying the principles of sustaining yield to resource management are all being threatened to the point where catastrophic results begin to match the threat of nuclear war. The accelerated increase in the production of chemicals and chemical wastes, many of them extremely toxic or climate-impacting is leading to an exponential threat to the integrity of ground water, marine water and even the ozone layer. The massive and accelerating destruction of the tropical rain forests (13), combined with the massive combustion of motive fuels may already be producing the "greenhouse effect", as North America and Europe experienced July in June of 1988.(17) Other environmental problems such as acid rain are continental in scope. All of the above issues detailed to specific host countries constitute the global context of our tourist diplomat guide model. Table 1 represents an inventory of environmental threats.

#### THE TOURIST DIPLOMAT GUIDE

It is proposed, on the basis of this paper, to develop a new tourist guide, designated as the tourist diplomat guide. It will be composed of two major sections. The first section will set out to describe the

nature of a host country through a description of all the elements of national identity. These fundamental elements which define the nature of a nation state will, of course, be different for different countries and yet there will be similarities. Both should be appreciated and understood. Since Canada was largely settled by Europeans, there is a common heritage for those who come from Europe. Since Canada was occupied by indigenous peoples prior to European settlement, all countries with indigenous peoples will be able to relate. Since Canada is also a multinational and multicultural nation, many countries other than European will be able to relate. Many countries, like Canada, have a dominant bi-national character with its attendant conflicts and this too represents a community of interest. It should be kept in mind that a fully developed tourist diplomat guide will deal with all the basic elements of national identity.

Given the constraints of space, only a skeleton of this first section is provided, later highlighting some critical elements in order to illustrate the general anatomy of the tourist diplomat guide. Given the focus on peace, there will be some amplification of related elements. Each complete guide will cover the following elements of national identity of the host country in detail, keeping in mind that the model dealt with here is Canada.

#### ELEMENTS OF NATIONAL IDENTITY:

1. HISTORY
2. GEOGRAPHY AND DEMOGRAPHY
3. PEOPLE, LANGUAGE AND CULTURE; MINORITIES; INDIGENOUS PEOPLES; RELIGION AND THE ARTS
4. RESOURCES
5. CONSTITUTION; POLITICAL SYSTEM AND PARTIES; FEDERAL-PROVINCIAL RELATIONS; SPECIAL STATUS FOR QUEBEC; CHARTER OF RIGHTS; LANGUAGE LAWS; SOCIAL SERVICES
6. THE ECONOMY; TRADE AND COMMERCE; SCIENCE POLICY
7. FOREIGN AND MILITARY POLICY; ALLIANCES; PEACE-KEEPING; U.N. ROLE; U.S.-CANADA RELATIONS; ARCTIC SOVEREIGNTY; DEFENCE AND STRATEGIC POLICY; MILITARY PRODUCTION AND TRADE
8. COMPARATIVE SOCIAL AND MILITARY INDICATORS

Since it is not possible to deal with each of the above elements in this paper, a general essay, touching elements 1, 2, 5 and 7 will be presented with some further highlighting. Element #8 is a comparison between Canada and ten other countries on social and military indicators. Such a comparison is revealing of relative allocation of resources and ultimately of policy and values.

## CANADA: A HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE, AN EVOLUTIONARY GUIDE

Historically Canada was born out of war in which one nation, the English, defeated another, the French, in a prior existing colony of the latter. Both were preceded by long periods in which indigenous peoples occupied the land. Colonial status remained, only the rulers changed. By accident the country to our south was born out of a revolution against being a colony of these very same English. These two historical facts plus the geographical nature of Canada shaped its future.

Canada is a federal state bordered by three oceans and covering a huge territory some 4000 miles from coast to coast and several thousand miles from the U.S. border to the Arctic. The largest proportion of population is clustered in a group of metropolitan centres strung out along the full width of the country and in a strip some 100 miles deep. The topography, climate and soil quality of Canada are extremely variable. Industrial development and population are largely concentrated in Ontario and Quebec. The mid-west comprises the bread basket while Alberta and British Columbia are rich in resources of all kinds. The country is a mosaic of ethnic and racial groups, as well as of resources, so much so that wide disparities exist between peoples and regions.

When one includes the indigenous peoples, Canada is clearly multi-national. Added to this diversity are conflicts between federal and provincial jurisdictions usually over disparity or the accidental distribution of resources.

Above all other needs, communications were essential to the emergence and maintenance of Canada as a nation, first as the railroads, later the highways and finally telecommunications. Canada emerged as a confederation largely determined by the originating constitutional document, the British North America Act (BNA). This differed radically from the U.S. constitution, first in not being the sole constitutional basis, but more so because residential powers went to the federal regime rather than the states (provinces). It thus created a relatively centralized federation.<sup>(24)</sup> The Senate, patterned on the British House of Lords, is an appointed rather than elected body with limited powers. This British colony in North America became the Dominion of Canada on July 1, 1867. On March 31, 1969, Newfoundland became the tenth province. Eventually all vestiges of formal subservience to Britain were broken when our constitution was "patriated" under the Constitution Act of 1982, an initiative of former prime minister Pierre Trudeau. Canada is composed of 10 provinces and the Yukon and North West Territories, which have special status.

The 121-year-old history of Canada as a nation may best be understood as an unending conflict between the forces of nationalism and those of continentalism, the competing horizontal and vertical geostrategic and geopolitical forces. A basic fact is that we are relatively rich in resources and territory critical to U.S. global hegemony. Demographically, as we earlier explained, Canada is a wide but narrow horizontal strip in which well over 90% of the population now lives. Our country is a mosaic of ethnic and racial groups as well as

resources, so much so that wide disparities exist between regions. Added to this are our indigenous populations, composed of multiple nations of Indians and Inuit, our South in the North. Our poor relations live in the east while the mid-west produces our staples and industrial development and population is concentrated in Ontario and Quebec. Alberta, British Columbia and Saskatchewan are mini-resource republics driven by the short-term benefit syndrome and myopic about longer-term needs. And with the possible exception of Diefenbaker's resistance to Kennedy over the Bomarc missile, Canada has suffered a tragic lack of courage in resisting U.S. continentalist policies, military and economic. Finally we are a defacto binational state, the "French fact", having been recognized in the Meech Lake Accords and various acts of language legislation, creating bilingualism in all federal regimes.(27, 30, 31)

The fundamental concept of confederation in our constitution created a jungle of jurisdictional conflicts. Moreover the political process in Canada places a high premium on ministerial confidentiality, cloaked as responsibility. The result is that we are relatively a closed society, subject to the hearing of information. To top this off, we have constantly re-enacted the tragedy of wholesale export of our resources, plus foreign control, under the illusion that we are so resource-rich. And above all, continentalist integration of the military has subverted our role as peacemaker. We have thus evolved as a branch-plant, resource oriented and technologically underdeveloped economy, this trinity being linked by entrenched policy. The outflow is not merely resources but huge amounts of interest, management and licensing fees, royalties, advertising and insurance charges and engineering, design, patent and consulting fees, all of which reinforce our branch-plant status. We have also slowly but firmly become integrated into the globalist, militarist policies of the U.S., a profound sell-out of our best virtues. It is the U.S. which has dominion over the Dominion and our North is no longer true or strong or free, the Defence White Paper being the ultimate step in military integration with the U.S.

When the question of what constitutes Canadian identity is asked, our analysis demanded by the realities of geography follows. There are four critical areas which it is absolutely necessary to preserve for the retention of Canadian identity, the basis of all sovereignty. These are communications of all kinds, social services, the overcoming of regional disparity (as equalization payments and regional development programs) and the preservation of cultural integrity. These could not survive as purely economic entities subject to the forces of "free market". They all require a social subsidy for preservation, a cost we have been willing to bear in the interests of the retention of our identity. Such a loss would inevitably lead to the complete Balkanization and colonization of those individual resource republics now known as provinces. This process will be accelerated because of our fragile roots, our relatively short history, the power of U.S. influence and the divisions between provinces where economic imperatives erode national identity.

Free Trade is the "last step" in the march of continentalism. While Robert Thompson said "The Americans are our friends, whether we like it or not", Mulroney really likes it. In fact, free trade is already established--in acid rain. The disadvantages of the ratios of economic

and technological power, coupled to those of resource appetite, will inevitably lead Canada into becoming the Puerto Rico of the North. We will be reduced to geostrategic military territory, our last utility.

All of the above has historically produced a powerful distortion in Canadian social, political and economic development. But in the absence of total economic integration, political resistance to such integration has remained viable. Free Trade will destroy all vestiges of this resistance. There will be short-term economic benefits for some sectors, but poorly distributed, and accompanied by disasters for others. But in the longer run, all of us will lose. When our non-renewable resources are depleted and our environmental protection eroded, thus destroying the sustainability of renewable resources, some of the basic support systems for sustainable development will be destroyed. Resistance to continentalism of this kind is essential for Canadian survival as a viable nation. (, 9, 12)

For continentalism in other countries, read multinational investment, superpower intervention and the conditions of aid, trade and development. In fact, it is important to recognize that the domestic affairs and international relations of Canada are a microcosm of the world. Separatism, nationalism, resource ownership, land claims, the treatment of women, minorities, refugees and indigenous peoples, the waging of peace or the accommodation of war and the protection of the environment and the control of development are universal problems with which tourists can identify.

The Free Trade issue has divided this country more than any other in recent times. It would seem from newspaper polls that public opinion is shifting against it. Also, opposition parties have vowed to modify or annul it. The government, with its large majority, can railroad the bill through parliament but may pay the price in the next federal election (fall, 1988).

In summary, Canada is a nation still in search of identity. (7, 8, 14, 19) As we have intimated, the bonds of nationalism may be too fragile to withstand fragmented economic imperatives (15) or military integration. (20, 26)

The second section of the tourist diplomat guide derives from the conceptual framework which locates the tourist visitor in a global context of problems, described earlier. The master list of issues will cover the three major global problems of peace, human rights and environmental protection. Once again, space prohibits dealing with the majority of these and concentration in this paper will be focused on peace issues. All of the issues in the following shopping list would be addressed in the complete tourist diplomat guide. Several points should be noted. Firstly, Canada has played a role in all these issues and often a positive one. Secondly, each host country will have its unique set of issues in the three main categories, although many countries will share specifics and all countries face the mutual threat of the three. This permits visitors to relate to a common concern and a common cause of search for solutions. This, hopefully, will lead people to relate to each other's unique and common perception and actions within the global context.

Some of these issues are more purely internal but many of them relate to the external global context which we have described and which is critical to the centralization of our tourist diplomat model. The questions following this list should assist visitors to relate these issues to their own country and its policies.

#### CANADA AND PEACE

Canada has been recognized internationally for its peace-keeping role, some 77,000 Canadians have served in such units in Indochina, the Middle East, Africa, India, West New Guinea and Cyprus. As early as the late 1940's Canada was involved in supervising a truce between India and Pakistan. Canada has been invited many times by international peace commissions to serve a mediating and monitoring function in peacekeeping activities. Canada played a critical role in late 1956 in diffusing the Suez Crisis. The United Nations Security Council, alarmed at the prospect of the outbreak of a major war took the advice of Canada's secretary of state for external affairs, Lester B. Pearson, who proposed the creation of an emergency international peacekeeping force to secure and supervise an end to hostilities. Canadian supply and service troops joined soldiers from the other members of this emergency force to maintain the peace in the Gulf of Aqaba and remained until 1967. Lester Pearson, who later became Prime Minister, won the Nobel Peace Prize in 1957 for this major diplomatic initiative.

Canadian peace initiatives continued under the leadership of Pierre Trudeau. For several months before he retired from politics in 1984, Trudeau visited more than 40 countries, including the U.S. and U.S.S.R., appealing to these leaders to commit their countries to peace. The Trudeau peace initiative was a step in the eventual arms control agreement between the superpowers, although rejected at the time. In 1984, Pierre Trudeau was honoured by winning the Albert Einstein Peace Award.

The above is the good news in Canada's historic role of waging peace. But an overriding consideration of Canadian military policy has been determined by its being a nuclear buffer zone for the U.S. In effect, geography and geopolitics have strongly influenced Canada's military policies quite aside from its commitments as a member of NATO.

Nor can one separate this historic accommodation of the hegemonic security drive of the U.S. from its economic influence over Canada. Energy and military "continentalism" have a long history of at least three decades. In 1959 the Defence Production Sharing Agreement helped to integrate Canada into U.S. military plans, programs, policies and strategies. This integration seemed independent of the governments in power although Pierre Trudeau was more unwilling than Brian Mulroney. There is a powerful military-industrial lobby in Canada anxious to complete Canada's evolution into a full-fledged military industrial economy. In fact this lobby is urging full military integration with the U.S..(26) The former shared a mutual distrust and dislike for Ronald Reagan, while the latter tends to share the world view and politics of the U.S. president, who said "I confess I like Brian Mulroney .... He's a

true patriot (and) a strong friend of the United States".(15) Compare this to what one high-ranking U.S. government official said about Pierre Trudeau, i.e. that his behaviour was akin to that of a "pot-induced leftist".(15)

The net outcome of the military and strategic integration is the exchange of hundreds, if not thousands, of bilateral military agreements, treaties from anti-submarine warfare to cruise missile testing and the Air Defense and Strategic Defense Initiatives.(2) Canada hosts 84 key military sites in Canada which are directly related to U.S. nuclear warfighting capabilities as well as testing facilities and the regular production of critical components for nuclear weapons.(22) There is little question that Canada, a country dedicated not to develop or possess nuclear weapons, has agreed to the dispersal and basing of nuclear weapons in times of crisis, the latter to be defined by the U.S. The arrangements are so secret that merely getting access to some of the titles required going to friends in the U.S. who used their freedom of information rights to obtain these titles, such information being inaccessible in Canada. There are now strong indications that rail-basing of MX intercontinental ballistic missiles to be sited near the Canadian border will have access to the Canadian rail system.(20) Also, one cannot help suspecting that it is U.S. influence that has affected Canada's voting record on disarmament resolutions in the United States General Assembly (UNGA). Canadian public policy has consistently supported arms control and disarmament and yet, in the past five years, resolutions on a weapons freeze (the five-continent, six-nation initiative), and a comprehensive test ban, Canada has abstained when the U.S. voted "no", despite overwhelming "yes" majorities.

#### THE WHITE PAPER ON NATIONAL DEFENCE (DND, 1987)

In Canada, foreign policy is the domain of the Department of External Affairs (DEA), while defence (military) policy is in the jurisdiction of the Department of National Defence (DND). The assumption, no matter how patently false, is that foreign and defence policies are separate and distinct. It is also the fashion in Canada to issue Green Papers, which are designed for background information and public discussion and White Papers which spell out actual policies. Green usually precedes White so that public input can be incorporated. It is of interest that DEA brought out a green paper on foreign policy in 1985 and a review of a Special Joint Committee of the Senate and the House entitled Canada's International Relations, 1986. On the other hand, DND skipped the "green" and went directly to a White Paper on Defence, "Challenge and Commitment", June, 1987 (DND, 1987). Thus it is easy to conclude that foreign policy has been made subservient to military policy.(9, 15) The last White Paper on Defence, written in 1971, was an optimistic document viewing nuclear war as the major threat, detente as the basis of enhanced stability and major arms reduction as the source of long-term security. The Defence White Paper of June 1987, written in the Gorbachev era, harkens back to the most icy rhetoric of the cold war.

This is a document embedded in an ideological world view of the

Soviet Threat, the imminence of a Soviet attack on North America and the need for a rapid build-up to maintain parity as the means of deterrence, both being viewed as a source of stability. The entire analysis takes place on the basis of fictional assumptions operating in a strategic vacuum. There is no discussion of the deterioration of deterrence as it is transformed to nuclear warfighting strategies (1, 10, 15, 21), nor of Canada's role in such strategies. Global security is viewed entirely as an East-West conflict, a struggle in which the entire North-South gap, with its terrible problems of hunger, debt, poverty and war are ignored. The world is reduced to "we", i.e. the Western World occupants, the whole of the moral high ground and "they" are the "force and focus of evil" in this world, to use Ronald Reagan's words, which represented his administration's policy for its first seven years. "We" defend "personal freedom" and the "rule of law", which "they" constantly threaten. The irony is that this document was written a bare six months before the signing of the Intermediate Nuclear Forces Treaty (INFT) in Washington in December 1987, yet it totally downplays arms reduction as a means of enhancing security. There is no assessment of the radical changes within the Soviet Union.

The Defence White Paper is not merely uncritical of the U.S. but acts as if the geopolitics of its foreign and military policy, including its strong focus on the geostrategic use of Canada, does not exist. Possibly the most reprehensible aspect of this document is the gross misrepresentation of the East/West military balance where through exclusion, selection and conclusion, there are serious errors which in some cases cannot be explained in any other way except deliberate manipulation. The Defence White Paper actually embraces the notion that nuclear war is feasible and is sprinkled with phrases such as "in the event of war" or "should deterrence fail" or "if hostilities were to occur"--there are twenty such references in this document. The unthinkable has been transformed, not merely into the thinkable, but into the do-able.

Perhaps the most controversial proposal in the Defence White Paper is Canada's plan to acquire some 10-12 nuclear-powered attack submarines (SSNs). The rationale for this costly acquisition, first established at \$5 billion and now grudgingly admitted to be at least \$8 billion, while all independent experts estimate \$12 to \$15 billion, was for the protection of Arctic sovereignty. Canada claims the Arctic archipelago, including the Northwest Passage, as territorial waters, a claim consistently rejected by the U.S., who have used these waters since the early passage of the icebreaker Manhattan, and who require said use for nuclear warfighting strategies. When the Arctic sovereignty rationale was exposed as unrealistic and inefficient compared to other passive monitoring/surveillance systems, Canada's Department of National Defence (DND) shifted the rationale to the Atlantic, i.e. protecting Sea Lanes of Communication (SLOC's) etc., but then there would be no need for nuclear-powered subs, the diesel-electric variety being far more appropriate and less costly. The latest rationale is saving our ailing civil atomic industry, run by the Atomic Energy of Canada Limited (AECL), which has incurred a huge public debt but whose reactor CANDU has become a technological sacred cow. The plan is to have AECL get a piece of the construction action and thus be resurrected and, at the same time, "halt the brain drain", a ridiculous notion. Meanwhile Canada, which has been

viewed as a leader in the Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT) and International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) regimes are threatening their integrity, if not by the letter, then certainly by the spirit of these important control mechanisms against the spread of nuclear weapons.

Fortunately, the Canadian public and the Canadian peace movement are rejecting these plans and DND is not having its way in the Canadian Cabinet, where there is opposition to this large budget item with its dubious rationales, which, incidentally, still continue to shift. It would seem to be empire-building by the current minister, a Northern species of hawk, or even worse, direct involvement with the U.S.'s notorious Maritime Strategy, which is based on the assumption that an early surprize attack on the Soviets' nuclear submarine missile forces in their bastions in the Kola Penninsula and North Pacific, using conventional forces , i.e. the very same SSN's that Canada intends to purchase, would not lead to a nuclear war. There is much evidence, which we cannot find space to present, to indicate that this might be the real reason for this acquisition.

#### THE CANADIAN PEACE MOVEMENT

All of the above issues in this section are the focus of action by the Canadian peace movement, a very broad network of citizens, scientists and professional groups. While decentralization of control and activity is characteristic of the Canadian peace movement, there is an umbrella organization, The Canadian Peace Alliance, which coordinates select activities which are truly national in scope. Such an activity is the current Canadian Peace Pledge, which seeks pledges from thousands of Canadians that they will canvass their candidates in the federal election in the Fall of 1988 to assess their position on certain key aspects of arms control and disarmament, including the issues discussed in this section of our paper. This is essentially a pledge by Canadians to "vote for peace". This initiative combines peace with the democratic process in critical election years.

The Canadian peace movement is a varied mix of local, regional, provincial and national citizens, scientists and professional groups covering the trinity of issues that are represented by the context of the global agenda described in this paper, i.e. peace, human rights and environmental protection and preservation. The broad spectrum includes such well-known national and international groups such as the Voice of Women, The Women's International League for Peace and Freedom (WILPF), Greenpeace, the World Federalists, the United Nations Association, Physicians for the Prevention of Nuclear War (PPNW), Veterans Against Nuclear Arms (VANA), Lawyers, Educators and Engineers for Social Responsibility, etc. Virtually every major city and town in Canada has one or more branches of these and other groups concerned with peace. In B.C., there is an umbrella organization, End the Arms Race (EAR), which coordinates certain kinds of provincial and national activities, i.e. the Peace Pledge Campaign, as well as the annual peace march. On the island, the Greater Victoria Disarmament group coordinates peace activities and their annual peace walk, which this year set a record turn-out. Associated with these groups are a variety of non-government and grass

roots organizations covering the trinity of global issues. The national and regional activities of the Canadian peace movement has had and will continue to have an influence on the political agenda of this county.

It had been hoped to deal fully with Canadian peace issues but once again the limitations of space were prohibitive. Such important initiative as the Nuclear Weapons Free Zone (NWFZ) movement are very advanced in Canada (ZLAN, 1987), where two provinces, Ontario and Manitoba and the North West Territories have been so designated. There is also a unique initiative of citizen groups which has international significance whereby the legality of nuclear weapons is being challenged in the supreme court of Canada. This is known as the Nuclear Weapons Legal Action (NWLA).

#### CONCLUSIONS

This paper may appear to contain a preponderance of negative news. In this way it does not communicate the revolution of hope, manifest in such diverse accomplishments as the INFT and, more broadly, in the exponential growth of involvement and commitment expressed all over the world and dedicated to the search for solutions to the global problems which threaten us. Significant in this search is the new role of tourist diplomats in building new bridges of trust and understanding and instituting multiple global dialogues on these great issues. The world seems on the threshold of profound changes which could witness the demise of the cold war. The emergence of an associated planetary ethic widely distributed and firmly based in grassroots movements is leading a groundswell of necessary change. This paper attempts to provide an agenda and curriculum for tourist diplomats to participate in the invention of a sustainable future.

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Table 1

AN INVENTORY OF ENVIRONMENTAL THREAT

25% of the world's population consumes 75% of the worlds' resources  
Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA),  
1986

Species extinctions are now occurring at a conservative estimate rate of  
10,000 per year  
Environment Canada, 1984

At current rates of tropical forest loss, a million species, 10-20% of  
the earth's total, could become extinct by the year 2000  
World Resources Institute, 1986

At least a third of the world's remaining agricultural land (is) being  
turned into deserts  
United Nations Environment Program (UNEP)

About 350,000 people in the Third World are poisoned by pesticides each  
year-10,000 die  
World Resources Institute, 1986

Each year, 12 million hectares of forest (an area almost the size of  
England) are being eliminated from the face of the earth  
Gaia Atlas of Planet Management, 1986

Traditional economic development "has produced the two great polluters,  
wealth and poverty"  
UNEP, 1984

"A world in which poverty is endemic will always be prone to ecological  
and other catastrophies"  
World Commission on Environment and Development,  
1987  
(WCED) - the Buentland Report

THE NORTH-SOUTH GAP

100,000,000 people have no shelter whatsoever.  
770,000,000 do not get enough food for an active working life.  
500,000,000 suffer from iron-deficiency anemia.  
1,300,000,000 do not have safe water to drink.  
800,000,000 live in "absolute poverty" unable to meet minimal needs.  
880,000,000 adults cannot read and write.  
10,000,000 babies are born malnourished every year.  
14,000,000 children die of hunger-related causes every year.

Source: R.L. Sivard, 1987-1988

Table 2

THE GLOBAL CONTEXT OF ISSUES

1. PEACE: Canada's Historical Role and Current Policies; Peacekeeping, Defence White Paper; Nuclear Weapons Free Zones (NWFZs); The Export of Uranium; Non-proliferation; The Canadian Peace Movement and its agenda; Arctic sovereignty
2. HUMAN RIGHTS: The status of refugees; apartheid; status of women; freedom of information; security regulations and the protection of due process; the status of indigenous peoples; poverty, hunger and health; aid and development policy
3. ENVIRONMENT: Bruntland Report; Acid Rain; Ozone and climate issues; nuclear liability; integrity of oceans; toxic wastes; species extinction; habitat; Antarctica; Internal and international environmental protection.

KEY QUESTIONS:

1. What is the policy of your country on these or other related issues?
2. How are you, as an individual and a tourist, involved with these issues?
3. What are the positive and negative policies and programs of your country on these issues?