

DOMINION OF RACE

Rethinking Canada's International History

Edited by Laura Madokoro,
Francine McKenzie, and David Meren



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Introduction

Writing Race into Canada's International History

LAURA MADOKORO and FRANCINE MCKENZIE

In 1950, UNESCO declared that there was no scientific basis to the belief that subsets of *Homo sapiens* belonged to different races. It acknowledged, however, that the “myth of ‘race’” had “caused untold suffering.”¹ UNESCO’s unequivocal explanation did not convince all; restatements in the 1950s, 1960s, and 1970s revealed both resistance to the refutation of race and an evolving understanding of the concept.² Today, there are daily reminders of the tenacity of racial beliefs, the prejudices they beget, and the violence that ensues.³ While we worked on this collection, the editors were reminded of the legacy of race and racism following terror attacks in France (specifically, the shooting of journalists at *Charlie Hebdo*, a weekly satirical magazine, on January 7, 2015, and coordinated attacks, including an assault on concertgoers at the Bataclan Concert Hall on November 13, 2015) and racially charged incidents in the United States (including confrontations in Baltimore, Ferguson, and Staten Island over police violence toward African Americans; the vicious attack on churchgoers in Charleston in 2015; and the racially charged atmosphere accompanying the election of Donald Trump). In some cases racial difference seemed to be the paramount reason for the violence. In others, the source seemed to be a complex combination of race, religion, and gender.

While Canadians might look on such examples as evidence of the complicated impact of racism elsewhere, ideas about race as well as racial prejudice have also left a deep mark on Canada’s past and are very much a current

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reality. Over half of all hate crimes committed in Canada in 2013 were “motivated by hatred of race or ethnicity.”⁴ As we went to press, we were saddened by the tragic killing of six innocent men as they prayed in their mosque in Quebec City. In a 2014 poll, 62 percent of Canadians were worried about an increase in racism.⁵ Mistrust of and assaults on Muslim Canadians,⁶ along with persistent calls throughout the Conservative government’s time in office (2006–15) for a national inquiry into the fate of missing and murdered Indigenous women are palpable reminders of the prevalence of race and racism in Canada today. They make the notion of a postracial world nearly impossible to fathom. Yet, for many, the post–Second World War period seemed to herald just that, as evidenced by the 1950 UNESCO declaration and the spirit that animated the construction of the postwar order. Race was meant to be a thing of the past.

Discrediting the concept of race did not end racist modes of thought. They persist, although they can be masked by seemingly objective ideas like national security or the absorptive capacity of the economy. In the international realm, race has defined hierarchies of power and privilege, upheld exclusive barriers, and shaped relations between peoples and governments. Sometimes the connection has been explicit, but more often it has been embedded in ritualized diplomatic forms, bureaucratic policy processes, and seemingly rational conceptions of national interest. Informed by the cultural turn in international history, there is a growing global literature on the impact of race on the international community as well as on national foreign policies. Yet, the literature on Canada’s international history has not kept apace.

This is the first collected volume to explicitly address the topic of race and Canada’s international history. Although the contributors to this volume each engage with issues surrounding race in different ways, they share the starting premise that race is a social construction. It is the result of an essentializing logic that informs the creation of an “other” against which one defines oneself and one’s larger community. Race is used to justify the selective inclusion of people in an imagined community who enjoy a position of power over those marginalized within or considered “outside” this community. But ideas of race have not been static; they have changed over time. The challenge is to historicize race and explain what people thought race meant and how this set of beliefs affected policies, practices, and world views. This is the challenge that the contributors to this volume take up.

Integrating race as a causal variable and a methodology makes possible new and essential interpretive possibilities in Canada’s international history.

The contributors reveal that reading Canadian international history through the prism of race means showing a greater sensitivity to the production of knowledge, including historiographical knowledge. This requires an ongoing recognition and response to the narrative consequences that flowed from the “forgetting” of Canada’s imperial past associated with the liberal-nationalist current dominant in the historiography of Canadian international history. Contributors have paid attention to *what* they are producing to avoid perpetuating what Henry Yu refers to in his provocation in this volume as the “narrative violence ... of white supremacy.”

A study of race allows historians to excavate the ideologies that informed Eurocentric and ethnocentric notions of Canada’s national identity (both British and French); it challenges the appropriateness of the nation-state as a frame of reference and repositions Canada relative to global currents and a global context; it connects cultural conditions to foreign policies, relations between states, and contacts between people; it shows how international and transnational dynamics unfolded within Canada and rethinks the domestic-external divide; it moves away from a preoccupation with status and stature to highlight the grassroots cultural and ideological agency of Canada and its peoples regarding the structures, norms, and dynamics of the global community. Using race as the prism of historical inquiry focuses attention on meaning rather than milestones, on embedded conditions rather than nationalist accomplishment.

The contributions to this volume reconsider familiar terrain and enlarge the scope of Canada’s international history by subject, geography, and methodology. In all cases, they destabilize conventional understandings of Canada in the world and reinterpret Canada’s international history. Even though the subject matter of many chapters will be familiar to students of Canadian international history – the First World War and the Paris Peace Conference, relations with the British Empire-Commonwealth, Canadian involvement in the United Nations, and the strained triangular relations between Canada, Quebec, and France – the meanings drawn from these reexaminations are not what readers of Canada’s diplomatic history have come to expect. They reveal racialized modes of thought previously unacknowledged or unexplored. They also underscore the ways in which race-thinking informed priorities and policies, positioned Canada in the international community, and contributed to a global order rooted in racial beliefs. Political philosopher Hannah Arendt described race-thinking as seeing the world through a racialized lens that normalizes racial differences and perpetuates these seeming differences through words and actions that

entrench and institutionalize a discriminatory system of beliefs.⁷ Race-thinking has been pervasive in Canadian society and has taken many forms. For example, Canada's association with western Allies in the Cold War was reinforced by racial beliefs that interpreted nonaligned nations like India as untrustworthy and dishonest, ideas that stemmed from Canadian diplomats' conceptions of religious, cultural, and racial differences. Ideas of civilization, progress, and modernity were steeped in racial norms and expectations. These norms and expectations shaped relationships as well as the historiography on Canada's international relations.

One of the most pervasive normative assumptions in historical accounts has been about Canada's special relationship with the United States. Rather than accept the primacy of Canadian-American relations, especially after 1945, this volume reveals a far-reaching and long-standing racialized association with peoples and places beyond the North Atlantic region. The North Atlantic region was long constructed as the main space in which Canada's interests were pursued, connections were established, and orientation in world affairs was defined. We take Canada's positioning in another direction by querying the attachment to the North Atlantic region and probing the roots of identification that helped sustain affinity for the region, against which Canadian foreign policy took shape. Recent scholarship coming out of the British world school helps to explain the race-thinking that underpinned identities and the foreign policy alignments that they begat.⁸

Furthermore, this volume builds on works that have appeared in the last fifteen years that explore Canada's relations with places long regarded as marginal, including the Caribbean, China, Congo, France, Haiti, India, Indonesia, Japan, and Korea. That Canada's association with these countries has received scant attention until recently demonstrates the racial structures that informed the historiography. The chapters also expand on the actors, agents, and subjects that fall under the purview of Canada's international history.

Finally, the contributions employ a variety of methodologies. Some are theoretical; others are empirical. Some focus on elites, others on grassroots actors. Some put the state at the centre of their study; others displace it. This methodological diversity helps shed light on structures, processes, and individuals that perpetuated racial beliefs even as public attitudes appeared, at least superficially, to be shifting. The various methodological approaches are not contradictions; rather, they reveal the many inflections and manifestations of race in the Canadian context. Collectively, the contributions

demonstrate that race, in its various guises, operated as context, structure, and ideology in the history of Canada's international relations. Racial beliefs were folded into individual behaviours and world views, as well as into the frameworks in which bureaucrats, politicians, missionaries, and others operated and engaged with the world. All told, race has been a constant in Canada's international relations, shaping policy, practice, identity, and alignment in both obvious and subtle ways.

At the same time, the manner in which race informed beliefs and practices has varied widely.⁹ Our collection reveals the reach of race into white supremacist beliefs that affected who could and could not be included in the Canadian Expeditionary Force during the First World War, the paternalistic regulation of relations between African American soldiers and Indigenous women in Canada's North, the bureaucratic culture of the Department of External Affairs, resistance to endorsing the UN Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees, and even the cherished identity of Canada as linchpin and helpful fixer. But whatever the particular impact on policy and practice, the underlying belief in racial differences established, institutionalized, and legitimized social, political, cultural, and international dynamics "to foster privilege and maintain subordination."¹⁰ Notions of racial superiority and ideas of white supremacy that informed the outlooks of English- and French-speaking communities across Canada resulted in the marginalization of Indigenous populations and a racial hierarchy at home, and they served as a crucial template for Canadian engagements abroad.

As such, the purpose of *Dominion of Race* is not primarily to judge whether Canadian foreign policy was racist but to contest the assumption and affirmation (usually implicit) that Canada's international history has been "raceless."¹¹ John Price's *Orienteering Canada* (2011) was the first major study of Canadian foreign policy to make racism, defined primarily in terms of white supremacy, its main object of study. This raises an important question: Why has it taken Canadian historians so long to address the role of race and Canada's encounters with the world?

The deceptively simple response is that Canada's international historians avoided race because they did not view it as an important factor in explaining Canada's engagement with other peoples and places. Certainly, the ways in which race was embedded in topics like trade and national security made it harder to see, a dynamic exacerbated by the masking rhetoric of duty, status, and benevolence. The role of race was further obscured by a tendency for people to become increasingly polite – meaning less explicit –

about the topic of race over the course of the twentieth century. As notions of racial difference were discredited and revealed as social constructions, using overtly racist language or employing race as grounds for decision making became increasingly intolerable. After the Second World War especially, racial beliefs went underground and were internalized. As a result, changes in discourse that imply a shift away from race-thinking also need to be scrutinized. As Constance Backhouse has reminded us, the replacement of race with ethnicity was “more semantic than substantive.”¹² Unearthing race as a causal force is all the more difficult when it is not named, is camouflaged – as it has been in trade and diplomatic negotiations, postwar immigration and refugee policies – or is eclipsed by explanations of policy decisions cast in terms of pragmatism, the national interest, or Whiggish narratives consigning race to a distant past. Finally, geography has played a role in this historiographical neglect. Studies differentiating Canada from the United States – in terms of power (middle power, superpower) and role (helpful fixer, linchpin, leader/hegemon) implicitly suggest that, whereas race was a defining part of American history, Canada’s international history was race neutral. But racial beliefs were present and powerful, even though they were not always stated explicitly.

The persistent exclusion of race was also a result of historians’ preoccupations with nation-building questions, in particular, Canada’s development as a sovereign state and emergence as an autonomous international actor.¹³ The nationalist spirit that animated early research on Canadian foreign policy and the Department of External Affairs, as well as the focus on the nation-state as a category of analysis (particularly if it suggested the possibility of some kind of moral superiority over the United States), has defined and dominated historical scholarship on Canada in the world. The colony-to-nation narrative and paradigm apply to the literature covering the period before 1939, in which the focus has been on relations with Britain and the Empire-Commonwealth, as well as the years since 1945, when Canada’s international historians focused on Canadian-American relations. The contributors do not deny the connection between the nation-building project and Canada’s involvement in world affairs, but we have taken up Yu’s challenge in his provocation in this volume to consider how integrating race as a factor of analysis and a subject of study changes “the meaning of the historical past for Canada.” All told, the contributors seek to understand how Canada’s international history in the twentieth century looks when race is written into our historical inquiries.

The relative absence of race as a category of analysis in Canada's international history to date contrasts with a global literature on race,¹⁴ as well as with studies that position race at the centre of innovation in international history.¹⁵ Historians are still interested in wars and conflict, heads of state, national security, and the rise and fall of great powers, but the field has changed fundamentally. According to Harvard historian Akira Iriye, who pioneered the introduction of culture into more traditional diplomatic history, the field has undergone "a sea change in the way historians understand, teach and write history."¹⁶ In 2006, the *Journal of Global History* was launched with the aim of blurring, transcending, and redefining spaces in which history has unfolded, with an eye to seeing and explaining global change, reformulating (but not entirely dismissing) the "Western meta-narrative," and overcoming the "fragmentation" of history by place, theme, space, and discipline.¹⁷ American historians have led the way in opening up the field, as grassroots movements, substate groups and nongovernmental organizations, ideas and ideology, culture, diasporas, technology, health and disease, religion, gender, and the environment have all entered mainstream study. Engaging with race has been a crucial aspect of this exciting intellectual renewal.¹⁸ The result is a revised and refined understanding that accepts the racial underpinnings of the workings of international society, interstate and transsocietal relations.¹⁹

In Canada, much of the important work on race has taken place in the domestic context, as scholars unpack the racist underpinnings of both English- and French Canadian settler societies through analyses of the legal structures of racism, as well as the social exclusion of undesirable migrants. To date, scholars of international history have kept their distance from conversations about how race has been woven into Canada's national fabric. Yet Patricia Roy, Irving Abella and Harold Troper, David Austin, Renisa Mawani, Mona Oikawa, Stephanie Bangarth, James Walker, Constance Backhouse, Sherene Razack, and Barrington Walker, to name a few, have worked tirelessly to highlight the nature of racism in Canada and to examine how race has shaped social relations between individuals, communities, and authorities; how it has intersected with issues of gender and class in profoundly transformative ways; how it has been perpetuated institutionally; and how it has informed the very nature of the country's collective development, particularly through the exclusion and regulation of migrant groups and Indigenous peoples.²⁰ In doing so, these scholars have drawn attention not only to the discrimination experienced by certain

groups but also to the manner in which people have contested inequality and shaped the fabric of the nation. As such, race is understood as a critical component of Canadian history, not a tangential factor that scholars can engage with at will. Therein lies a key lesson for scholars interested in Canada's international history.

This volume is thus a beginning. There is more work to be done. Below we introduce the volume, explain its organization, and explain how individual contributions elaborate crosscutting themes. We leave it to David Meren's conclusion to reflect on the possibilities for the next generation of historical studies on race and Canada's international history.

Rethinking Canada's International History

The chapters are preceded by a provocation: a call to readers by Henry Yu to think differently about race and racism in Canada, specifically the narrative of progress that so many have embraced. A provocation may be understood as a deliberate act causing resentment, hostility, even anger. Some may take exception to his challenge of the notion that Canada's history is a tale of progress from exclusion to inclusion, notably his claim that such a narrative is a product of the logic of white supremacy upon which Canada as a settler society is based. Others may reject his admonition that when historians approach questions of race as a matter of moral judgment, they ultimately serve to minimize, if not ignore, the structural dimension of how race has shaped Canada and its history. Still, Yu warns that "historical accounts that ... [do not account] for the agency of those who were racially excluded reinforce the narrative exclusions of white supremacy by adopting an analytical framework that ignores the primary agency of the excluded in fighting against their exclusion." Such words remind us that *provocation* can be viewed in positive terms; indeed, an older definition emphasizes the act of calling or an invitation. Yu's contribution to this volume should also be viewed in these terms, a summons to those interested in Canada's international history to recognize the power of race as a structuring agent, not just historically, but of the present – not least in how the past is interpreted and the way in which such interpretations inform contemporary Canadian society.

From the provocation, the volume moves chronologically through the twentieth century so that readers can discern for themselves how race, and the application of ideas about race, has shaped Canada's international relations. The First World War is regularly identified as a milestone in Canada's

emergence as an independent international actor, while the Second World War is often seen as a turning point in the country's history of racism. The structure of this volume, however, demands a critical rethinking of the degree to which these events interrupted or changed the way race manifested itself in Canada and the country's relationship with the world. So, too, do the four key themes that emerge from the contributions in this volume: (1) the relationship between empire, identity, and liberal internationalism; (2) the tensions between individual, structure, theory, and practice; (3) the mutually constituted domestic and international spheres; and (4) the notion of marginalized terrain and space. These themes reflect the manner in which the contributors simultaneously engage with the historiographical foundations underpinning the field of Canadian international history while moving the field in new and exciting directions.

The Relationship between Empire, Identity, and Liberal Internationalism

As the contributions to this volume make clear, understanding how race has shaped Canadian international history requires a comprehensive and critical exploration of *empire* as a structuring agent of this history.²¹ Indeed, an interest in questions of empire and the afterlives of empire dominates the analyses advanced by the contributors. This should not be surprising. Beyond serving as the framework and vehicle for the imposition of a racialized structure, the circuits and structures of the British Empire afforded opportunities for individuals and groups to challenge, resist, and counteract the diverse manifestations of race-thinking informing Canada and the imperial system of which it was a part.

Empire left a lasting imprint on the mindsets and outlooks of Canadian diplomats, intellectuals, and traders long after Canada established itself as a sovereign international actor. This approach stands in stark contrast to the earlier historiography that traced the formation and development of the Department of External Affairs, the training of a fledgling diplomatic corps, and the evolution of Anglo-Canadian relations to produce a nationalist narrative in which obtaining control over foreign policy was a part of Canada's maturation as an independent state. The attainment of independence was communicated implicitly by the nationalist historical project that wrote Britain out of Canada's story after 1945.

The contributions in this volume reconsider the displacement of Britain and the empire. Even once Canada had obtained complete control over its foreign policy, racial ordering continued to define the rank and position that

Canada aspired to in the global community. Officials clung, consciously and subconsciously, to Britain and the Empire-Commonwealth as frames of reference and a belief system in which the impress of race was evident in defining interests, determining priorities, and articulating a Canadian identity.

Kevin Spooner (Chapter 9) argues, for instance, that in the 1950s and 1960s, as European empires were collapsing throughout Africa and Asia, Canadian diplomats continued to assess developments based on their belief that “white privilege” needed to be protected. This was an approach that served British interests even as the Canadian identity was being decoupled from a British and racialized one – a process Dan Gorman (Chapter 6) explores: how Canadian identity evolved in the face of a transforming British Empire, with a specific focus on the politics of imperialism, internationalism, and whiteness. Gorman explains how in Britain, the notion of Britishness as whiteness was challenged by postcolonial movements. Gorman notes that in Canada, a similar process unfolded, encouraged in part by international developments, including the changes occurring in Britain. Still, Canadian officials remained attached to this changing Britain, so much so that neo-imperial assumptions continued to guide Canadian involvement in world affairs as the British Empire transformed into the Commonwealth of Nations.

David Meren (Chapter 10) develops the idea of the afterlife of empire in his examination of the triangular dynamic between Canada, Quebec, and France, not least in how this dynamic played out in the postimperial organization known as the Francophonie. Meren explores how French, Canadian, and Quebec officials approached relations with Africa as the new organization emerged. He maintains that the ebbing of formal imperial relations after 1945 hardly meant the end of the discriminatory mentality that was so foundational to the original colonizing impulse. Rather, the racial underpinnings of empire were reconfigured as people reimaged relationships within new institutional arrangements and worked to cast a particular Canadian (or Québécois) identity in global affairs.

Overlying the imperial residue that characterized Canadian foreign policy over the course of the twentieth century was the country’s projected identity as a liberal international actor, helpful fixer, and middle power. In historical accounts of Canadian-American relations, this identity manifested itself as wise counsellor, staunch ally, and restraining force vis-à-vis the United States and its tendency to ideological dogmatism and inflammatory intervention. A self-congratulatory tone has accordingly permeated this

literature: whereas Canada was a constructive and idealistic international actor, the United States was an imperial power in need of moderation. This aspect of the historiography is consistent with the broader tendency in Canada to displace responsibility for race/racism onto the imperial authority, be it British or American.

The liberal international interpretation has subtly, but profoundly, foreclosed studies of race in Canada's international history when, in fact, race helped define those roles, as Ryan Touhey (Chapter 8) explains in his examination of Escott Reid's time as high commissioner to India. Touhey explains how an imperial frame of reference and a Cold War geopolitical environment intersected and produced a Canadian effort to act as a bridge between the United States and India. According to Touhey, the bridge was a profoundly racialized metaphor, one born of unequal power relations. In the same vein, Paula Hastings (Chapter 1) explores Canadian imperial ambitions in the West Indies in the early 1900s, as the federal government pursued trade relations with the implicit assumption of Canadian racial superiority. Hastings argues that this sense of superiority foreshadowed the rise of liberal internationalism following the Second World War.

The Tensions between Individual, Structure, Theory, and Practice

In accounting for the influence of race on Canada's international history, a number of contributors draw attention, implicitly or explicitly, to the tensions between individuals and the structures, or bureaucratic cultures, they inhabited. The contributors then consider how these tensions contributed to disconnects between ideas about race and their application, or what Hastings describes as a racially inscribed tension. The dynamic interplay between intellectual, political, and social currents meant that individuals who thought one thing and said another were forced, because of the contexts in which they worked and made decisions, to reconsider previously held "truths." This layered analysis offers a complex and nuanced reading of individual lives and the times in which they were lived. It contrasts significantly with the work of historians interested in the early history of the Department of External Affairs who explained the growth of the department and the development of its institutional capabilities largely by producing biographical studies that celebrated individual imprints.²²

The importance of focusing on elites and prominent individuals is simultaneously challenged, circumvented, and reworked in the new international history. As David Reynolds has observed, diplomatic history is seen as "a

relic of old-fashioned political history practised through a close and often uncritical reading of government documents and usually predicated on a 'great man' theory of history."²³ But in this volume, the contributors are not throwing out the great man babies with the diplomatic history bathwater. Many of the early, formative policy-makers and political leaders appear in this volume. Robert Borden and William Lyon Mackenzie King, two architects of Canadian foreign policy, figure prominently, as do well-known figures from the Department of External Affairs, including Lester Pearson, Escott Reid, Norman Robertson, Jules Léger, and Marcel Cadieux. Yet, because our working definition of international history includes all forms of contact, immigration officials also figure, along with missionaries, intellectuals, and trade representatives. The volume also includes individuals such as Sainosuke Kubota and Wee Tan Louie (who enlisted in the Canadian Expeditionary Force despite the racial bar against Asian Canadians) and Harnam Singh (who fought for social justice in Canada and later for Indian independence).

Crucially, in attending to an array of relationships, the motives behind various engagements become more complex. They are less clearly a product of institutional impetus and rational decision making. The possibility and potential influence of a diversity of world views becomes more pronounced. The challenge for historians is to penetrate and capture the mindsets of the people involved. It would be far too easy, and dangerously irresponsible, to simply attribute various acts to a racist mentality without delving further into the dynamics that animated policy-makers and interrogating the social and cultural norms that shaped the ways in which race was talked about and acted upon. Laura Madokoro (Chapter 7) achieves this, for instance, by employing Hannah Arendt's concept of race-thinking in her analysis of the interplay between officials in the Department of Citizenship and Immigration and Canada's diplomats.

Policy-makers and diplomats viewed world affairs through cultural paradigms that shaped how they established priorities, attributed causality, and explained the behaviour and agendas of their counterparts in other countries. Cultural paradigms, as they are used here, are broadly defined, encompassing politics, social life, and religion. This expansive definition is deliberate, in order to capture the many ways in which cultural paradigms simultaneously informed, and were informed by, the actions of individuals charged with formulating and implementing policy. Our focus is not on an individual's capacity to generate policy so much as on the root causes, values,

and world views that informed those policies. This helps us understand the extent to which individual actions were representative and symbolic of the times in which they lived and the degree to which they might be considered unorthodox and exceptional.

Francine McKenzie (Chapter 3) investigates the work of race in multi-lateral forums with an eye on the ways in which culture and notions of imperial power influenced individual politicians. In this case, McKenzie concentrates on how Canada's evolving place within the British Empire informed Prime Minister Robert Borden's approach to the meetings in Versailles. McKenzie insists that the idea of empire was Borden's primary frame of reference. As a result, even though the Japanese initiative to introduce a racial equality clause into the covenant of the League of Nations dovetailed with Borden's own interest in securing greater autonomy, McKenzie suggests Borden did not see racial equality as a way to promote Canada's commitment to more meaningful and complete recognition. For him, racial equality was unfounded; he did not doubt the superiority of the British race. What Borden imagined to be possible was delimited by his racialized views of an international hierarchy of nations.

Spooner (Chapter 9) explores the collective and institutional milieu in which foreign policies were articulated. Referencing sociologist Pierre Bourdieu's notion of *habitus* and recent interventions by historian Peter Jackson, Spooner suggests the notion of habitus provides the "means to reconstruct beliefs, identities, cultures at an individual or group level, in order to then assess interactions and associations with larger structures or fields that not only provide context but also come with their own set of rules and cognitive boundaries." Spooner sees the concept of habitus as especially relevant given the relative stability of the personnel in the Department of External Affairs during the transformative first two decades of the postwar period, when Canadian officials began to work seriously toward developing bilateral relations with English-speaking nations in Africa, many of them former British colonies.

The Mutually Constituted Domestic and International Spheres

Studies that include race reveal how the domestic and international spaces/spheres, which are often assumed to be distinct, are, in fact, mutually constituted. Yu's provocation explores the ways in which transnational movements of ideas about race reverberated domestically, in particular in legitimizing an allegedly democratic system of governance whose persistence rested on

exclusion, marginalization, and disempowerment of some racially determined Canadians. Yu demonstrates the importance of acknowledging Canada as a white settler society, which not only upheld a racialized order at home and abroad, but also developed internal and international practices and policies that were mutually constitutive and dependent. The symbiotic relationship between the domestic and international spheres has been especially pronounced in the exclusionary nation-building practices and decolonization processes that occurred within, and beyond, Canada's borders. Canada exported notions of race just as it imported ideas and developments from other parts of the globe. Understanding how domestic and international spheres were conceptualized and populated is distinct from recent work on transnationalism, where scholars seek to write above, through, and beyond the nation. Instead, as a result of the powerful relationship between race, nation, and identity, the theme in this volume is that the nation-state still mattered, because people acted with the nation in mind in the international sphere. As such, it is important to consider how currents of thought moved across international borders.

Although studies of decolonization rarely include Canada, some of the patterns and processes can helpfully be applied to Canada's case. For example, Prasenjit Duara has observed that an emancipatory narrative was integral to the processes of decolonization. Within this process of decolonization he has detected a concurrent process of colonization of the periphery by the new metropole. While the emancipatory narrative was understated in English-speaking Canada because of the ongoing link with Britain and the Commonwealth, as well as the value many Canadians and anglophone elites associated with a British heritage, it was nonetheless triumphalist and marginalized people whose ethnicity, culture, and religion did not conform to those of the neo-imperializing core. Notions of emancipation have played a similar, yet distinct, role in nationalist narratives in francophone Quebec. Such narratives most often depict Quebec as a victim of imperial rivalry in North America, a tragic hero whose historic mission is to achieve independence and thereby overcome the consequences flowing from the British conquest. Until independence is obtained, the nationalist narrative serves as a chronicle of earlier failed attempts to do so and explores the parallels between the Québécois and diverse colonized populations.²⁴ As in the English Canadian context, such narratives have tended to efface those individuals and histories that complicate and contradict this depiction of the white French-speaking majority.

Yet, the relevance of decolonization to the Canadian context goes well beyond interrogating the narratives associated with the settler societies that emerged from European colonialism. David Webster (Chapter 11) highlights how Canada's international relations informed the ongoing processes of decolonization in Canada. The paternalism and condescension that met Chief Deskaheh of the Six Nations of Grand River (Haudenosaunee Confederacy) as he appealed to London and the League of Nations for recognition, and Canada's subsequent response to the decolonization of Papua New Guinea, were rooted in a racialized view that perpetually infantilized Indigenous peoples.

Evolving relations between nations and empires had a profound impact on the relationships between individuals and the state. John Price (Chapter 2) explores the intersection between migration from China, Japan, and South Asia and the nature of Canada's participation in the First World War. He surveys Asian Canadian communities during these critical years and documents a number of participants' stories, comparing community participation and reactions to the war before analyzing their respective responses in the context of the transnational factors at play. Critically, Price highlights the manner in which individual life stories complicate notions of empire, loyalty, and the British world, further collapsing the conventional domestic and international divide.

The marriage of apparently domestic issues with international relations reveals the porous nature of national borders, as well as the histories this distinction has hidden, even excluded. Whitney Lackenbauer (Chapter 5) examines how race, gender, and sex intersected with the federal government's perception of its role in protecting and managing Indigenous peoples affected by northern defence projects during the Second World War and early Cold War. In identifying race as part of the Canadian government's policy framework, Lackenbauer sees an immediate connection between the presence of these soldiers and the ongoing paternalism that characterized Canadian-Indigenous relations in the North during the heady modernist days of the Cold War. By analyzing how traditional security issues intersected with individual security issues in terms of social welfare for northern Indigenous peoples, Lackenbauer erases the conventional divide between domestic and international issues.

Madokoro (Chapter 7) takes a similar approach to discuss the federal government's initial participation in the drafting of the 1951 Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees and its belated signing. Officials in the

Department of Citizenship and Immigration were worried about the impact that signing the Convention might have on the country's ability to select (or refuse) migrants for admission. These reservations deterred the federal government from signing the Convention for over two decades. Importantly, because Canada was a key participant in the drafting of the Convention, these anxieties also informed the very character of the international community's approach to refugee protection, limiting the scope of the Convention to the situation in Europe from 1951 to 1967. Though the Convention has long been considered peripheral to Canada's international history, Madokoro emphasizes the significance of the 1951 Convention precisely because it reflects the profoundly racialized world views of Canada's immigration officials, whom she treats as international actors. Given the far-reaching impact of the bureaucrats' world views, her analysis challenges the notion that the Convention was marginally significant to the history of Canada's international relations.

The Notion of Marginalized Terrain and Space

How historians position Canada within the global community affirms, responds to, and reinforces the contested racial dynamics of the twentieth century. As noted in the discussion of the theme of empire, identity, and liberal internationalism, the earlier historiography on Canada's international history focused almost entirely on the country's external relations in the context of the shifting dynamics of the Anglo-American empire. Canada's relationships with other parts of the globe were dismissed or overlooked as peripheral to the story of the country's evolving embrace of liberal internationalism. The normative focus on Canada and its relationships with Britain and the United States made studies of the country's Pacific connections or its interests in Africa and Latin America appear quixotic at best.

In historicizing race, not only can we explore previously unexamined relations, but we can also query the ways in which Canadians constructed mental maps that imposed a hierarchy of place, with some countries being more relevant to Canada. As Alan K. Henrikson has explained, a mental map is "the cognitive frame on the basis of which historians of international relations, like diplomats and others who think internationally, orient themselves in the world."²⁵ J.B. Brebner's identification of Canada as a North Atlantic nation defined the mental map that dominated among foreign policymakers; it became even more entrenched as studies on Canada and the United Kingdom and Canada and the United States flourished.²⁶

This position validated Canada's role as helpful fixer or linchpin. Webster and Sean Mills (Chapter 4) remind us that the mental maps, of the sort that informed Canadian international action, were coloured constructions. Mental maps worked to erase, displace, and marginalize Indigenous peoples in Canada and concurrently defined, and provided the rationale for, the desired racial makeup of the country.

Mills examines how French Canadians sought new connections following France's defeat in the Second World War and traces the relationship between intellectuals in Canada and those in Haiti in the 1930s. Mills underscores how "student exchanges, correspondence circles, and official diplomatic visits sparked the imagination" of Canadian and Haitian intellectuals. Significantly, the cultural solidarity that French Canadian intellectuals envisioned with their Haitian counterparts was tinged by "a belief in the dire situation of the Haitian peasantry and its lack of culture and civilization." Accordingly, Mills argues that accounting for the "complex ways in which intellectuals understood Haiti in the 1930s and 1940s is crucial to gaining insight into the complex 'mental maps' that French Canadians developed of the broader world." These mental maps worked in many ways; they could be turned inward as well as outward.

Even when Canada's geospatial placement is revised, the impact of race-thinking is evident in enduring notions of Franco-Québécois *ethnocultural solidarity*. Meren decentres the North Atlantic region to demonstrate "how the Global South was at the heart of events in the northern hemisphere, rather than being simply acted upon by First World actors." According to Meren, the politics of the Global South, as well as the question of migration from its regions, were intertwined with constitutional questions, nationalist pursuits in English and French Canada, and Quebec and Ottawa's relationship with the Francophonie and Gaullist France. Meren treats race as a formative influence in this dynamic, seeing questions of race as a way of understanding the destabilizing impact of these numerous intersections. The question of race complicated how French and English Canadians articulated civic-based nationalisms, envisioned their identities, as well as those of Quebec and Canada, and framed their responses to decolonization in the French-speaking world. In a similar vein, and as Hastings demonstrates in her examination of Canadian trade interests in the West Indies and its closed immigration policies with regard to the same region, the far reach of the imperial imprint becomes even clearer when considering relationships that have conventionally been understood as marginal to understanding