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The History of the Canadian Governmental Representation in Germany¹

Zusammenfassung

Dieser Artikel rekonstruiert die Geschichte der staatlichen Präsenz Kanadas in Deutschland. Über viele Jahre war die Geschichte der deutsch-kanadischen Beziehungen durch außergewöhnliche Umstände gekennzeichnet. Die verhältnismäßig junge Geschichte beider Staaten, Kanadas strukturelle Abhängigkeit von seinem einstigen Mutterland bei außenpolitischen Entscheidungen bis weit ins 20. Jahrhundert hinein, die entgegengesetzten Interessen hinsichtlich Auswanderung und Handelspolitik und nicht zuletzt die beiden Weltkriege haben die Entwicklung „normaler“ Beziehungen zwischen beiden Nationen verzögert. Im 19. und frühen 20. Jahrhundert gab es nur informelle deutsch-kanadische Beziehungen, die durch kanadische Einwanderungsbüros und Handelsbüros institutionalisiert waren. Erst nach dem Zweiten Weltkrieg eröffnete Kanada auch eine diplomatische Vertretung in Deutschland, die sukzessive vergrößert wurde. Seit Beginn des Kalten Krieges gehörte zur staatlichen Präsenz Kanadas auch die Stationierung kanadischer Truppen in Westdeutschland als Teil des westlichen Verteidigungsbündnisses. Der Artikel zeichnet somit nach, wie sich Kanadas Präsenz in Deutschland von den Mitte des 19. Jahrhunderts beginnenden teilweise heimlichen Aktivitäten der Einwanderungsagenturen und den im frühen 20. Jahrhundert entstandenen Handelsbüros bis hin zur Gründung regulärer diplomatischer Vertretungen und der Stationierung tausender kanadischer Soldaten auf deutschem Boden in der zweiten Hälfte des 20. Jahrhunderts entwickelte.

Abstract

This article analyzes the development of the Canadian governmental representation in Germany. For many years, the history of German-Canadian relations was marked by turbulent and exceptional circumstances. The recent origins of both nations, Canada's structural dependence on its former mother country in external affairs well into the 20th

1 This article is based on the research for a study on German-Canadian relations commissioned by the Canadian Embassy in Germany for the 100th anniversary of Foreign Affairs and International Trade Canada in 2009. The author would like to thank Hector M. Mackenzie, Senior Departmental Historian of the Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade Canada, for his helpful comments and Thilo Lenz, Public Affairs Officer at Canada's Embassy in Germany, for his support in conducting the research for this article.

century, their antagonistic interests in matters of emigration from Germany to Canada and as trade competitors, and two World Wars have slowed the evolution of “normal” relations between both nations. As a result, merely informal German-Canadian relations existed in the 19th and early 20th century – institutionalized by Canadian immigration agents and trade offices in Germany. It was only after the Second World War that Canada also opened a diplomatic representation in Germany, which continuously increased in scope. Finally, Canada’s post-Second World War official presence in Germany also involved the stationing of Canadian military forces in Western Germany as part of the western defence alliance. This article thus retraces how the Canadian governmental representation in Germany evolved from the partially clandestine operations of immigration agents in the middle of the 19th century and trade offices in the early 20th century to an elaborate diplomatic establishment and the stationing of thousands of Canadian soldiers on German soil in the latter half of the 20th century.

Résumé

Cet article retrace l’histoire de la représentation gouvernementale du Canada en Allemagne. L’histoire des relations germano-canadiennes a été marquée par des situations exceptionnelles. Les racines historiques récentes des deux nations, la dépendance structurelle du Canada à sa mère-patrie en matière d’affaires extérieures jusque tard dans le 20^{ème} siècle, leurs intérêts antagonistes en matière d’émigration de l’Allemagne vers le Canada et de concurrence commerciale ainsi que les deux guerres mondiales ont ralenti l’établissement de relations « normales » entre les deux pays. Cet article raconte les relations germano-canadiennes informelles au 19^{ème} et au début du 20^{ème} siècle au cours duquel le « Canada » est donc déjà représenté en Allemagne par le biais d’agents d’immigration et des bureaux de commerce. Depuis la Seconde Guerre mondiale, il y a aussi une mission diplomatique du Canada en Allemagne qui s’est diversifiée avec le rapprochement des deux nations au cours de la guerre froide. La présence canadienne en Allemagne est en outre marquée par le stationnement de troupes canadiennes en Allemagne de l’Ouest au nom de la défense commune des pays occidentaux. L’article retrace de la présence canadienne en Allemagne à partir des activités semi-clandestines des agents d’immigration au milieu du 19^{ème} siècle et des bureaux de commerce au début du 20^{ème} siècle jusqu’à la mise en place d’une représentation diplomatique structurée, suivie du stationnement de milliers de soldats canadiens sur le sol allemand dans la deuxième moitié du 20^{ème} siècle.

1. Introduction

In 1977, historian and former Canadian diplomat Peter Dobell (1977) called Canada – in view of the scholarly neglect of German-Canadian relations – the “forgotten partner”. Ten years later, political scientist Wilhelm Bleek (1987, 126) – looking in vain for the mentioning of Canada in scholarly publications on German foreign policy – observed that one would get the impression that German-

Canadian relations did not really exist. Even to date, no general introduction to the history of German-Canadian relations has been produced. Only very few monographs dealing with certain aspects of the bilateral relationship exist. Patrick Opdenhövel (1993) wrote his dissertation on German-Canadian relations during the interwar period and Charles Perry Stacey (1970) investigated Canada's military efforts against Germany in World War II. There is no comprehensive study, however, on German-Canadian relations after the Second World War. Angelika Sauer (1994) wrote her dissertation on German-Canadian relations from 1943 to 1947 (also see Sauer 1998). Urs Obrist (2006) examined German-Canadian relations from 1946 to 1957, while Roy Rempel (1996) wrote a study on Canada's policy towards Germany after 1955, focusing on the functions of Canadian military forces stationed in Western Germany and lamenting the fact that the Canadian government did not make better use of the potentially significant role of the Canadian forces for Canada's foreign policy (also see Rempel 1990, 1992, 1994). Sean Maloney (1997) has provided us with a meticulous study on Canada's NATO brigade in Western Germany. Margaret Isabel Campbell (2000) examined how foreign-policy objectives influenced decision-making concerning the NATO brigade in Germany. Scholarly articles – by their very nature – focus on specific questions of research but do not give an overview of the topic.²

One reason why historians have largely ignored German-Canadian relations might be the fact that Canadians tend to focus excessively on their former mother countries, Great Britain and France, when they look at Europe. German scholars, by contrast, have been absorbed by Germany's relations with the preponderant superpower on the other side of the Atlantic Ocean. When Germans think of North America, they often only consider the U.S. German-Canadian relations are a fruitful topic of investigation, however, since both nations share many traits and have numerous common interests. Both Canada and Germany are federally organized, both are non-nuclear "middle powers," both are exporting nations, and both are integrated into regional organizations or structures (EU, NAFTA). These similarities and their shared values (such as their belief in multilateralism and peaceful conflict resolution) suggest that they should cooperate more closely and develop their bilateral relationship (Bleek 1987).³

2 Informative articles on certain aspects of German-Canadian relations include Jürgensen 1989 and Spencer 1990 as well as the articles in Becker/Schultze 1989, Hirscher/Williams 1997, and Kaim/Lehmkuhl 2005.

3 To be sure, both nations are also very different. Germany's federal structure is much different from Canada's, European integration is much deeper than the North American one, Canada is an immigration country and has a multicultural society, whereas Germany is much less diverse, Canada is bilingual, she has two legal systems (common law and civil law), it is rich in natural resources, and its rather isolated geographical location sets it apart from Germany, the European heartland. For similarities and differences between Germany and Canada see Dion 2001. For an analysis of Canadian postwar policy as a "middle power" see Bredow 2000.

This article will, therefore, give an overview of the evolution of German-Canadian relations from the 19th century to date. It does so by analyzing the gradual and intermittent development of the Canadian governmental representation in Germany and is based on archival research in the *Political Archive* of the German Foreign Office, on an examination of primary sources compiled in the *Documents on Canadian External Relations* and the *Akten zur auswärtigen Politik der Bundesrepublik Deutschland* and on the reading of secondary works on immigration to Canada, Canada's foreign trade, Canadian foreign policy, and Canadian defence policy.

While German-Canadian relations were formally established only after World War Two, the history of the Canadian presence in Germany stretches much further back, predating the establishment of the Canadian Department of External Affairs in 1909. From the time Sir John A. MacDonald became Prime Minister in 1878, he and his successors implemented campaigns to draw immigrants from Europe. "Canada" was thus already represented in Germany in the 19th century through immigration agents. After World War I, immigration offices were among the first Canadian establishments in Germany. Germany and Canada also had trade relations before the establishment of diplomatic relations. Indeed, the first Canadian post to be opened in Germany was a trade office. Canada's first diplomatic post in Germany was the civilian mission to the Allied High Commission, opened in 1949 and transformed into an Embassy in Bonn in 1951. Ever since, the Canadian Embassy has been the center of Canada's presence in Germany, moving to Berlin in 1999. Finally, Canada's post-Second World War presence in Germany involved the stationing of Canadian military forces in Western Germany as part of the common western defence against Soviet communism.

2. Immigration Agents and Offices in Germany

German-speaking people began immigrating to what is today Canada in the 17th century.⁴ The first wave of German migration to Canada occurred, however, only after the English had conquered Nova Scotia in the early 18th century. As the population of what had previously been Acadia was mainly French, the British administration of the area initiated the first active foreign immigration policy by recruiting foreign Protestants in order to balance the population statistics.⁵ The American Revolution ignited a second wave of German migration to Canada in 1776. Many of the Loyalists in the conflict between the Crown and the rebellious

4 The subsequent structuring of German immigration into Canada into six consecutive waves follows Bassler 2004. General introductions to the history of German immigration to Canada are Friedmann 1952; Fröschle 1997; Helling 1984; Lehmann 1986; Wagner 2006.

5 Many of these immigrants came from German duchies and principalities on the Upper Rhine, especially from the duchy of Württemberg. Town names in Nova Scotia like Lunenburg and Kingsburg bear witness to the German immigration of this period.

North American colonies who were of German descent fled to Canada.⁶ The third wave of German immigration to Canada took place between 1830 and 1880 and brought the so-called "Ontario settlers" to Canada. Attracted by the Mennonites who had settled in what is today southwest Ontario, about 50,000 immigrants came to populate this region (cf. Smith 1980). This period saw the first attempts of the Canadian government to solicit German immigrants. In 1854, the Bureau of Agriculture produced a brochure, which was circulated in the German states, to promote immigration. William Wagner, appointed on January 30, 1860, was the first government agent to reside in Germany (Wagner 2006, 44, 48, 218). He was instructed "to encourage small farmers and agricultural labourers, but not mechanics, to emigrate to Canada" (Macdonald 1966, 82). He travelled throughout the country, advertised in newspapers, gave lectures, and answered letters from prospective emigrants (Gates 1934, 30-31).

After the Dominion was founded in 1867, the Canadian government made more systematic efforts to attract German settlers. In 1872, it sent Wilhelm Hespeler to Berlin as its official immigration agent and in December, the province of Ontario sent John Dyke to Germany to recruit Germans. Arriving in Germany in January 1873, Dyke was arrested, however, one month later, since it was illegal in Prussia to solicit emigrants. Although he was released after a couple of days, the Canadian government came to the conclusion that it was too dangerous to carry on its current immigration efforts in Germany. Instead, recruiters were to operate from residences outside the German Empire. Dyke, for example, kept up recruiting Germans from an office in Liverpool. Another result of Dyke's arrest was the practice of sending "ad hoc representatives" to Germany, who would go on "temporary immigrant soliciting tours." In 1885, the Department of Agriculture sent Henry Eilber to Germany for three months to distribute information on Canada among Germans intending to emigrate. One year later, D. W. Riedle and Adolf Christoph were sent to recruit immigrants. Open immigration propaganda, however, was prohibited. Information could only be provided to those who had already decided to emigrate (Wagner 2006, 98-100, 111).

Although the federal government under Sir John A. Macdonald sent Canadian immigration agents to Germany and employed German agents to solicit immigrants, who used newspaper advertisements and pamphlets and were paid through a bonus system (Wagner 2006, 77), the private sector dominated the process of promoting and assisting immigration from Europe. In particular, it was the Canadian Pacific Railway (CPR) and the Canadian National Railways (CNR), which needed immigrant workers and thus sought to attract Germans. The CPR even operated a Department of Colonization and Immigration (Whitaker 2004,

6 Especially pacifist-minded Mennonites who were discriminated against in the U.S. took refuge in Canada in this period (cf. Holmes 1992). In addition, some of the German mercenaries who had been employed by Great Britain in the struggle with the rebellious American colonies decided to settle in Canada once their terms had expired (cf. Smith 1976).

304). In 1869, for example, the Grand Trunk Railway sent agents to Hamburg. They were to sell tickets to immigrants to Canada (Wagner 2006, 45).

The early immigration policy was not very successful in bringing a large amount of immigrants to Canada. Only under the liberal government of Sir Wilfrid Laurier would immigrants, especially German immigrants, arrive in massive numbers.⁷ In order to lure immigrants to Canada, Laurier's Minister of the Interior, Clifford Sifton, appointed in 1897 and henceforth responsible for immigration, created an independent Immigration Branch within the Department of the Interior to make immigration policy more efficient. He started an effective promotion campaign in Europe and the United States and created a network of agents to screen prospective German immigrants if they were qualified as farmers (qualifications as farmers would remain the most important selection criterion until World War I, after which political, national, and cultural criteria rose in importance) (Whitaker 1991, 304).

Recruiters operated from outside Germany and only temporary unofficial agents were sent to Germany in order to circumvent the German ban on official agents (Wagner 2006, 133). As a result, no immigration office was opened in Germany in this period (Willson 1915, 292-293. Also see Skilling 1945, 20-21). As campaigns to persuade Germans to migrate to Canada would involve contrasting a glorious future in Canada with poor prospects in Germany, German authorities were irritated by open immigration campaigns. When Lord Strathcona visited Hamburg in 1898 to negotiate with ship-owners, the German government sent an official protest to the English government (Lehmann 1986, 102-103). The German newspaper *Hamburger Nachrichten* complained about

the arrogance of the Canadian [High Commissioner] Lord Strathcona [in whose responsibility the implementation of the immigration campaign in Europe fell], and the utter disrespect shown by him [...] in publicly conducting his emigration propaganda on German soil. [...] Apart from the weakening of the Fatherland which the success of such propaganda entails, the attempt to lure our fellow-countrymen to this desolate, sub-arctic region is [...] to be denounced as criminal (quoted in Willson 1915, II, 294).

In 1899, therefore, Sifton created an organization of booking agents for shipping companies who operated under the disguise of a North Atlantic Trading Company, which had its headquarters in Amsterdam. The governmental control of it was at first kept secret from the public and only German citizens were chosen as agents. They solicited and selected German immigrants to Canada – for a bonus of five dollars for each farmer immigrant and two dollars for each family member (Lehmann 1986, 102; Skilling 1945, 21; Wagner 2006, 135). Although the opera-

7 For the reasons for this immigration boom see Brown/Cook 1974.

tions of this company seemed successful – the beginning of the 20th century witnessed record numbers of immigrants – it was dissolved in 1906, as it raised the specter of serious diplomatic tensions with Germany (Skilling 1945, 25). The First World War brought this fourth wave of immigration to a conclusion.

After the war, however, the number of immigrants increased again. In 1923, Canada's wartime prohibition against admitting German immigrants was removed and the German government lifted the prewar ban on Canadian immigration agents.⁸ In the same year, the first Canadian immigration office in Germany opened in Hamburg, the principal port of embarkation for German emigrants leaving for Canada (Wagner 2006, 164, 183). Since 1924, the immigration service began to be professionalized. Candidates applying as immigration officers were recruited on the basis of examinations and they had to have graduated from high school and had to have four years of farming experience. Furthermore, the Hamburg office included a medical officer, employed by the Department of Health, to examine prospective immigrants. The function of this immigration office was exclusively inspectional, as immigration "propaganda" was still not allowed in Germany (Skilling 1945, 29-31). Immigrant solicitation and recruitment was entrusted to the Canadian Pacific Railway and the Canadian National Railways (Wagner 2006, 182). In fact, the employees of the railroad companies concerned with immigration now operated as government agents deciding on the acceptability of immigrants and issuing certificates to them, while the immigration office was almost exclusively focused on medical examinations and visa matters (Wagner 2006, 182-183).⁹ When the Great Depression set in, however, new restrictions on immigration led to a sharp decline in German immigration. In 1939, the immigration office was closed due to the outbreak of the Second World War (Skilling 1945, 32-33). After the war, immigration to Canada took up pace again and reached unprecedented numbers, as Chart 1 demonstrates.

The post-war boom in German immigration to Canada was supported by the establishment of numerous – mostly short-lived – Canadian immigration offices. Millions of people had been uprooted during and in the aftermath of World War II and had become refugees.¹⁰ Canada was among the nations, which received the bulk of them (Iacovetta 2004, 181). On June 6, 1947, the Canadian government issued an order-in-council to admit – initially – 5,000 displaced persons. Later that

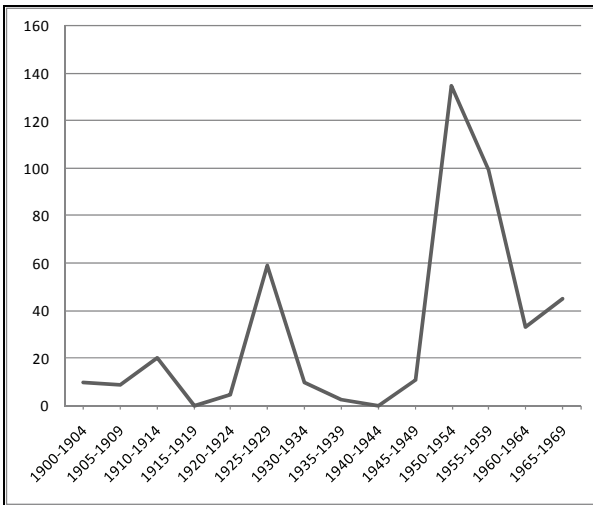
8 The German government, however, kept up its policy of prohibiting outright advertising and soliciting activities.

9 Accordingly, the number of the CPR's immigration agents in Germany increased from two in 1925 to fifty-one in 1929 (Skilling 1945, 183-184).

10 For Canada's policies towards refugees after the war see Avery 1986. After the Second World War, there were also numerous private organizations aiding the German population. Canadian volunteer agencies engaged in providing foreign aid to war-torn Germany include Canadian Lutheran World Relief (Winnipeg), the Mennonite Central Committee (Kitchener), the Canadian Society for German Relief (Kitchener), the Sudeten German Club Forward (Toronto), and the Canadian Christian Council for Resettlement of Refugees (Winnipeg). Cf. Stüber 1984.

year, an immigration office was established in Heidelberg which served as a headquarters for the Canadian immigration teams working in Germany and which subsequently moved to Karlsruhe. The immigration teams were constantly moving throughout war-torn Germany, interviewing large numbers of displaced persons and often visiting refugee camps. An immigration team usually consisted of an immigration officer and medical, labour, and security officers. The recruitment of immigration officers in this time usually took place under emergency conditions and the overseas immigration service thus lacked in overall professionalization. Grade 12 was a basic educational requirement but war experience was also an important factor in the selection process. Between July 1947 and November 1948, more than 50,000 displaced persons moved from Germany to Canada (Hawkins 1972, 239, 246-247).

Chart 1: German Immigration to Canada, 1900-1969 (in thousands)



Source: Sautter 1992, 309.

After the Federal Republic of Germany had been founded in 1949, the new Department of Citizenship and Immigration established immigration offices throughout Western Germany. The Canadian Cabinet, moreover, decided to remove German nationals from the list of enemy aliens who were forbidden to enter the country in order to be able to receive German immigrants “whose professional, technical or industrial skills” were needed in Canada (Extract from Cabinet Conclusions, September 1, 1950, in Department of External Affairs 1967-, XVI, 1724-1725). Prior to that decision, only displaced persons who were of German ethnic origin but had not been German citizens before September 1, 1939, those who had been opposed to the Nazi regime, and relatives of persons legally resi-

dent in Canada had been admitted (Extract from Cabinet Conclusions, March 28, 1950, in Department of External Affairs 1967-, XVI, 1723-1724).

Three offices were opened in the Northern part of the Federal Republic: in Hanover in 1951, in Bremen in 1953, and in Hamburg in 1954. Two were established in the central part of West Germany: in Hanau in 1954 and in Cologne in 1956. The Cologne office replaced the one in Karlsruhe as the new immigration headquarters in Germany. The Consulate in Frankfurt, run by the Department of External Affairs, also had "Immigration Inspectional Facilities." In general, however, the Department of External Affairs preferred immigration offices to be placed on separate premises – because of "our clientele in Immigration," as Deputy Minister of the Department of Citizenship and Immigration put it in 1960 (quoted in Hawkins 1972, 243). In addition to the existing Immigration Mission in Karlsruhe, two more immigration offices were founded in the southern part of the Federal Republic: one in Munich in 1954 and one in Stuttgart in 1956. Finally, an immigration office was opened in West Berlin in 1955.¹¹ The functions of these immigration offices included issuing visas, recruiting immigrants, and keeping in contact with the government of West Germany (e.g. they had to provide information when accusations of the mistreatment of German immigrants had become public) (cf. files on Canada in the Political Archive of the German Foreign Office).

Table 1: Canadian Immigration Offices in Germany after 1945

Location	Date Opened	Date Closed
Heidelberg	13.11.1947	20.03.1948
Karlsruhe	20.03.1948	05.11.1956
Hanover	14.02.1951	05.11.1956
Bremen	1953	30.09.1955
Hamburg	01.02.1954	Unknown
Hanau	01.03.1954	30.09.1955
Munich	04.01.1954	30.04.1968
Berlin	01.06.1955	31.03.1970
Cologne	01.12.1956	1973
Stuttgart	01.12.1956	Unknown

Source: Hawkins 1972, 379.

Most of these immigration offices had closed by the mid-fifties, as the political structure of the Federal Republic settled into place. The so called *Wirtschaftswunder* (economic miracle) created an enormous demand for labour in West Ger-

11 After 1955 future immigration offices in Germany would be classified as "Visa Offices" but would still be run by the Department of Citizenship and Immigration.

many, and the refugee problem ceased to be as urgent as in the late 1940s and the beginning 1950s. Today, Citizenship and Immigration Canada co-locates its offices within Embassy premises, and the Immigration Section of the Embassy of Canada in Berlin, therefore, handles the immigration applications of German citizens. Table 1 gives an overview of the rapid expansion of immigration offices in post-war Germany and their gradual dissolution after the mid-fifties.

3. Trade Commissioners and Offices in Germany

After the Dominion was founded, the government began looking for foreign markets for Canadian products. In 1892, the Department of Trade and Commerce was founded – seventeen years before the Department of External Affairs. One year later, the Department appointed the first commercial agents for Norway, Sweden, and Denmark – the first step in promoting Canadian trade with continental Europe. In 1902, a commercial agent was selected for France and in 1909 a trade office was opened in Amsterdam.¹² After the conclusion of a trade convention with Germany a trade office was finally established in Berlin in 1910. It was run by W. G. Fischer, a Canadian of German descent.¹³ Three years later the trade office moved to Hamburg, since Germany's largest port city was a better place to promote the import of Canadian goods. It was headed by C. F. Just. When World War I broke out in August 1914, however, the office was already closed again (Hill 1977, 57-58, 132-133, 205-206).

After the war, in 1922, the Department of Trade and Commerce re-established its trade office in Hamburg and appointed Leolyn Dana Wilgress to run it.¹⁴ At that time, competitive examinations were used to select suitable candidates for the trade commissioner service (Skilling 1945, 63). While it was a predecessor to the diplomatic service of Canada, the tasks of trade commissioners were limited to the promotion of trade. In 1920, Sir George Foster, member of the Canadian Parliament, explained, "They [the trade commissioners] have no diplomatic functions and they confine themselves entirely to matters of trade" (quoted in: Skilling 1945, 65). They had neither diplomatic nor consular privileges and immunities. Only after Canada established an Embassy in Germany would the trade commissioner become a commercial attaché and thus a diplomatic officer. The functions of the trade offices included gathering information on the trade, financial, industrial, and

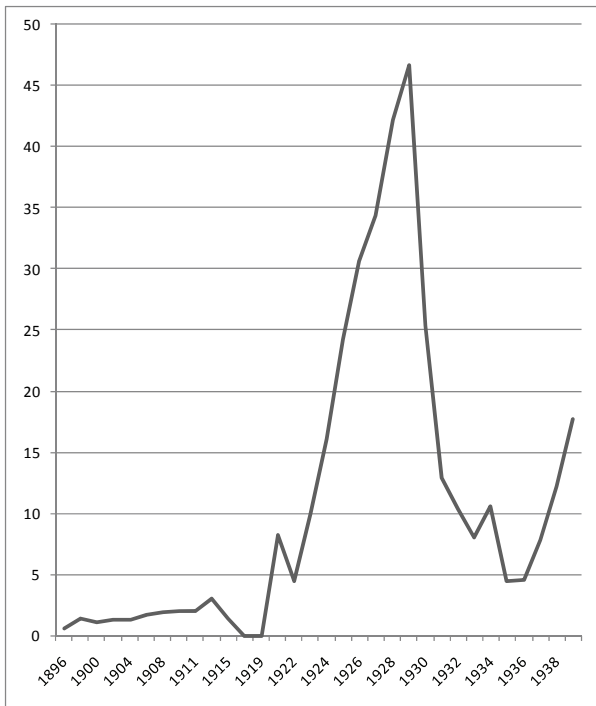
12 In 1907, the term "trade commissioner" replaced "commercial agent" (Skilling 1945, 51).

13 The trade convention provided for the removal of the Canadian surtax on German goods (imposed in 1903) and the granting of conventional rates of the German tariff to Canada (Department of Trade and Commerce 1910).

14 He was responsible for the German market, for the Soviet Union, the Baltic States, Poland, Czechoslovakia, and, as of 1924, for the Scandinavian countries (Opdenhövel 1993, 297, 302). Between 1920 and 1922, the Canadian government had been kept informed about the economic and political developments in Germany by the British Board of Trade and the British government (Opdenhövel 1993, 77).

economic conditions of the host country (the system of Canada's commercial representation was called "Commercial Intelligence Service"), making contacts with German businessmen, passing on information as to the possible demand for Canadian products, local and foreign competitors, reliable agents or distributors, and information as to freight rates, customs, and regulations, and connecting Canadian businesses with potential German customers (Skilling 1945, 67, 72-73). Even though Canada failed to negotiate a bilateral trade agreement with Germany in the interwar years and Canadian goods became subject to the general German tariff, Canadian exports to Germany skyrocketed until 1929, when the Great Depression set in, as Chart 2 demonstrates.

Chart 2: Canadian Exports to Germany, 1921-1939 (in millions of dollars)



Source: Hill 1977, 93, 166, 290, 562.

As Canadian exports dropped in the early 1930s, it was urgent to find easier access to the German market and to try again to negotiate a trade agreement with Germany, especially after Germany had imposed strict foreign exchange controls in 1934. Canadian exports to Germany fell from \$10.6 million in 1934 to \$4.47 million in 1935, and the balance of trade was to Canada's disadvantage. Finally, a trade agreement and a payments agreement between Canada and Germany were

concluded in 1936. In exchange for the lowering of the Canadian duties on German products, Germany would spend the proceeds of her exports to Canada on the acquisition of Canadian goods, thus balancing their trade. 63.1 per cent of the dollars Germany earned through her exports were to be used on buying Canadian goods from a scheduled list (including wheat, apples, lumber, and fish) and 39.1 per cent of them could be spent on non-scheduled Canadian goods.¹⁵ Canadian exports to Germany increased again, as shown in Chart 2. By 1939, they had risen to \$17.8 million from \$4.47 million in 1935.

As a consequence of this trade construction, the Canadian trade office in Hamburg was moved to Berlin in 1938, because the supervision of the payments agreement required elaborate administration and communication between the two governments (Opdenhövel 1993, 342). The Canadian government told the trade commissioner in Germany – at first Paul Sykes and then J. C. Macgillivray – each month how much foreign exchange Germany had accrued through sales of German goods in Canada. The German committee in Canada provided the foreign exchange figures. The trade commissioner in Germany then had to make sure that 63.1 per cent of this money would be used to purchase Canadian goods from the scheduled list. While in theory this arrangement seemed clear, in practice it was not as easy to carry it out. Often figures arrived late or quotas could not be fully used. Flexibility, adjustment, communication, and bargaining over details were thus necessary. When war broke out in 1939, the Berlin trade office was closed. Table 2 lists the Canadian trade offices in Germany, including the years of their opening and closing.¹⁶

Table 2: Canadian Trade Offices in Germany

Location	Date Opened	Date Closed
Berlin	1910	1913
Hamburg	1913	1914
Hamburg	1922	1938
Berlin	1938	1939
Frankfurt	1946	1948

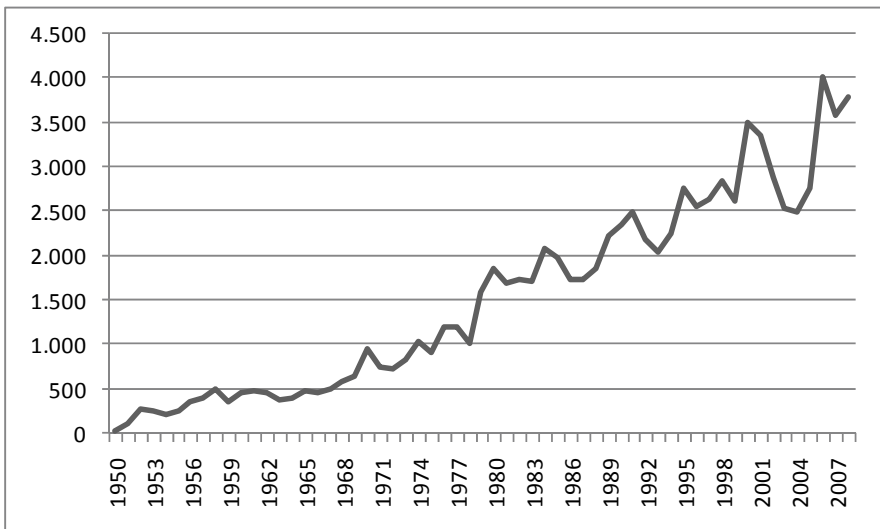
Source: Royal Commission on Conditions of Foreign Service 1981, 95-105.

15 For the negotiating of the trade agreement see Opdenhövel 1993, 287-308; Hill 1977, 552-554. For the trade agreement itself see Department of Trade and Commerce 1936; Riddell 1962, 656-657. Norman A. Robertson put the connection between both agreements point blank: "The Payments Agreement is what we get in exchange for the Trade Agreement, for the latter, though couched in carefully reciprocal terms, is of no value to Canada: in itself it provides simply for a continuation of the present tariff treatment enjoyed by Canadian goods" (Norman A. Robertson, Memorandum, October 6, 1936, in Department of External Affairs 1967-, VI, 729-733).

16 For the administering of the trade agreement see Hill 1977, 554.

After World War II, trade relations between Germany and Canada were increasingly regulated through multilateral trade agreements within the framework of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade and the World Trade Organization. Authority over German trade, moreover, came under the control of the European Community.¹⁷ Efforts to promote trade between Germany and Canada were no longer institutionalized in independent trade offices but in the Canadian Embassy and the Consulates. The only Canadian trade office, which had been opened in Germany after the war in Frankfurt in 1946, was soon transformed into a Consulate in 1948. In January 1981, the Canadian government proclaimed that the foreign officers of the Department of Industry, Trade, and Commerce, as well as their trade policy and trade promotion responsibilities, would be transferred to the Department of External Affairs. Trade Commissioners became diplomats.

Chart 3: Canadian Exports to Germany, 1950-2008 (in millions of Euros)



Source: Statistisches Bundesamt 2009.

The volume of trade between Canada and Germany has grown consistently over the last decades, as Chart 3 demonstrates. While the focus of the Trade Commissioner Service is still on supporting Canadian businesses to find markets for

17 A trade instrument which is still applied bilaterally between Canada and Germany is the Double Taxation Convention which is intended to promote investments in both directions (cf. Becker 1984).

their products in Germany and thus on promoting Canadian exports, it now also supports German companies trying to do business in Canada.¹⁸

4. Diplomats and Missions

While Canada had begun luring German immigrants and promoting German-Canadian trade early on, it took Canada a long time to establish diplomatic relations with Germany. Before 1909, Great Britain handled most of Canada's foreign affairs, and even after the Department of External Affairs was founded in 1909, Canada did not initially pursue an independent foreign policy. In fact, the word "foreign" had been deliberately replaced by "external". Most Canadian diplomacy was still conducted by the British Foreign Office. When Great Britain declared war on Germany on August 5, 1914, the declaration was also binding on Canada, which thus took part in the First World War without ever declaring war itself.¹⁹ Similarly, the British consul provided consular services for Canadians in foreign countries (Skilling 1945, 65). It was only in matters of trade that Canadian and German representatives would negotiate with each other directly (Opdenhövel 1993, 496, 502).

World War I was a watershed in the development of an independent Canadian foreign policy, as Canada received a separate seat and a vote at the Versailles Peace Conference in 1919 and subsequently became a member of the League of Nations. In 1923, Canada was officially granted the right to international negotiations and established diplomatic relations with the United States in 1927 and France in 1928. 1937 saw the first visit of a Canadian Prime Minister to Germany.²⁰ Despite the new diplomatic freedom, however, Canada did not use its newly gained powers to the full extent and played hardly a role in international affairs in the interwar years. When Loring Christie – counselor on relations to the British Empire, defence, and disarmament in the Department of External Affairs – suggested establishing a mission in Germany in 1937, Prime Minister W. L. Mackenzie King rejected the idea arguing that "Representation in any foreign country is almost certain to draw us into situations involving religious or other questions" (Loring Christie, Notes on the Placing of New Legations, September 23, 1937, and William Lyon Mackenzie King, Diary, December 9, 1937, quoted in Hilliker 1990, 189). As a result, before 1946 the Canadian government used their representative

18 The most well-known Canadian companies operating in Germany are the automotive supplier Magna International and the aerospace and transportation company Bombardier.

19 For the history of Canada's foreign policy see mainly Stacey 1977/1981; Holmes 1979/1982; Hillmer/Granatstein 1994; Bothwell 2007. Critical evaluations of special aspects of Canada's foreign policy can be found in Granatstein 1986.

20 W. L. Mackenzie King visited Germany from June 27 to 30, 1937, and met Hitler during his stay. Riddell 1962, 158. Mackenzie wrote down his recollections of the interview in his diary. The entry is reprinted in: Neatby 1986.

in London for diplomatic exchanges with the other European countries except France (Jürgensen 1982, 92).

In 1939, Canada – in contrast to World War I – had to declare war on Germany itself. After Great Britain had done so on September 3, Canada waited for a week to issue its own declaration of war on September 10. The delay of the declaration of war was a concession to the French-speaking population in Canada. After 1945, Canada became an independent player in world affairs, becoming a founding member of both the United Nations and NATO, increasing the number of its posts abroad, and setting out to establish its first mission on German soil.

In January 1946, the Canadian government established the Canadian Military Mission to the Allied Control Council in Berlin and appointed Lt.-Gen. Maurice Pope, who was responsible both to the Department of External Affairs and the Department of National Defence, as its first head. Pope was an experienced diplomat having led the Canadian Joint Staff Mission in Washington, D. C., from 1942 to 1944 and having been a member of the Canadian delegation to the conference founding the United Nations in 1945.²¹ Besides Pope, the Canadian mission was made up of a staff officer, a representative of the custodian of enemy property, an economic adviser, and Morley Scott of the Department of External Affairs, who became head of the consular section. The civilians on the staff were given honorary military rank, but in practice they were representing the Canadian government as diplomats. "The establishment of the military mission, therefore, marked the effective beginning of diplomatic relations between Canada and Germany" (Hilliker 1990, 308).²²

His instructions – drafted by Under Secretary of State for External Affairs Norman Robertson – told Pope to report on the policies of the occupying powers and German reactions to them. He was also asked to communicate on prospects for Canadian trade, as the Canadian government hoped Canada's economy could profit from the temporary standstill of German industrial production. Besides reporting to Ottawa, Pope was ordered to protect Canadian interests in Germany. This would include support for Canadian nationals in Germany and assistance in connecting Canadians with relatives and friends in Germany and in investigating claims of Canadians who had lost property in Germany. Finally, Pope's activities were to include liaison with the Canadian forces in Germany and with other military missions to the Allied Control Council (Robertson to Pope, January 29, 1946, in Department of External Affairs 1967-, XII, 154-159).²³

21 Biographical information was found in German Foreign Office file 241-24 II/8097/51.

22 For the establishment of the mission see the autobiographical account of Pope 1962, 291-320. For further information see Hilliker 1980, 69-86.

23 Pope handled the last task so well that he was elected doyen of the heads of military missions in Berlin in October 1946 (German Foreign Office file 241-24 II/8097/51). For Pope's activities in post-war Germany also see Jürgensen 1989, 67-69. A brief discussion of the Canadian views on Germany in 1948 can be found in Holmes 1979, I, 122-123.

Although Canada had provided a stronger military force to defeat Germany in World War II than any other western nation except the occupying powers, Canada's role in determining the postwar order was very limited. In the words of Lester B. Pearson (1972, 295), Canada "had little or nothing to do with the terms of surrender and the temporary arrangements for the control of Germany after the surrender" and Canada's subsequent views on a peace settlement with Germany were "of little import."²⁴ Kurt Jürgensen (1982, 87), however, found that Canada could exert some influence "by means of advice." The Canadian government tried to play a constructive part in the peace settlement, because it believed that its contributions to the war effort entitled it to have a say in the reordering of Europe but also because the "German question" gave it the opportunity to act and confirm its position as an independent, sovereign state. "We cannot emphasize too strongly the right of this country to be one of the principals in any matters that have grown out of the war and related to the making of the peace," Prime Minister Mackenzie King explained to the parliament in December 1945 (House of Commons Debates, December 17, 1945, 3693). While the four occupying powers did not grant Canada direct influence, Canada would make recommendations and proposals through Great Britain. In fact, the Canadian government began supporting the creation of a separate West German state before Great Britain (Jürgensen 1982). Already in May 1946 the head of the Second Political Division – responsible for the Commonwealth, Europe, and the Middle East – wrote a memorandum on the German settlement. Escott Reid suggested that if the Soviet Union did not agree to create a stable democratic government in a united Germany, "we should at least aim at a unified administration for the Western zones, and every effort should be made by the Western powers to bring the standard of living in the Western zones well above that in the Soviet zone" (Memorandum by the Head of the Second Political Division, May 7, 1946, in Department of External Affairs 1967-, XII, 190-191). There is no evidence, however, that Reid's memorandum had any influence on British or American policy (Jürgensen 1982, 101). Before the Federal Republic was founded, moreover, cooperation between Canada and German "authorities" in the Western occupied zones was limited. Mackenzie also decided that Canada would not take part in the Berlin airlift (Pickersgill and Forster 1970, 189-195).

By the order-in-council of November 22, 1949, the Canadian government decided to establish a diplomatic mission in Bonn, West Germany's new capital, because the Federal Republic of Germany had been founded on May 24, 1949, and the Allied Control Council to which the mission in Berlin was accredited no longer exercised authority in Germany. Since the Occupation Statute restricted the sovereignty of the West German government (especially in foreign affairs), the new mission was initially accredited not to the West German government but to

24 According to John F. Hilliker, Canada had "no bread at the peace table" (Hilliker 1980).

the Allied High Commission, which consisted of High Commissioners representing the U.S., Great Britain, and France. The mission officially opened on December 15, 1949.²⁵ The functions of the mission in Bonn resembled those the mission in Berlin had previously fulfilled. Its primary purpose was to report on the political and economic developments in West Germany and on how they affected Canadian interests in Europe (Memorandum from Under-Secretary of State for External Affairs to Secretary of State for External Affairs, July 22, 1949, in Department of External Affairs 1967-, XV, 1713-1716). Canada, however, also kept its mission in Berlin.²⁶ The retention of the mission in Berlin was supposed "to show our support and to hearten West Berliners." (Secretary of State for External Affairs to Ambassador in United States, February 16, 1952, in Department of External Affairs 1967-, XVIII, 1448-1450). Producing "useful reports of political, economic and military interest" was another function (Memorandum from Under-Secretary of State for External Affairs to Secretary of State for External Affairs, July 22, 1949, in Department of External Affairs 1967-, XV, 1713-1716). While some staff members were moved from Berlin to Bonn, a senior military officer was sent to Berlin to act "as military observer in Germany," since Berlin was considered a suitable place to gather information on Soviet military activity (Service Attaché Requirements, April 21, 1950, in Department of External Affairs 1967-, XVI, 16-120).

One of the major issues in German-Canadian relations after the foundation of the Federal Republic in 1949 – besides the termination of the state of war, German immigration to Canada, the prosecution of Nazi war criminals, German property in Canada, and the rearmament of West Germany²⁷ – was the establishment of official diplomatic relations, and on July 10, 1951, the mission in Bonn was finally transformed into an Embassy, following the termination of the state of war between Canada and Germany. Davis – heretofore accredited to the Allied High

25 Since the Federal Republic of Germany was not sovereign at this point, Chancellor Konrad Adenauer had to ask for the Allied High Commission's permission to open a Consulate General in Canada in May 1950. It was opened in Ottawa on February 13, 1951 (Chancellor Adenauer to the Chair of the Allied High Commission McCloy, May 12, 1950, in Institut für Zeitgeschichte 1994-, I, 60).

26 Pope was in charge of both missions until 1950, when he was replaced by Thomas Clayton Davis. It continued to be Canada's policy to make the head of the mission in Bonn simultaneously the head of the mission in Berlin (Order-in-council of November 22, 1949, in Department of External Affairs 1967-, XV, 28-29).

27 The rearmament of West Germany was put on the agenda, after North Korean forces had invaded South Korea. On August 31, 1950, Secretary of State Lester Pearson suggested rearming the Federal Republic before the House of Commons (House of Commons Debates, Vol. 1, 2nd Sess., 95). In October, Defence Minister Brooke Claxton advised the Prime Minister to support a West German admittance to NATO (Extracts from Minutes of Meeting of Cabinet Defence Committee, October 12, 1950, in Department of External Affairs 1967-, XVI, 1018-1019). Urs Dobrist (2006, 10) argued that Canada played a useful role as an "honest broker" in the face of French objections to a West German rearmament and was successful in convincing French Prime Minister Mendès-France to agree to an inclusion of the Federal Republic into the integrated NATO forces.

Commission – was henceforth accredited as Canadian Ambassador to the Federal Republic of Germany. On August 16, 1951, he submitted his letters of credence. (Memorandum from Acting Secretary of State for External Affairs to Cabinet, June 25, 1951, in Department of External Affairs 1967-, XVII, 1693-1695). On February 10, 1954, the Canadian Prime Minister visited West Germany on February 10, 1954. By the mid-1950s, German-Canadian relations had “normalized”.²⁸

Not only did the number of Canadian posts abroad rise in the aftermath of the Second World War, the number of service attachés at the diplomatic missions also increased. In addition to commercial and military attachés who had traditionally been assigned to foreign missions, press, labour, agricultural, financial, scientific, and other experts joined the diplomatic staff to turn Canada’s missions into “miniature replicas of the federal government in Ottawa” (Eayrs 1961, 65). As a result, the Canadian diplomatic personnel accredited to the Federal Republic of Germany in Bonn grew continuously after 1949, as Chart 4 depicts.

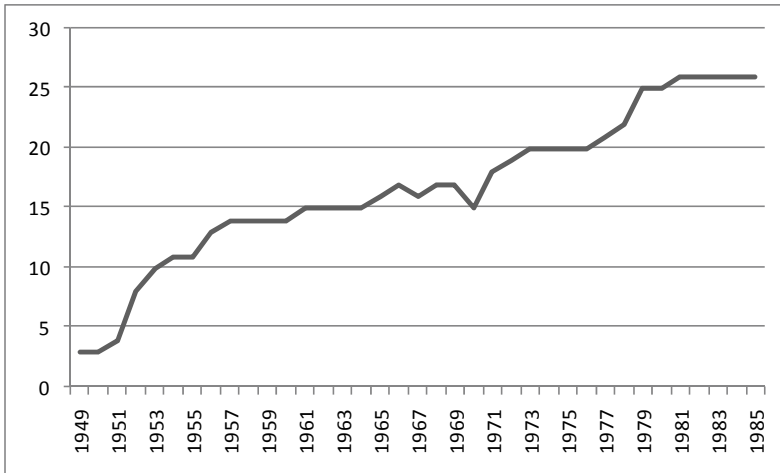
In concert with all other NATO members, Canada at first refused to recognize the government of the German Democratic Republic. After the Federal Republic had normalized its relations with the German Democratic Republic in 1972/1973, however, Canada established diplomatic relations to the German Democratic Republic on August 1, 1975. It was agreed that diplomatic representatives at the level of Ambassador were to be exchanged at a mutually convenient date. While Canada never established an Embassy in East Berlin during the Cold War, the Canadian Ambassador to Poland, resident in Warsaw, was concurrently accredited as Ambassador to the German Democratic Republic between 1976 and 1990. When Germany reunited on October 3, 1990, the post was eliminated.

When the government of the Federal Republic moved from Bonn to Berlin in 1999, Canada’s Embassy followed suit and was located temporarily in the International Trade Center in downtown Berlin. On April 29, 2005, Governor General Adrienne Clarkson inaugurated Canada’s new Embassy on the Leipziger Platz.²⁹

28 As Urs Dobrist (2006, 12-13) pointed out, however, German-Canadian relations still lacked intensity. The Canadian government would remain uncommitted in the Berlin crisis of 1958. German policy-makers, for their part, focused on the European integration process and on the transatlantic alliance with the U.S., while Canada’s importance to German foreign policy declined, after Germany had become sovereign again and was no longer in need of Canadian support for a peace settlement with the western powers, rearmament, and NATO integration. In the mid-1970s, Canada’s interest in Germany was awakened again. Since the process of European integration took up pace, good relations to Germany were useful in promoting Canadian trade interests in the European Community. After the Federal Republic and Canada had already signed an agreement on scientific and technological cooperation on April 16, 1971, they concluded an agreement on cultural cooperation in order to promote among others the exchange of students, professors, teachers, and artists and on March 3, 1975 (Bleek 1987, 131-133, 136).

29 For information on the Embassy see for example Bolk 2005.

Chart 4: Growth of the Canadian Diplomatic Staff in the Federal Republic of Germany



Source: List of Military Missions Accredited to the Allied Control Council in Berlin, 1949-1952, found in the files of the Political Archive of the German Foreign Office; Auswärtiges Amt 1953-1974; Auswärtiges Amt 1975-.

Consulates have been another part of Canada's post-war governmental representation in Germany. In July 1948, as the western allies were considering making Frankfurt the capital of the new West German state, the trade office in Frankfurt was transformed into a Consulate. As the choice fell on Bonn, however, the Consulate was closed again in 1952 (Hilliker/Barry 1995, 14, 54). In early 1957, Canada opened a Consulate in Hamburg, and in 1961 a Consulate in Dusseldorf (Hilliker/Barry 1995, 96, 178). Both Consulates were turned into Consulates General in 1960 and 1966 respectively. In 1973, Canada also opened a Consulate in Berlin, which later became the consular section of Canada's Embassy once it had moved to Berlin. Today, there are Consulates in Dusseldorf and Munich and since 1998 an Honorary Consul has an office in Stuttgart (where a regular Consulate had already existed between 1972 and 1978) due to the economic importance of the state of Baden-Württemberg and cooperation agreements between Baden-Württemberg and Ontario (including a student exchange program) (Royal Commission on Conditions of Foreign Service 1981, 95-105; information provided by the Consulates).³⁰ The functions of these Consulates include providing consular help for Canadians (e.g. issuing passports) and giving advice to German companies seek-

³⁰ For information on the cooperation between German states and Canadian provinces see Bosold 2004.

ing to trade with or invest in Canada and to Canadian companies doing business in Germany.

Finally, the Consulate in Munich also co-locates representatives of the Canadian provinces of Ontario and Alberta. The province of Quebec has operated a separate bureau in Munich since 1971, the functions of which include the promotion of Quebec's political, economic, and cultural interests in Germany, Austria, and Switzerland. The province also has an office in Berlin. Table 3 gives an overview of the development of Canada's diplomatic and consular representation in post-war Germany.

Table 3: Canadian Diplomatic and Consular Posts in Germany, 1945 to the present

Kind of Post	Location	Date Opened	Date Closed
Military Mission to the ACC	Berlin	1945	1970
Consulate	Frankfurt	1948	1952
Mission to the AHC (since 1951 Embassy)	Bonn	1949	1999 (moved to Berlin)
Consulate (since 1960 Consulate General)	Hamburg	1957	2009
Consulate (since 1966 Consulate General)	Dusseldorf	1961	still exists
Consulate	Stuttgart	1972	1978
Consulate	Berlin	1973	today consular section of the Embassy
Consulate	Munich	1983	still exists
Consulate	Stuttgart	1998	still exists
Embassy (moved to its present location in 2005)	Berlin	1999	still exists

Source: Royal Commission on Conditions of Foreign Service 1981, 95-105; information provided by the Consulates. Abbreviations: ACC=Allied Control Council, AHC=Allied High Commission

5. Canadian Military Forces

In 1945, the Canadian Cabinet decided to withdraw all its troops from Germany the next year. Domestic pressure and the refusal of the occupying powers to grant Canada any direct influence on the post-war settlement in Germany were responsible for this step.³¹ Despite protests of its allies, the Canadian government thus had withdrawn its Army occupation force by May 1946 (Telegram from the British

31 This is what the Counselor of Canada's Embassy in Germany, Jean Chapdelaine, told Alexander Böker of Germany's Foreign Office on July 11, 1951 (German Foreign Office file 241-24 II/8097/51).

Dominions Secretary to Canada's Secretary of State for External Affairs, January 3, 1946, in Department of External Affairs 1967-, XII, 151-152; Telegram from Canada's Secretary of State for External Affairs to British Dominions Secretary, January 14, 1946, in Department of External Affairs 1967-, XII, 152-153). As the Cold War intensified in the late 1940s and the Korean War broke out in 1950, however, the Canadian government concluded that it had to prove its commitment to NATO by deploying forces to the defense of Western Europe (Würzler 1989, 79-80). Canada's decision to send troops to the Federal Republic of Germany by the end of 1951 was thus primarily an act of "political symbolism" (Rempel 1990, 277). Canada needed to contribute military forces, moreover, in order to have an influence on western defence policy. The decision by the Canadian government to contribute an infantry brigade and two Air Force wings to the defense of Europe was a major rupture in Canadian policy, as prior to the Cold War the country had only stationed troops abroad in war-time. A fourth element of the Canadian governmental presence in Germany was thus the stationing of troops in the Federal Republic.³²

There were disagreements among the allies and between the occupying powers and the West German government, however, over the legal status of the forces to be deployed in Germany and the financial costs associated with them. On the one hand, the Canadian government sought to avoid the status of an occupying force (Telegram from Minister of National Defence to Chairman, Canadian Joint Staff in United Kingdom, October 11, 1951, in Department of External Affairs 1967-, XVII, 759-760) and wished that no additional financial burden should be placed on West Germany, since the latter's economy was still only slowly recovering from war-time devastation (Telegram from Secretary of State for External Affairs to Ambassador in Federal Republic of Germany, October 12, 1951, in Department of External Affairs 1967-, XII, 760-761). On the other hand, the Canadian government fully adopted the allies' view that sovereign power in Western Germany lay with the Allied High Commission and that the government of the Federal Republic should hence have no say in regard to what troops should be stationed where and under what conditions. The Canadian troops would thus come to Germany "under the auspices of and by arrangement with the Allied High Commission" (Telegram from Ambassador in Federal Republic of Germany to Secretary of State for External Affairs, October 13, 1951, in Department of External Affairs 1967-, XII, 762-763).

The West German government took the position that – as Canada wished its troops to come to Germany as part of NATO and not as occupying forces – it should be included in the decision-making process with regard to Canada's future troop deployment on German soil. Adenauer thus wanted the provisions of the

32 For the history of Canada's military forces in post-war Europe see McLin 1967; Eustace 1982; Stewart 1980; Rempel 1996.

NATO Status of Forces Agreement of June 19, 1951 to apply to the Canadian Brigade (Adenauer to Ambassador in Federal Republic T. C. Davis, October 1951, in German Foreign Office file 241-24 II/8097/51). Great Britain's High Commissioner Sir Ivone Augustine Kirkpatrick told Adenauer, however, that the Canadians troops would not be stationed in Germany on the basis of the North Atlantic Pact but as English auxiliary forces under English command (Verlaufsprotokoll der Sitzung der Alliierten Hohen Kommission, October 3, 1951, in Schwartz 1989-1990, I, 400-403). An approval of the West German government was thus not necessary, as Canadian troops came as allied forces in fulfillment of an agreement between the Allied High Commission and the Commander-in-Chief (Aufzeichnung Hallsteins der Besprechung Adenauers mit den Alliierten Hohen Kommissaren, October 17, 1951, in Schwartz 1989-1990, I, 552-553).

In the fall of 1951, Canada finally sent the 27th Infantry Brigade (consisting of 3,500 soldiers) to the Hanover area, under the Commander-in-Chief of the British Army of the Rhine (cf. Supplementary Instructions from Chief of General Staff to Commander, 27th Infantry Brigade, November 6, 1950, in Department of External Affairs 1967-, XII, 774-777). The members of the Brigade were given the status accorded to members of the Allied Forces, including privileges and immunities from German jurisdiction (British High Commissioner Kirkpatrick to Adenauer, October 2, 1951 in German Foreign Office file 241-24 II/8097/51). Since they had come to Germany as allies and not as an occupying power, however, the West German government did not have to compensate Canada (Holmes 1982, II, 234).³³ Two years later, the 1st Canadian Infantry Brigade replaced the 27th Brigade and was moved to Soest and Iserlohn. In 1955, the 1st Brigade was replaced by the 2nd Canadian Infantry Brigade. As of 1957, the 4th Canadian Mechanized Brigade was stationed in Western Germany (until 1993) and subsequently increased in size to 6,700 soldiers (Bleek 1989, 131).³⁴

The Canadian government also stationed the 1st Royal Canadian Air Force Air Division (consisting of twelve fast jet squadrons) in France and West Germany as a contribution to the defense of Western Europe (Rempel 1990, 273). Due to the substantial costs of this troop deployment, Canada was in favour of German rearmament in the 1950s in order to be able to cut its own expenses (Holmes 1982, II, 238-239). After the first steps in building up the German Luftwaffe were made, the Canadian Air Division was thus reduced to eight fighter squadrons in the early 1960s (Rempel 1990, 273). When France left the military command structure of NATO in 1966, the entire division, consisting of 4,250 soldiers and sixty-four Starfighters, was moved to West Germany in 1967 (Baden-Söllingen and Lahr) (Bleek

33 The Convention on the Presence of Foreign Forces in the Federal Republic of Germany of October 23, 1954, between the Federal Republic and the eight NATO partners established a new legal basis for the presence of Western Allied forces on German soil.

34 For more information on the 4th Canadian Mechanized Brigade Group see Maloney 1997.

1989, 131).³⁵ While Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau decided in 1969 to reduce Canadian troop numbers in Germany to 5,000, the number of Canadian soldiers stationed in Germany had risen again to 7,100 by 1987 (Bleek 1989, 135, 140). With the end of the Cold War, however, the reason for Canada's troop deployment to Germany disappeared. By 1993, most Canadian forces had hence been repatriated. Yet, the Canadian forces maintain a small national support unit in Germany. Between 1951 and 1993, more than 100,000 members of Canada's military forces had served on military bases on German soil (Maloney 1997, 14).

6. Conclusion

This article has given an overview of the history of the Canadian governmental representation in Germany. It has retraced how this presence evolved from the partially clandestine operations of immigration agents in the middle of the 19th century and trade offices in the early 20th century to an elaborate diplomatic establishment and the stationing of thousands of Canadian soldiers on German soil in the latter half of the 20th century. For many years, the history of German-Canadian relations was marked by turbulent and exceptional circumstances. The recent origins of both nations, Canada's structural dependence on its former mother country in external affairs well into the 20th century, their antagonistic interests in matters of emigration from Germany to Canada and as trade competitors, and two World Wars have slowed the evolution of "normal" relations between both nations. As a result, Canadian institutions in Germany – immigration offices and trade offices – were mostly short-lived. As both nations turned from enemies into allies during the Cold War and diplomatic relations were instituted, the Canadian governmental representation in Germany has become much more stable and has increased in scope.³⁶

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35 Canada also helped the Federal Republic build up its own air force. In 1956 and 1957, Canada gave Germany 75 F-86 Sabre aircraft and was rewarded by a German purchase of 225 F-86 aircraft in 1957. Canada, moreover, trained 360 West German aircrew candidates and was paid \$12 million for this service by the German government. Canada's military support to West Germany would thus pay off economically (Obrist 2006, 20).

36 It should be mentioned that Canada's "official" presence is complemented by a number of private institutions fostering ties between both nations such as the German-Canadian Business Clubs in Hamburg, Cologne, Stuttgart, Berlin, Munich, and Frankfurt, and the German Canadian Association. The German Academic Exchange Service, moreover, enables Canadian students to study in Germany. Canadian companies present in Germany include Magna International and Bombardier.

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