

Since the Second World War we have been living in a bi-polar world, in terms of power relationships. Events in the industrialized world have been dominated by the clash of competitive ideologies and interests between the United States and the Soviet Union, and the third world, though unaligned, has had to live with the bi-polar reality. Waiting in the wings, obsessed by its own internal problems there was China.

In this bi-polar world the socialist nations of Eastern Europe had little or no influence with the Soviet Union. Deviations from the official line, in East Germany, in Hungary and in Czechoslovakia were resisted. The United States, a free, open and democratic society worked with its allies around the globe, providing leadership, guaranteeing their security and in many cases bolstering their economies. In fact, however, the preponderance of the United States in the Western World has been so great that it has necessarily held a position not only of leadership but of authority. To an admirable extent, throughout this period the United States was open to influence by its friends but it played a determinant rather than just a participatory role in its global sphere of influence. This, of course, is how it looks to a Canadian, an Englishman or a German. If I were suddenly to be translated to the State Department in Washington -- which God forbid -- no doubt I would feel frustrated and embattled by what appeared to be the intransigence and narrow self-interest of my friends, driven to make concession after concession against my own enlightened self-interest.

John Foster Dulles, though not "present at the creation" with President Truman and Secretary Acheson, had a profound effect on world power relationships in the bi-polar phase. He believed implicitly that they that are not for us are agin us. He played his part in strengthening the free world against a clear Soviet threat. Perhaps inevitably his diplomacy brought about a hardening of attitudes on both sides that may have helped to prolong the Cold War. What is certain today is that we live in a world very different from the one he knew and helped to build.

The great changes in world power relationships that have taken place have been incubating for a decade or more, have come to light only within the last few years. They are two in number -- the Soviet response to the long-standing efforts of the West for a reduction of tension and the emergence upon the world scene of China. And here I am not forgetting the developments in Western Europe and Japan. The enlarged Common Market and Japan are now great powers in economic terms and can become so politically. For the purposes of this speech I will discuss them a little later. Clearly these two great developments are linked.