

His Excellency the Right Honourable Vincent Massey was appointed as the personal representative of our late King. When I was in London, during the war, I was in a position to appreciate the high esteem in which our then High Commissioner was held in Great Britain. His devotion, his intelligence, his knowledge, his kindness, his perfect manners secured for him the respect, the admiration and the gratitude of all those who came in contact with our representative at Canada House. It is my privilege to have known our new Viceroy more than forty years ago, when he was a student at Baliol College, Oxford. He was reading history, and he intended to be a professor. But instead of writing or teaching history, our Governor General has made history. For the crowning of a very noteworthy career spent in the service of Canada, he occupies the highest position under our constitution; he represents directly Her Majesty. It is a great satisfaction for me to have witnessed this historic event: a Canadian at Government House.

The fact that none of our fellow citizens had ever been appointed to Rideau Hall was a source of misunderstanding for foreign writers. Surely, Canadians were not disfranchised forever from becoming eventually representative of the Crown in their own country. A day was bound to come when such a great honour would fall upon one of our own. This day has come, and I rejoice that I was able to see it. I am convinced that the immense majority of true Canadians share my satisfaction. For my own people and for myself, Canada is our only homeland, "notre seule et unique patrie"; our heart is not somewhere in the Old Country, it is entirely here in this Canadian land of ours. Our loyalty to Her Majesty the Queen of Canada is in no way diminished by our determined will to affirm more and more under her gracious reign our Canadian citizenship. Our partnership in the Commonwealth is a guarantee of our freedom, it is not a form of disguised vassalage. This word seems to us a thing of the past, because the states of the Commonwealth are all equal. Canada is not the vassal of any other power, politically or economically. When in matters of foreign policy we adopt to some extent the same attitude as Downing Street, it is not because constitutionally in external affairs our bonds with Great Britain remain tight. Such is the pretension, for instance, of Louis Le Fur. After making this assertion in his *International Law* (1941, p. 91), this late French jurist declares that our relations with the Crown were not in the nature of a personal union, that they constituted a much closer kind of union (p. 92).

Honourable senators, in fact, the ties which bind together the various parts of the Commonwealth are unique in political history. Those bonds have become absolutely intangible, and yet they are exceedingly strong: their living symbol is our gracious Queen, our Supreme Liege Lady. But, Le Fur was quite wrong if he intended to insinuate that Great Britain still possessed any right of suzerainty over the other States of the Commonwealth. That mistake was explicitly made by another author, Louis Delbez, (*International Law*, 1948, p. 43) when he called the "Dominions" "vassal states." According to Delbez, Great Britain preserved her pre-eminence, which is quite the pre-eminence of a suzerain State over vassal States.

Honourable senators, it is time that our friends in Europe realized that our links with the Commonwealth do not imply any bondage or vassalage. As a free and independent State, Canada is a member of the Commonwealth and also a member of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. From our membership in such different groups no subordination whatever results for us; on the contrary, we find in that double association the surest guarantee for the preservation of our freedom and of our ways of life. Indeed, the only ties which now bind together the various members of the Commonwealth are purely moral bonds. Her Majesty the Queen of Canada is also the Queen of Australia and New Zealand; she is the only Head of our Commonwealth, and she is the incarnation of our unity. There is nothing in our partnership which may be interpreted in any way as a restriction to our liberty: we are at least as free as any other people on earth. It is, indeed, to render a great disservice to the Commonwealth to tell us that Canada should not do this or that because such gesture will weaken or disrupt the so-called Empire. This tends to develop a complex of inferiority, to insinuate that our relation to the Commonwealth is irreconcilable with our full sovereignty.

Those who are constantly opposed to our progress towards liberty and independence, those who are still afraid of every affirmation of our nationhood, profess a very strange kind of patriotism. They have not yet understood that it is great to be Canadians—just Canadians, without any trace of colonialism. Because his government has adopted a truly Canadian policy, the policy of a Canada which has attained maturity, the Prime Minister deserves our heartiest congratulations and our fullest support.

I am greatly honoured in seconding the adoption of the motion which is now before us.