

parts of the Empire which produced the modern Commonwealth. What I am saying is that the Commonwealth was largely a British-Canadian invention, though I doubt whether the fathers of Confederation foresaw the full implications of the task to which they set their hands in the 1860s and 1870s. At the end of that period, the relation with Britain was not one of resentment, bitterness and misunderstanding but of friendship, mutual respect, co-operation and mutual assistance. This slow historical process also gave rise to one of the deepest continuing elements in the attitude of Canadians to international affairs: the search for and the cherishing of links with countries and peoples beyond our borders, which makes possible progress towards a civilized world in which governments can co-operate for the benefit of their peoples.

What cause this new relation between Britain and Canada to develop? At bottom was the realization of the Fathers of Confederation that this country was not enough in itself; that there were insufficient people, industries, capital and skills to enable the new nation to make it on its own in economic development or to maintain its independence against an unfriendly neighbour. Particularly was this true in North America, where a far stronger and more numerous nation to the south had just come through the Civil War, and was turning its vigorous attention first to reconstruction and then to westward expansion and to dynamic growth. From the outset, Canadians were conscious of a need to maintain links with Europe and other parts of the world; they began to reach out for contacts and associations beyond their borders, to acquire the money and technology, the skills and the human resources, to enable them to survive and grow. In a very real sense, the Commonwealth was a product of the Canadian desire to have it both ways -- to be independent, and at the same time, for political, economic and defence reasons, prudently to continue links with the motherlands across the Atlantic and with countries in other directions.

To quote from a distinguished Canadian intimately connected with the Commonwealth as Secretary-General, Mr. Arnold Smith: "This deep Canadian instinct to reach out for overseas connections and partnership may have begun as a function of sentimental attachment to parent races and of commercial interest in trading relations with Western Europe, and an instinct for self-protection as a relatively small power sharing a continent with a vastly more populous and powerful neighbour. But it has merged with, and by today, I think, has become indistinguishable from, our sense of realism, our recognition of larger interdependence, and our idealism. It is part of our striving, together with idealists and realists in other parts of the globe, for the establishment of one world, for the development of a community that will be global in scale. One expression of this instinct is the Commonwealth."

There have been other Canadian landmarks in the evolution of the Commonwealth. One was the campaign led by the Winnipeg editor Dafoe during the First World War and after resulting in the decisive rejection of legalistic theories about the unity of the Empire for purposes of foreign policy and defence. This enabled Canada and the other Dominions to assert successfully the claim to independent representation at conferences, beginning with Versailles, and to diplomatic representation in foreign countries.

Another crucial development for the Commonwealth was Mr. Nehru's decision that, having become a republic, India -- a non-white, non-European