

appraise the arguments I wish to advance and to urge the Government to give this matter the serious attention it deserves.

May I start by stating the obvious. Canada-United States relations are unavoidably influenced by the difference in status as between the two nations. Canada has a larger geographic area but in almost every other respect the status of the United States eclipses that of this country. The population of the United States is ten times greater than ours. America is a world leader in technological and industrial progress. She possesses the greatest financial resources of any nation on earth. She is capable of unleashing the world's most powerful and devastating military might. In short, we live next door to an industrial, financial and military giant, one of the most powerful and highly developed nations of the modern world, and forced by these circumstances to assume a role of world leadership and bear a major share of the world's burdens.

Two facts emerge from these circumstances. The first is that while Canada's influence on the United States is understandably limited, United States influence has a profound impact on almost every facet of Canadian life. Canadian cultural and social patterns are inevitably influenced by American radio and television programs which daily fill Canadian airwaves. Most of the magazines and books that we read, the recordings we listen to, and the films we watch, are American productions. The majority of the cars we drive and the appliances we use are either produced in the United States or are Canadian counterparts of American designs. Canada's education system is patterned largely on earlier experiments in the United States. A high percentage of professors in Canadian universities are Americans or former American citizens. The Canadian economy is influenced significantly by economic trends in the United States, and fluctuations on the United States stock exchanges and money markets are quickly reflected in Canada.

The second fact is that because of this imbalance, Canada in some respects has more to gain from good relations with the United States than the United States stands to gain from her relations with Canada. When two nations co-operate in mutual friendship and goodwill, the weaker usually benefits to a greater extent than the stronger.

There are many situations where if necessary the stronger can successfully "go it alone", but this is rarely true of the weaker. For example, the United States could get along without Canada's assistance in such matters as national defence, technological know-how and financial resources. Canada is not in a comparable position and therefore in such matters stands to gain disproportionately from good relations with her powerful neighbour.

Under these circumstances it is fortunate for Canada that there are so many mutual interests which foster friendship and co-operation between the two nations. In the first place, there are strong affinities which stem from our common heritage. Our basic ideologies are comparable and in many respects almost identical. We share a mutual love of freedom and respect for human dignity.

The social structure of both nations is based on the rule of law, the impartial administration of justice and respect and due regard for the institutions and processes of democracy.

The vast majority of citizens in both countries speak the same language and embrace much of the same culture. The economies of both nations have been developed by responsible individual and corporate enterprise and both recognize the superiority of inducement through legitimate reward over compulsory enterprise enforced by an authoritarian state.

We must recognize on both sides of the 49th parallel that these natural ties and mutual interests are not in themselves sufficient to guarantee enduring friendship and co-operation in the turbulent world of today between two nations which in many other respects are significantly unlike.

These natural affinities need to be strengthened by wise and realistic negotiated relationships in major areas of mutual interest and concern. It is in this respect that the official course Canada is pursuing today in some important areas is unwise and contrary to our own best interests, and in my opinion gives cause for legitimate concern.

Last year the Honourable Mitchell Sharp, Secretary of State for External Affairs, published a set of White Papers on Canadian Foreign Policy. These papers discuss foreign policy from a philosophical viewpoint, but fail to come to grips with the major issues pertinent to strong and mutually advantageous relations between Canada and the United States. Let me quote from the first volume of the White Paper entitled "Foreign Policy for Canadians":

Externally there is the complex problem of living distinct from but in harmony with the world's most powerful and dynamic nation, the United States. The political, economic, social and cultural effects of being side by side for thousands of miles of land, water and airspace are clearly to be seen in the bilateral context. In addition, the tightly mixed, often magnified and wide-ranging interests, both shared and conflicting, bring Canada into contact with the United States in many multilateral contexts. It is probably no exaggeration to suggest that Canada's relations almost anywhere in the world touch in one way or another on those of its large neighbour. This has both advantages and disadvantages for Canada.

Canada's particular situation requires a certain degree of self-reliance and self-expression if this country is to thrive as an independent state in a world of rapidly-shifting power structures and relationships. This special requirement has a very direct bearing on how the Government of Canada should manage its complex relations with the United States, especially as regards trade and finance, energy and resources and continental defence. The key to Canada's continuing freedom to develop according to its own perceptions will be the judicious use of Canadian sovereignty whenever Canada's aims and interests are placed in jeopardy—whether in relation to ter-