

and a Pacific — we're a three-ocean country. We're beginning to realize that this Pacific seaboard is more important to Canadians than we realized in the past. We're beginning to realize that countries like Japan, like China, like Australia, and those on the Pacific coast of South America, that these are as important partners for Canadians as the nations across the Atlantic. And we're beginning to realize that in the Arctic, Canadian interests are very great and that there is not only ice and barren lands up there but that there is oil and there are minerals and there is untold wealth.

And we're beginning to realize too, in the cultural sphere, that *la francophonie* is important and that part of our national identity is having a bilingual country, and that, if it is important that we remain in the British Commonwealth of nations, it is important also that we express our identity in the French-speaking countries, those that form *la francophonie*.

And we are realizing too that the strategic factors making for peace or threatening war have changed immensely in a generation, and that the existence of ICBNs which are pre-targeted on all the major European and North American cities and which can spell immediate destruction if they are ever unleashed, that this is a new factor. And that there is a very delicate balance, a balance of deterrent forces, between the two poles of military strength on this planet of today, and this is a new factor.



The Right Honourable Pierre Elliott Trudeau,  
Prime Minister of Canada

And we realize that all these factors are "inputs" in our foreign policy, and that we can't go on as we did in the past with the same foreign policy. Before the Second World War, it is said, we practically had no foreign policy, we were too small a country in terms of population and in wealth, and our foreign policy wasn't very different from that of the United States or of the United Kingdom, providing they had the same foreign policy, and when their interests diverged or were divergent, well, we tacked onto one or onto the other. So before the Second World War we didn't have a very distinct foreign policy.

#### BIRTH OF NATO

After the Second World War, we were faced with a Europe which was divided into two power blocs, hostile, a Europe which had been impoverished and destroyed by war, and we realized that the tensions in Europe could be the most destructive ones for a lasting peace. And it's at that time that Canada along with other countries, realizing the principal threat to peace was Soviet aggression, helped set up NATO as an answer to that possibility of aggression. And it's at that time that NATO was developed as a very important policy for peace in the world because Europe at that time, a Europe which had been destroyed, I repeat, by the war, had to be strengthened and had to be fortified against the danger of aggression. And as a result of that, NATO became practically all of our foreign policy. Until then our foreign policy was that of the United States or of the United Kingdom. But, since '49, our foreign policy has taken on a new dimension. That was the dimension of NATO, a dimension wherein we could talk to other countries in Europe which had more or less the same values as us but which had the same interest of stopping any possibility of Soviet aggression.

#### CANADA'S CONTRIBUTION TO NATO

Twenty years later, today, Europe has been rebuilt. The gross national product of the NATO countries in Europe is over \$500 billion, the population, 300 million people. Canada's contribution to this Europe, important though it has been and important though it remains, is marginal — 20 million people against 300 million. Our defence policy, which flowed from this foreign policy of NATO, our defence policy now was more to impress our friends than frighten our enemies. Our contribution in Europe, which was brought in the early years after the Second World War, was very important then; it is marginal now in terms of strict military strength — one mechanized division against perhaps 80 or 55 depending how you count them. This is our contribution. It is important, I am not trying to belittle it. But we have to remain free to decide our own foreign policy. And when we are told that we shouldn't be taking a free ride to peace in the world, when we are told that if we withdraw from NATO even in any degree that this