

if you were to visit Berlin as I did last month, you would see the Wall — that horrible monument to the failure of the Communist system, erected to make it easier to shoot people fleeing to freedom from East Berlin. The Communists could not accept the scandal that 2,000 to 4,000 of their people each week should be risking their lives to get out of the "People's Paradise". So they built the Wall; and it is indeed an Iron Curtain of barbed wire and blood.

#### RUST ON THE IRON CURTAIN

However, I think we can all rejoice that elsewhere the Iron Curtain is getting pretty rusty in spots — so much so that it is no longer a very apt description of the frontiers which divide the Western world from the European Communist countries. That there are still important barriers no one would deny; but there is no longer today the impenetrable wall that the term Iron Curtain suggests. Indeed, there is now a passage of persons and ideas, both ways, sufficient to make Stalin turn over in his second resting place.

Another term we might think about bringing up to date is the expression "satellites" used to describe the countries which are supposed to be cringing behind the Iron Curtain. It suggests regimes of slavish obedience to Moscow, who follow every dictate of the master's voice in every aspect of their internal and foreign policy — in other words, a group of countries marked by a uniformity which blots out such national characteristics as at one time existed. If this was ever true, it is certainly much less apparent today, though it would, of course, be an exaggeration to assert that the Eastern European regimes have wide freedom of action or that their leaders (as distinct from their peoples) wish to break away from the U.S.S.R., though Tito may not be the last to make the break. These countries are linked by a military treaty with the Soviet Union; their economic systems are closely integrated; and they profess the same kind of Communist credo as the Soviet Union. Nevertheless, within these limits, in the last few years the Eastern European countries have applied — and have been allowed to apply — their Communism in a way which takes into account, more than heretofore, the differing conditions and national characteristics of the peoples concerned. They have also been allowed more trade and other contacts with the West.

#### INTELLIGENT WESTERN REACTION

Western diplomacy has, I think, reacted intelligently to the new opportunities offered in this situation — opportunities for contacts and understanding, for a supple, diversified range of policies to meet each case, instead of an ineffective, precast formula to "roll back the Iron Curtain" that increases fears behind it and therefore only serves to re-establish the Curtain in all its severity. I only wish that, in respect of Far Eastern policy, there was as wide a measure of agreement on both sides of the Atlantic as there now is about our policies towards Eastern Europe, for where there are serious differences among us, the left hand may undo what the right hand is labouring to accomplish. The result is waste of effort, bitterness, disunity and danger.

To return to Europe, however, the idea of Europe — and not just Western Europe — still has power. President Johnson said last month that lasting peace depends on "rebuilding an all-European civilization within its historic boundaries". I expect that this is true, especially if in the process of remaking Europe as a whole we can take a corresponding step towards an Atlantic community. For it is fundamental to a Canadian point of view — and I hope also to yours — that the lesson of interdependence is applied not on a continental basis alone but by moving towards an Atlantic community.

#### PULL OF A BIG IDEA

The Western Europeans are on the move. They want to transcend their warring national histories; and the pull of this big idea is felt also in Eastern Europe. But can there be any doubt that free Europe has far more in common with us in North America than it has with the Communist countries of Eastern Europe?

All that is so far lacking is sufficient interest and will on this side of the Atlantic to move from a military alliance towards building a community with Western Europe. We in Canada, and you in the United States, will pay a high price for our shortsightedness if, because we did not see our opportunity, the tides of continentalism on both sides of the Atlantic come in again, bringing new kinds of nationalism and isolationism in their wake.

Diplomacy — the "peace diplomacy" our countries are trying to follow — requires a broad vision and a sense of history. But it also demands day-by-day attention to the dangers, large and small, that threaten the path to peace. The big dangers, like Cuba in October 1962, must be confronted by the big powers, by you. But the more frequent little dangers, that could grow into big ones if not checked, are where we come in.

Canada has, in fact, taken an active part in almost every United Nations peace-keeping operation since they began. We are a middle power, as the phrase goes, neither colonial nor yet aggressively anti-colonial, neither too strong nor too weak. So when the United Nations fire-alarm sounds, it happens that Canada is usually asked to go....

To keep up the momentum of the peace-keeping idea, we are trying to take steps outside the UN, since efforts to make progress in the UN have for years been blocked by the Soviet veto, to ensure that in future there may be less improvising and strain and risk in this recurring UN need. To this end, we are planning to hold a conference in Canada later this year of those countries with experience of peace-keeping operations. United Nations peace keeping, we feel, has come to stay. It is now no longer an exceptional phenomenon but a regular feature of the United Nations repertory of possible answers to a dangerous situation or threat to the peace. In the world of tomorrow it is probably the key to both international and even national security.

#### DISARMAMENT PROBLEMS

Of all the roles of peace diplomacy, however, it is disarmament that tackles the central problem most directly. Here again, Canada has, since I first went