

or mechanical failure. This danger is known and acknowledged by scientists and political leaders on both sides.

It follows that nothing short of nuclear disarmament, and ultimately complete and general disarmament, can defend any country. This also is known and acknowledged by the political leaders of both sides.

The possibility of reciprocal disarmament depends on the prior or simultaneous reduction of East-West tensions and of the sources of East-West conflict other than the armaments themselves. This is almost self-evident but is often overlooked. Neither side is inclined to commit itself to a scheme of arms control or disarmament as long as the other sources of conflict are undiminished.

It follows from the decreasing importance of Canada's possible military contribution to deterrence, and from the increasing urgency of disarmament and reduction of tensions, that the military part of Canada's defence policy should be subordinated to the political part.

Before we can consider what the most effective Canadian political defence policy would be, we must make some assumptions about the sources of East-West tension, and about the factors which influence and determine foreign and defence policies within the two super-powers and elsewhere. We can then state what the most effective general line of Canadian policy would be.

Sources of East-West Tension

The immediate and persistent source of East-West tension, apart from armaments themselves, is the strength of those within each bloc who reject the possibility of peaceful co-existence whether on ideological or power-political grounds.

On both the Soviet side and the Western side the source is the strength of those within the governments who deny the possibility of peaceful co-existence because they believe that the capitalist world (communist world) necessarily seeks to destroy the communist world (capitalist world), or because (as may be expected in the case of military establishments) they see their own position within the country to be dependent on fostering that belief.

Neither of these beliefs is necessarily true, but the existence of each tends to make the other true. Thus the two beliefs together tend to be self-fulfilling. Each belief encourages actions and policies by the one side which gives the other side reason to think that its belief is true. If either this Eastern or Western belief is true or if either is allowed to become true, there can be no possibility of avoiding indefinitely an all-out nuclear war. We must therefore proceed on the assumption that they are not entirely true and that they can be made less true.

It follows that every country which still has some choice in its foreign and defence policy should direct its policy towards counteracting those beliefs and so diminishing world tensions and increasing the possibility of general disarmament. This should be the main thrust of Canada's policy. Evidently, Canada can