

This is what we have a right to expect from Americans if we go to them frankly and tell them the exact truth about Canada and Canada's relations with the United States.

Hon. Senators: Hear, hear.

Hon. Mr. O'Leary: The fact that I spoke these words frankly, and that they were received so well, I think was some small achievement in understanding, and God knows there is need for us to try to make them understand. At the present time we in Canada have those strident champions, those strident sentinels of sovereignty. We hear them every day. We read them in the press. We read their books. But, honourable senators, I suggest to you, that they are watching the wrong ramparts; they are identifying the wrong enemy.

Not so long ago our distinguished and at times extremely brilliant Prime Minister spoke of the difficulty of living beside the United States. He said it was like sleeping with an elephant. Perhaps that is true. But all things in human history, and all things in life, are relative. I wonder if it occurred to our Prime Minister what it would be like sleeping with a bear. If he wanted information on that point, he had only to consult the people of Czechoslovakia.

This is the trouble with all these people who are so concerned about our sovereignty. I have often asked myself where those people were when this nation was, as I remember well, little more than a colony of Britain. I am afraid some people have forgotten what the position of this country was prior to 1919.

I have with me the first volume of the autobiography of Harold Macmillan. He came to this country with the Duke of Devonshire in 1919, and this is what he wrote:

As Sir Harold Nicholson has pointed out, the old colonial theory did not collapse with the death of Queen Victoria, but lasted unchanged until after the First World War. . . . When I went to Canada, the Governor General was still appointed by the King on the sole advice of the British Prime Minister. He and his office were the chief if not the only method of communication between the Canadian and the British Governments. Everything of importance passed through him and was reported by him to the Colonial Secretary. The Privy Council at home was accepted as the ultimate Court of Appeal.

[Hon. Mr. O'Leary.]

These people who are so disturbed about our sovereignty now, why were their voices muted then? Why was it that when one man in Canada sought to change this he had little support? When Robert Borden, who was the Sir Robert Peel of the Conservative Party, did take his own party from a sentimental colonialism to a robust Canadian nationalism, he was virtually denounced as a traitor by some of those who are now so concerned with our sovereignty. I remember because I was in the Press Gallery then, when the Governor General had his office in the East Block, when the Royal Standard flew over that building, and when there he was consulted by members of the cabinet on policy on the course Canada should pursue. This was the condition which existed in Canada. We were virtually a colony. We certainly were a colony in foreign affairs in which we had no voice at all. No one protested this, but some of the people now who are still fighting the battle of Lundy's Lane are terribly concerned that we are going to be submerged by some monolithic American culture, and that in due course the barbarians will pitch their tents among us in a permanent occupation.

Honourable senators, that is nightmarish nonsense. True, we have problems with the United States. True, free men living together will always have problems, and let us thank God for that. In those meetings when we met in Washington there was, and we boast of it, a wide hospitality for dissent, something very congenial to my Celtic nature. And in the Washington meetings we did not always agree among ourselves. I remember my first intervention was contrary to my party's policy on NATO. Other people and Americans did not agree. They have their hawks and their doves and they disagree, but we do discuss things as free men. That will be our salvation in days to come.

Oh, I know what is being said about how in due course all our industries, all our resources will be owned by our neighbours to the south. I often wonder if those who see such peril in that situation have really examined the problem at all. Very well, we are a branch plant economy, so they say. Have these people ever wondered what that has meant to Canadian employment and wages? I wonder if they know that between 1920 and 1930 a million people who had come to Canada, left Canada for the United States, and I wonder what our unemployment problem would have been if the United States had not been there for them to go to.