External Affairs

disadvantages as well. It is for that reason we should explore every avenue open to us and be prepared to exploit any situation which may arise in our favour, especially in the event of a showdown.

As a result of what I have just said, I should like to make some suggestions to the Secretary of State for External Affairs (Mr. Pearson). The free world has gone to great pains to seek collective security, especially through the NATO plan. This, of course, is on this side of the iron curtain. How far have we gone in endeavouring to seek allies behind the iron curtain? Let me hasten at once to say that I do not want to be misunderstood. Of course, the free world is hardly in a position to enter into any understanding with the governments behind the iron curtain, such as the satellite countries or other peoples within the U.S.S.R.

What I want to stress is this. It is surprising that many of our leading international observers in the western world seem to be under the impression and to create the impression that the U.S.S.R. is a monolithic Russia and that the U.S.S.R. is made up solely of Russians who speak the same language, have the same traditions, the same culture, the same aspirations and the same history. There are others who, recognizing that there are other peoples within the U.S.S.R., are under the impression or create the impression that these peoples are happy to be joined in union with the Russians; that they have been happy formerly under the czars and they are now happy under red government domination. Nothing could be further from the truth, and history persistently points out to us that is not the case. This is exactly what the Kremlin wants the western world to believe.

I am not going into any extensive argument at this time on this question. I should like to draw the attention of the minister to certain vital facts about the U.S.S.R. U.S.S.R. is an empire made up of many cap-There is only one Russian tive nations. nation within the U.S.S.R. but there are fifteen distinct non-Russian nations within the country who have throughout the centuries sought their independence from Moscow domination. One of them, the largest non-Russian nation within the U.S.S.R., occupies a territory larger than that of France and has a population of nearly 50 million people. It is important also to note that the majority of the people in the U.S.S.R. are non-Russians. These non-Russian peoples cannot be regarded merely as ethnic groups within the U.S.S.R. in the same sense as the ethnic groups of Canada or the United States, who are proud to be known as Canadians or Americans and who are striving for a common cause.

These captive nations have their own separate languages, traditions, culture and for centuries have struggled for liberation from the yoke of Moscow tyranny, whether it be under the czars or under the red government. Nor are these nations bound together by such common ties of affection and unity of purpose as we are within the British commonwealth of nations. On the contrary, these nations are being bound together by terror of the secret police, by concentration camps, by mass exilings and by liquidations directed from Moscow.

And so I say that we must be realistic and recognize these facts. And our foreign policy, I think, should be so directed. We should recognize who are the natural enemies of the Kremlin, and see if they are not the natural allies of the free world. It appears to me that the free world or the western world in many cases has failed to understand these dynamic forces of nationalism and self-determination which springs from the masses of the people, and which forces could be very instrumental in the overthrow of world communism and Russian imperialism.

Let me point this out, that although the Soviet government is basically the bitter foe of movements of national liberation, yet it is a fact that that government studies these movements with exceptional depth and uses them against the western world. The Kremlin uses arguments of national interest of peoples of Asia and Africa, and uses them politically and cleverly against us.

It is my submission that the subjugated nations within the U.S.S.R. together with the satellite states are the Achilles heel of Russian imperialism and world communism. I am not suggesting for one moment that we are now in a position to foment uprisings and revolutions of these subjugated captive nations within the U.S.S.R., and the satellite states. What I am suggesting is that, first of all, we should make a very careful study of all these peoples to whom I have referred -their way of thinking, their culture, their differences with the Russians, their aspirations, their desires—and above all, we should know their history, especially their history of movements of liberation.

Furthermore, let us not depend upon the Russians as a source of information concerning the history of these peoples, because it is a fact that the Russians have been and are today the greatest masters of the falsification of history, and especially the falsification of the history of these subjugated peoples. They have succeeded so well that many people in the free world seem to be under the impression that the U.S.S.R. is in fact a monolithic state. I say, let us endeavour