

interest, and in these calculations the first calculation has to be: Are we likely to provoke the ill-will of Washington to the extent that it will jeopardize our interests? Are we likely by recognizing China, to make Congress so angry that it will refuse to agree to things we want to do in the economic sphere?"

The foregoing remarks emphasize that not only must Canada maintain its political independence, not only must it maintain its right to make its own decisions: it is also necessary that it must not let itself drift into such a position of dependency in relation to the United States that it will be afraid in practice to adopt policies displeasing to the United States because of the fear of American reprisals involving impossible or unacceptable costs to Canada.

1.07 *Need for Positive Policies* As indicated above, the Committee received no evidence to shake its conviction that Canadians share a strong determination to remain independent. Perhaps inevitably, given Canada's proximity and close involvement with the United States and possibly a over-reaction to a much more powerful neighbour, manifestations of this instinct for independence may sometimes take an anti-American character.

The fact that the United States has become in the last generation one of the two superpowers adds a new dimension to Canadian-American relations. In the past, Canada and the United States were both largely uninterested in developments beyond the American continent (although Canadians of British origin naturally felt involved in Britain's vital affairs). Now, however, that the United States has assumed world-wide responsibilities on many issues, Canadian and United States interests may differ significantly and Canadians may disagree violently with United States policy. This has had a significant impact on the way the Canadians regard the United States.

The Committee, while strongly affirming the need for effective measures to protect Canadian independence, considers it to be vitally important that such measures should be positive and not anti-American in nature. It would be dangerous if Canadian nationalism were to express itself merely through opposition to United States policies and values rather than through an assertion of Canadian values. The Committee believes that to be strong and independent, Canada must be self-reliant politically, culturally, economically and psychologically.

It is with this thought uppermost that the Committee has approached, in later Parts of this Report, the subject of Canada's cultural and economic relations with the United States. If Canadians feel themselves to be dependent on Americans, then their response in their private activities as well as governmental action is likely to be defensive and cautious, a tendency which will reinforce this negative reaction. More seriously, these defensive moves may provide only a temporary palliative to the pressure from the United States that they were designed to check, and may even in the longer term aggravate the condition of dependency.

The Committee therefore attaches the utmost importance to the adoption of dynamic, outward-looking policies consciously intended to encourage Canadians to act confidently, independently, vigorously and with imagination in their dealings, private and public with the rest of the world. The Committee believes that such an approach would in the longer run do far more to reduce Canadian military, economic and cultural dependency on the United States than would the erection of a new series of defences intended to exclude American activity in Canada.