

Our geographical location in the northern and physically less hospitable half of this continent has probably condemned us in perpetuity to a comparatively small population in relation to territory and perhaps in relation to our neighbour. It has, at the same time, deprived us of all neighbours but one, and that one the most powerful nation on earth. While other nations face problems of relations with a multiplicity of neighbours, often hostile, we are more fortunate and, in truth, because of the disparity in size, Canada could not subsist in freedom adjacent to a hostile United States. Friendly co-operation with our closest neighbour and largest trading partner is a basic requirement of Canadian foreign policy, both for economic and security reasons. At the same time, we are a political entity, both in cultural composition and traditions of government. The objective in our relations with the United States must always be to reconcile the preservation of those interests which are the essence of our sovereign individuality with the need for friendly co-operation in an interdependent continent and world.

Finally, and perhaps more important, our cultural make-up exerts a profound effect on our foreign policy. With our two basic cultures, to which many new influences have been added through immigration, we have enduring ties of blood and language with Europe which cause us instinctively to look across the Atlantic to our cultural origins. Domestically, our own biculturalism has given us tolerance and an ability to compromise and adjust. It is this national experience which has given Canada a fundamental belief in the effectiveness of mediation, negotiation and patient accommodation in the international field.

All of these factors have combined to make Canada a law-abiding international nation, with a strong instinct to see the relations between states regulated in the same orderly way that our internal affairs are run. Despite an excellent record in war, we are internationally recognized as a peaceful state. The fact that others do recognize these qualities in us in part prescribes our role in international affairs, for we are often sought out to perform duties where fair-mindedness and an absence of international ambition are the desired criteria.

### Transitory Factors

These, then, in broad outline, are the factors constantly affecting our external attitude both politically and militarily. But there are other factors, more transitory in nature, which of necessity exert great influence upon us. By these I mean those major international forces currently at work which determine the circumstances in which Canada must play out its international role. In the post-war period, I identify three such dominant factors.

- (1) the breakdown of the co-operation of the wartime allies and the emergence in its place of a power struggle between the conflicting ideologies of international Communism and Western democracy;