

**Hon. Mr. Haig:** Hear, hear.

**Hon. Mr. Robertson:** We must not forget that as a result of the war the western portion of the Soviet Union was terribly devastated, and this area had to be rebuilt. Honourable senators, I give the leaders of the Soviet Union credit for having sufficient intelligence not to seriously believe that they are likely to be attacked by the western world, and I suggest to the house that the tremendous land mass embraced in the Soviet Union forms an almost impenetrable barrier. I am certain that Russia's leaders are sufficiently aware of our legislative processes to know that from an economic viewpoint Canada and the United States have not at the moment the ability to make war; and certainly Western Europe, which is still recovering from the devastation of the last war, cannot do so. It is true that developments in airplanes and the atomic bomb have changed the picture, and that to a certain extent distances have been shortened; but even so I think we would be most unwise to try to attack Russia. Among their 19,000 aircraft the Russians have long-distance bombers, and we are told that they now have the atomic bomb. But we are not throwing in the sponge because they have these weapons, and I am sure that the Russians are not throwing in the sponge because we have them. Just as we are preparing for the possibility that these weapons may be used against us, it is reasonable to assume that the Soviet Union is taking the same precautions. History shows that Russia is safe in her boundaries, and if the only armament consisted of a shotgun to shoot ducks, distance would prevent any aggressor from going far. History shows that you simply cannot penetrate a land mass like that of Russia. So why these three million men under arms, and why all this armament? I can guess just as well as the leader of the opposition or anybody else, but in using ordinary intelligence I think it is fair to assume that the primary reason for these things, and for Radio Moscow daily telling the people of Russia and her satellites that they are in danger of aggression from capitalist America, is founded on the fact that the Soviet leaders today are more frightened of the people of Russia than they are of the people of the United States.

**Some Hon. Senators:** Hear, hear.

**Hon. Mr. Robertson:** I know nothing in particular about Russia, because even ordinary sources of information have long been closed to us. There is an iron curtain around their country which is almost impenetrable. But, as I say, I think the real danger to them is more likely to arise from the constantly increasing difficulty of a relatively small

group in endeavouring to continue to impose their will on a much larger number. This is true of the countries of Eastern Europe which Russia has occupied. Relatively small, compact, highly-organized groups, which are frequently purged of those who fail to follow blindly, are in complete control. Apparently this is so in Soviet Russia itself. Out of 200 million people in Soviet Russia, the corps of the communistic party is said to be only five million, but they have had complete control for a long time, and may still have it today. How long they can hold control no one can predict; but it is fair to assume that as time goes on and Russian standards of living and intellectual development rise, the problems of the Soviet Union leaders will become increasingly difficult. Therefore these wars and rumours of wars, as far as Russia is concerned, are more for her own people's consumption than they are for the rest of the world. A friend of mine told me the other day that he had listened to a man and a woman broadcast from Russia in English. He said that the hour-long broadcast was concentrated on one subject alone—the danger to Russia and her satellites of the imperialistic ambitions of the United States and the western world.

Honourable senators, I must repeat that I give the leaders of the Soviet Union credit for having more intelligence than to believe that the western world is preparing to wage an aggressive war. The Russians must know something. They may despise our democratic system, but surely they realize how remote is the danger to them of aggression by the western world. You may say: "Here is this great country of Russia. Why do they not want peace?" Well, I do not think the Russian leaders can afford to have peace. The minute they reduce their armies or their armaments to a size that would ordinarily be required for police purposes, the minds of the people would concentrate on conditions at home. There is nothing new at all to such tactics. They have been the age-long method of dictators. They take different forms, but basically they are always the same. Anyone who believes for a moment that this situation is likely to end today or tomorrow or the day after is building on a very shallow foundation. Russia, in her present position in the centre of her land mass and surrounded by her satellites, can provoke many incidents, perhaps without a Russian soldier being involved, and the rest of the world will have to either accept this situation or oppose it. To oppose it, even in the relatively small way of the men now fighting under the United Nations flag in Korea, will tax the abilities and the faculties of the western world for a