

These sample events portray, if you will, the long awaited process of the then gradual dissolution of the old Russia Empire into its natural national component parts. This process was not completed in 1919, with consequences which have gradually forced the Western democracies into a position of gravest peril *vis-à-vis* the Communist Empire as it now exists. It could be argued—and I hope it is not argued again in like vein at some future time to come—that in refusing to extend President Wilson's doctrine of the self determination of nations to the peoples of the former Russian Empire who had declared their independence, the Western democratic world saved the communist October counter revolution. It could be argued that the Western world, by supporting the adventures of Denikin, Wrangle, Haller and others, so weakened the democratic movements for national liberation of the nations of former Czarist Russia, and that of Ukraine, that the Western world really aided the Russian Communists to maintain the communist counter revolution in Russia. Be that as it may, because of internal weaknesses and external difficulties the Russian Communists were able to reconquer the colonies of the former Czarist Empire, and among these the largest and the most promising, the Ukrainian National Republic, which ceased to exist on November 20, 1920.

This is the historical context of the problem of the submerged nations and oppressed peoples within the U.S.S.R. Slowly but surely their fate was submerged behind a cloak of silence, sometimes naïve, sometimes platitudinous and pontifical, and sometimes conspiratorial. This problem is not a myth, nor is it misguided chauvinism, or unrealistic adventurism, or imperialist bourgeois intrigue, as the communists term it. The fact is that the spirit of democratic Christian-oriented nationalism has continually challenged and will continue to challenge the Soviet system because its primary and central defect is the presence of subjection and absence of freedom. I believe that this unsatisfied spirit of democratic nationalism and Christian liberalism is the Achilles' heel of the threatening Soviet "monolith".

I should like to remind honourable senators at this point that just two weeks ago, October 23, 1957, we had the first anniversary of the Hungarian nationalist uprising. It seems appropriate, timely and significant to remember those momentous events in Hungary at this particular point. They bring to mind the fate of an additional 100 million non-Russians ensnared in what we have justly described as the compulsory satellite system of the so-called People's Democracies.

During our special parliamentary session of November 1956, when we assessed the meaning of the tragic yet glorious events which had occurred in heroic Hungary, and when we asked ourselves what we as free, liberal democrats could or would do, it was my privilege to move the Address in reply to the Speech from the Throne. At that time I reminded honourable senators of the equally significant and equally determined struggle for a larger measure of individual freedom and justice on the part of those peoples who have been aptly termed the "submerged nations" within the U.S.S.R., those 100 millions of minorities who have been oppressed longer and therefore sublimated, decimated and Sovietized more effectively.

At that time too I wondered how we in fact interpreted our moral obligation to help these submerged and effectively muzzled peoples—keying myself to a statement by the Right Honourable Louis St. Laurent on this principle in our foreign policy:

Our aim is that the people of Eastern Europe should be free to choose their own form of government, a basic right they have not enjoyed for many years.

Translating this moral obligation to the people of Eastern Europe into constructive, sober and realistic policies is not an easy task. Our first obligation must be to build our own democratic society so constructively that it will remain free and imregnable, as we prepare to assist the victims of Soviet tyranny when they regain their freedom. However, we must keep in mind that the communist leaders openly and directly preach their slogans of communist peace and Soviet democracy and freedom, going over the heads of freely-chosen leadership and appealing directly to the so-called progressive elements in the population of any country. The July issue of *International Affairs*, printed in Moscow, expresses this continued communist challenge in these words:

The great revolutionary teachings of Marxism-Leninism will continue to chart the road of struggle for the overthrow of imperialism, for peace, democracy, and socialism for all the workers of the capitalist world.

Surely, honourable senators, the free world should believe with as much vigour that the future belongs to democracy, to liberty and to justice. Surely the free world should at least speak as often and as openly that it is our wish and our determination to bring to the submerged and enslaved peoples the freedoms which we have won and in which we believe so deeply. Is it not in our interests to forge a more positive, more constructive policy which will bring us the friendship, nay the gratitude—the real,