

*Supply—External Affairs*

which study and consultation on the part of the government must inevitably be taking place.

The most alarming aspect of the Berlin crisis is the prospect of the western nations themselves losing their perspectives or our perspectives. We see constant evidence in the daily press and radio bulletins of skirmishes, for instance, between border guards in Berlin using tear gas and water hoses. There is much talk of crisis and a tendency to make ill-considered public statements. The crisis reaction is surely one that we must wish to avoid at all costs.

I wish to say to the Prime Minister (Mr. Diefenbaker) that I read with interest his speech to the Canadian Bar Association in Winnipeg the other day. The Leader of the Opposition (Mr. Pearson) has already expressed himself in support of the general terms of that speech. In Canada we may have our differences in domestic policy; we may have our differences, and if they exist we should not hesitate to say so, in the field of foreign policy, but the Prime Minister and the government can be assured that the general lines of that speech were expressed in terms to which we give concurrence. That does not mean to say that an exposition of particular details may not elicit a reaction different from that which I have stated on the points which will be exposed, but as to the general direction given by the Prime Minister I think it is important that in this parliament we should let the Soviet union, or anyone else interested, know that there is a much wider measure of unity in our country than those who are ideologically opposed to us sometimes suggest. While the inevitable penalty in the free world is that there are differences of opinion, it would be a mistake for the Soviet union to conclude that on essential and basic points there was not the widest measure of agreement, an agreement that would express itself, I am sure, in support of the general terms of the statement which President Kennedy made when he spoke the other day to his people and to the world on the attitude taken by the United States with regard to this matter.

I suggest that our perspective must be that Berlin is only one aspect of a much larger and all-inclusive cold war. Once again the Soviet union has struck us at a weak point. The Soviet union's over-all cold war strategy is to feel us out, to move from one vulnerable position to the next—Korea, the Middle East, the islands off China, Africa—and the immediate issue is the thing that catches the headlines while the over-all battle is pushed aside. I have encountered some of our own fellow countrymen who quite honestly refuse to concede that the cold war today is just as

much an active battle as has ever been fought in the history of man. It is incumbent on us, particularly members of the government with their access more readily and more quickly to exchanges especially with friendly countries, not to become transfixed by panic over the immediate crisis but rather to keep our minds and our over-all strategy on the larger problem facing us.

It is ironic that the perspective on the cold war leads us back to Germany in April of 1945 where advancing units of the American and Russian armies met on the banks of the Elbe near the town of Torgau. This symbolic event has marked the supreme condition of contemporary history ever since. That division of Germany and Europe into Russian and American spheres of influence provided the genesis of the cold war. And so the cold war which began in Germany some 16 years ago out of the results of the second world war now reaches its greatest crisis in that same country.

Whatever the motives of Chairman Khrushchev are I do not know. Perhaps his major aim is a clear acknowledgment from the west of the communist power in the heart of Europe. Certainly he wants recognition of East Germany with full diplomatic status. It is suggested, he wants to make the west back down and retract its words about defending freedom. He wants one more pressure point in the over-all cold war. He wants to test public opinion in the west and to fly a kite because of the increasing sentiment in the west on the part of some who are more and more reluctant to risk a war. In other words, he is perhaps testing our courage. As the Secretary of State for External Affairs said, he wishes perhaps to stop the embarrassing flow of refugees from East Germany. Some three and a half million people have fled from East Germany since 1949. This represents almost 15 per cent of its population. Ironically enough, as the stream of refugees grew to larger numbers prior to August 13 the tension actually increased in that their numbers increased the embarrassment of the Soviet union. With the latter's tremendous weapon of propaganda they cannot afford to be greatly embarrassed in this manner and we should not be surprised that they are provoked to extreme measures to arrest or mitigate their embarrassment.

It may be that there is a power struggle going on in the Soviet union. It may be that Mr. Khrushchev has his problems at home. It may be that there are great influences behind him originating in the so-called People's Republic of China. Whatever may be the reason, the undoubted fact is that we are face to face with a serious situation, one that

[Mr. Martin (Essex East).]