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CANADA, PARTNER FOR FREEDOM

Speech by the Canadian Ambassador to the United States, Mr. A.D.P. Heeney, at Town Hall, Los Angeles, March 23, 1954.

Let me say at once that I am glad of this opportunity of speaking at Town Hall. Not that I'm particularly fond of making speeches - although I find that this business of being an Ambassador involves quite a lot of public talk. No, I'm glad, first, of course, because I know it's an honour to be invited to speak in a forum in which so many distinguished people have spoken before me. And, second, because it gives me a quite legitimate occasion to talk on a subject which I find pretty exciting, namely, my own country - Canada.

We Canadians - even those of us who've never had a chance to see for ourselves - know something of this State, and in particular of this fabulous county and city of Los Angeles. We have watched with fascination, from up north of the border, the rapid growth of your population, and the dramatic expansion of your business and industry, and the voracious energy with which your citizens have launched into the multitude of activities for which Southern California is celebrated across the world. Even those of us who have not had the luck to see for ourselves have justly the pretty expert testimony. For Californians have justly the reputation of being great travellers. Indeed, I meet quite a few of them in Washington nowadays! Many penetrate annually into Canada, for business or for pleasure. And, another thing, there are, I believe something around 200,000 persons of Canadian origin in Southern California - and they write home! So, even if I've only been in Los Angeles a few hours - and for the first time - it's hard for me to feel a complete stranger, and, already, you've made me feel very much at home today at Town Hall.

No wonder so many speeches have been made about California - and Los Angeles. It's a tempting, stimulating subject. But so, Mr. Chairman, is Canada, and, after all, it is about Canada - your neighbour and ally - that you expect me to speak. And so I shall.

Canada, these days particularly, is a pretty exciting country. What most Americans - even Californians perhaps - used to think of as an immense irregular mass of cold geography sprawling northward to the Pole, and coloured pink in the school atlases - this vast country, your neighbour, has now become your not inconsiderable ally in an atomic world.

I am not going to say much about the great physical changes which have taken place in Canada these past fifteen years. The temptation is great, for the prospect is thrilling - to a Canadian at any rate. But I find that in these matters of the economics and industry and finance of the modern Canada, Americans are often as well informed as Canadians - sometimes better. Let me say, then, no more than this of our material development. We have

discovered that, in addition to the wheat lands, the forests and mines and fisheries which we knew, this vast land of ours has been greatly blessed with other immense resources of nature, greater than we had ever dreamed - oil, gas, base metals, iron ore, uranium and many other forms of natural wealth in great abundance. These resources are being developed rapidly and with astonishing results and for the most part by Canadian investment and initiative although with welcome assistance from the United States. During and since the Second World War we have also become a considerable industrial nation so that now nearly a third of our national income derives from our manufactures. Our population is now growing at about as fast a rate as our economy can absorb and stands now at some 15 million as compared with 10 million in 1930. Our standard of living is second only to yours and compares with it, and we are the third trading nation in the world. We buy more American products than any other nation - about \$3,000 million a year. We'd be happy if the 165 million Americans bought as much from us!

But these are not the features of the Canadian nation that I intend to put before you, although they have a bearing. I want rather to direct your attention to the character of your northern partner - not so much to elaborate a prospectus or strike a national balance sheet, nor even to describe what our country looks like in 1954. I want, rather, to give you some notion of the sort of people Canadians are, how Canada behaves and is likely to behave - in your company and in international society - as a neighbour, as an ally. What are the springs of Canadian action?

In the first place our relations with the United States have been of vital importance to us since the foundation of our nation. Not only the policies of the United States Government at home as well as abroad, but also, over the years, the behaviour and habits of Americans have exercised a large and constant influence upon Canada and Canadians. This was settled for us by our history and, of course, by North American geography. Willy-nilly we are your next-door neighbours; but "willy" we are your partners and friends.

Because we share the same vast continent, because most of us speak the same language, and because we do much of our business together, there is an immense daily traffic across the border in persons and things and ideas of all kinds. This intercourse has, of course, greatly increased with the rapid growth in population in both countries, the physical development of continental resources, and the progress of modern technology. We Canadians read your papers and magazines; we see your movies and television; we are exposed to your "national" advertising in print and over the airwaves; we and hear your artists. And, although, increasingly, there is southward traffic in ideas as well as people, it is inevitable that the preponderance is strongly in favour of your population which is eleven times our own.

In our relations as neighbours - Canada and the United States - many questions come up between us which are those of adjoining proprietors - the inevitable "back fence" questions; some great and some small, some of more interest to one of us than to the other. Many of these are joint questions capable of the best solutions only by joint action.

Let me mention a few of these neighbourly affairs which are current just now. The St. Lawrence seaway and power developments come at once to mind. It now looks as if the Congress, after years of refusal, is about to sanction American participation in the Seaway. Agreement has been reached between the two Governments on a number of occasions over the past thirty years, but hitherto Congress has always withheld its approval. And the joint hydro-electric development of the International Rapids Section has been stalled for years by the political and legal strategems of its opponents. These delays have caused a good deal of impatience on my side of the border, particularly of late since our large increase in economic strength has brought it home to Canadians that we are perfectly capable of completing the seaway ourselves. At any rate it now seems possible that, with the active interest and co-operation of U.S. authorities, the legal impediments to the power scheme will be disposed of in a few months so that construction can get under way this coming summer. (Industrial Ontario needs the power badly.) Whether the Seaway is to be a joint or purely Canadian undertaking, it now appears certain that it will go ahead. Either way we in Canada are convinced that it will redound to the benefit of both our countries in providing for heavy waterborne traffic into the heart of the continent.

Another current example of our neighbourly business is one which has recently acquired added importance for us both - the defence of North America. The new weapons and the capabilities of modern aircraft to fly over the Arctic roof of the Western Hemisphere has given urgency to the solution of this complicated problem. Here it is evident that our objective is the same. And there is no doubt that we will work together in this business. But there are many technical and political - questions to be solved. How much radar and early warning and where? What interceptor arrangements? Who pays? Who commands? We Canadians will have to take care that no unreasonable emphasis on national sovereignty, no undue sensitiveness or false pride is allowed to prevent measures necessary for the safety of us both. And you Americans, I suggest, would do well to bear in mind that Canada's co-operation will be the more wholehearted and effective if sympathetic allowance is made for our national views and interests. So far our record on joint defence is good - very good. And since I have come to Washington I have been much impressed by the co-operative and friendly spirit which your people, civil and military, are showing. But as the scale of the effort is stepped up - as it must be to meet the new capabilities of those who threaten us - the test of our commonsense and mutual forbearance will be more severe.

There are many other examples of our neighbourly relations which I might cite. They range widely in variety and importance - border-crossings, commercial dealings, defence purchasing, security - a multitude of affairs which provide your Embassy in Ottawa and my own Mission in Washington with plenty to do. Usually we can deal with each other in a practical, commonsense, North American way. When President Eisenhower was in Canada last autumn, he put it this way:

"Here (on this continent) independent and sovereign peoples have built a stage on which all the world can see... a joint recognition that neighbours among nations, as among individuals, prosper best in neighbourly co-operation actually exemplified in family life."

This is true - and in many ways we do behave as members of a family. But even members of the same family don't always agree or see things from the same viewpoint. And it would be foolish to pretend that the national interests of Canada and the United States, or the idea which Canadians and Americans may have of their interests, will always coincide. Nor, in considering the affairs of our partnership, should we fail to take into account the differences in our national situation and makeup. For there are differences, for all our similarities. And these differences influence profoundly our national attitudes.

Let me mention a few of the things, significant things, in which we differ materially from you. In the first place, our country is a relatively small power, in terms of population, wealth and influence. And although our strength is growing and growing steadily, we have no ambition to be accepted as a great power. The United States, on the other hand, is the most powerful nation on earth. Her interests, and the obligations which go with them, are world-wide. Further than that, the United States has accepted the leadership of the free world and no international decisions of importance can be made without American concurrence. If you are sometimes accused of throwing your weight around, it should be remembered that you're at the top of the heavy-weight class. Canadians at the best are middles; the fact that we think we're pretty good middles should give us no illusions.

Another quite striking difference, which affects our thinking much more than we realize, is in our institutions and conventions of government. Both Canada and the United States are, of course, based on the same foundations of free and representative government. Both are federal states. But Canada is a constitutional monarchy and a parliamentary democracy, while the United States is a Republic wherein the executive and legislative powers are deeply divided. From this fact many misunderstandings arise, not only in Canada but elsewhere. Further, Canada is proud to retain a strong, intangible and somewhat mysterious, association with the British Commonwealth of Nations - another family tie if you will, the symbol of which is the common Crown. To us Canadians, Elizabeth II is the Queen of Canada, acting in all our affairs solely on the advice of Canadian Ministers. With an independence which is as complete in every aspect of our internal and external affairs as that of the United States, we still cherish this relationship - a relationship, incidentally, which links us not only with Europe but with Asia and Australasia as well.

And our economy - I feel sure that most of you know how important to our standard of living is the volume and freedom of our foreign trade. The great products of our fields and forests and mines, and increasingly those of our industries, must find abroad the larger markets which 15 million Canadians cannot alone provide. Hence our attachment to liberal commercial policies and our impatience

very often at actions on your part in excluding or limiting imports for reasons which seem to us to have little justification in sound economics.

Finally, no one can understand Canada who does not appreciate the importance of our bilingual culture and tradition. If the national character of Canada has any unique quality, it is, I believe, largely because one Canadian in three speaks French as his maternal tongue and traces his ancestry to old France. Under our fundamental law these fellow Canadians of ours enjoy the guarantee of their own language, their own laws and their own religion. Their vitality and determination, their attachment to the soils of Canada, and to the traditions of their fathers - even more than their constitutional rights - these qualities have entrenched French Canada into the structure of our country. And we are all the richer and stronger for it.

The accomplishment of our Confederation in 1867 was inspired by the vision of a united nation in British North America, stretching from sea to sea; its consolidation required the determination of Canadian political leaders. Our union developed upon a backbone composed of the St. Lawrence River system and the extension of that system west to the Pacific. Like the United States, Canada is composed of a number of regions which differ widely in physical characteristics and climate - the Maritime Provinces, Central Canada, the prairies, the Pacific Coast. This regionalism, which corresponded largely to what existed south of the boundary, coupled with the drag of strong economic forces, suggested to Americans of the last century that the manifest destiny of the United States included the absorption of Canada.

In fact, the very proximity of these vigorous, self-confident United States has proved to be a continuing stimulus to Canadian nationalism. The pressure of continentalism, the determination to resist annexation, a hundred years ago constituted one of the strongest forces which united the young provinces of Canada. So the throbbing presence alongside us in the twentieth century of the most powerful nation on earth - despite the easy informality and intimacy of our friendship - serves in some strange way to confirm in us the determination of our fathers that Canada should be a separate, independent North American country.

In the affairs of this continent we Canadians are your neighbours and your partners. But we are now cast with you on a larger stage beyond the shores of North America - as allies with other free nations in Europe and in Asia. And this has brought about an alteration in the Canadian-American relationship - an alteration which is important to us both.

In 1919, Canada made her debut in international society and became a member of the League of Nations. But, no more than other older and more experienced countries, who perhaps should have known better, were the Canadian Government and the Canadian people yet prepared to accept the implications, and obligations, of a regime of collective security. Also, we were very much preoccupied with our own affairs. Canada had entered the First World War in 1914 and fought through to 1918 at great cost and with very heavy casualties. But in the years which followed we were, for the most part, content to let Europeans and Asians deal with their own problems, without too much thought of the certain

effects of their actions upon our own security. We had plenty of company in those days for trying to whittle down the obligations of the Covenant and avoid commitments. And here, as in other matters, we were bound to be affected too by the prevailing attitude of the American Government and people. We continued as members of the League of Nations and of the British Commonwealth. But we were not expecting our membership in either organization to cost us too much. None of us had yet learned the hard road to security.

The unprovoked and ruthless Nazi attack in 1939 changed all that. Canadians recognized with a shock that their own position was threatened. By the virtually unanimous act of her own Parliament, summoned the day after Hitler's attack on Poland, Canada entered the war on September 10. (By one of those curious constitutional anomalies which mystify foreigners the King of Canada remained at peace with the German Reich for a week after the King of Britain had declared war.) The mobilization of our forces had already begun and in the battles which followed the Nazi break-out of 1940, Canadian soldiers, Canadian airmen and Canadian sailors played a solid part. In 1941, our response to the attack on Pearl Harbour was immediate - the Canadian declaration of war was made the same day. In the years - the testing years which followed until VE-Day and finally VJ-Day - Canada and the United States were fighting allies.

The war changed greatly the positions of Canada and the United States. The United States emerged the strong, unrivalled leader of the free nations. Canada, in the course of the battle, had become a nation of consequence and an ally of worth.

In Canada, the end of the fighting of World War II was not followed by the relapse into unreality which had succeeded 1918. The Canadian Government and people had been convinced by the near catastrophe of 1940 and 1941 that only by the collective strength of like-minded countries could security be attained.

From the beginning Canada was a whole-hearted supporter of the United Nations. When, however, it became clear that, whatever its other possibilities, the United Nations could not be counted on to deter aggression, Canadian public men took a leading part in bringing about the North Atlantic Alliance. It was not hard for Canadians to appreciate the vital importance to North America and to the whole free world of an adequate defence in Western Europe. We had learned to our tragic cost in two world wars, that a threat to this land of our ancestors, this source of our culture and our traditions, was a threat to Canada. And that is why you will now find stationed in Germany and France with the NATO forces four wings of jet fighters of the RCAF and a brigade group of the Canadian Army. That is why ships of the Royal Canadian Navy form part of the NATO forces whose headquarters is in Norfolk, Virginia. That is why the Canadian Parliament, year after year, have appropriated millions of dollars to provide equipment and training for the forces of our NATO allies.

In the affairs of the North Atlantic Council it is not bad, I think, for the United States to have about the table in the Palais de Chaillot the representative of a country which is also North American and which is not beholden to the U.S. Government or Congress for aid in any shape or form. The fact that we speak the same idiom isn't a bad thing either.

Incidentally, in the affairs of NATO where you and the British and French are so closely associated, the Canadian Delegation has frequent opportunity of playing the celebrated role of interpreter for which we're supposed to be so providentially suited. It's true, of course, that we're able to explain the Americans to the British from time to time and vice versa - and sometimes we may be a help to, and with, the French. But in my experience we not infrequently find ourselves with the other lesser powers - like Holland and Belgium, or Norway. For it is hard for the "big" two or three to appreciate at all times, in the rush of events and the urgency of decision, that we too have our legislatures and our public opinions - and to be "informed" is not the same as to be "consulted" when our own national interests, and even prejudices, are involved.

It is not perhaps so surprising that you should find us your active ally in the Atlantic community. For, although we are a North American country, we have had throughout our history a strong sense of Europe. And it was, I suppose, natural that, when we emerged from our own national habitation, we should be willing to give hostages to those countries from which our fathers came and in which many of our material interests lay. It is, I think, more significant that we should be your active ally in the Far East where, before the last war at all events, our national sentiments and interests had not been largely engaged. Nevertheless we are there, alongside you in Korea as part of the United Nations forces, standing now on guard, after their successful resistance to Communist aggression. The United States - with the Republic of Korea - has of course provided by far the majority of the United Nations forces and made the greatest sacrifice of blood and treasure. But the Canadian contribution has not been negligible - in quantity or in quality - a brigade group of our Army which has fought with distinction alongside your own boys, and substantial elements too of our Air Force and our Navy. The fact that Canadian forces are in Korea and that the Canadian Government and people responded as they did to the lead given by the United States is the best proof of our willingness to accept wider world responsibilities and to share with you and other free nations the cost of security by collective means.

So, at home and abroad, Canada and the United States are bound firmly together by links of history, geography and interest. Despite our occasional family squabbles and the blandishments of Communism which seek to divide us, our relations as neighbours remain an example to the world of how a large and powerful nation and a relatively small power can live alongside one another in mutual respect and amity. Now as allies, on a larger stage where the fate of mankind may be determined in our generation, let us so comport ourselves with patience, steadfastness and tolerance that our dealings with each other may provide a standard and an inspiration to our partners in the cause of decency, freedom and peace.

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