

CHECK AGAINST DELIVERY
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09:30 HOURS
MARCH 13, 1977



STATEMENT DISCOURS

SECRETARY
OF STATE
FOR EXTERNAL
AFFAIRS.

SECRÉTAIRE
D'ÉTAT AUX
AFFAIRES
EXTÉRIEURES.

NOTES FOR A SPEECH BY THE
SECRETARY OF STATE FOR
EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, THE HONOURABLE
DON JAMIESON,
TO THE B'NAI BRITH, TORONTO
MARCH 13, 1977

EXTERNAL AFFAIRS
AFFAIRES EXTERIEURES
OTTAWA

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LADIES AND GENTLEMEN:

IT GIVES ME PARTICULAR PLEASURE TO BE SPEAKING FOR THE FIRST TIME TO A MEETING OF THE B'NAI BRITH, AS SO MANY OF MY PREDECESSORS HAVE DONE BEFORE ME. I AM TOLD THAT THE TORONTO REGIONAL COUNCIL ACTS AS A CO-ORDINATING GROUP FOR 28 B'NAI BRITH LODGES TOTALLING AROUND 4,000 MEMBERS. THAT IS IMPRESSIVE AND EXPLAINS AT LEAST IN PART WHY YOUR ASSOCIATION HAS BEEN ABLE TO MAKE SUCH A CONTRIBUTION ON ISSUES OF CONCERN TO THE CANADIAN JEWISH COMMUNITY BUT ALSO ON ISSUES TOUCHING ALL CANADIANS. I AM THINKING IN PARTICULAR OF YOUR EFFORTS TO PROMOTE HUMAN RIGHTS, AND TO OPPOSE DISCRIMINATION AND BIGOTRY, BUT I AM VERY MUCH AWARE OF WHAT THE "SONS OF THE COVENANT" DO AND HAVE BEEN DOING SINCE 1875, WHEN THE FIRST LODGES WERE ESTABLISHED IN TORONTO, IN A NUMBER OF IMPORTANT AREAS RELATED TO COMMUNITY SERVICES SUCH AS YOUTH PROGRAMMES, HOMES FOR THE AGED, CONSTRUCTION OF HOSPITALS, ETC.

LET ME SAY HERE HOW WE WERE ALL SHOCKED AT THE RECENT HOSTAGE-TAKING INCIDENT INVOLVING, AMONG OTHERS, YOUR SISTER ORGANIZATION IN WASHINGTON. SUCH SENSELESS TERRORIST-LIKE ACTIVITIES ARE ABHORENT. I AM SURE YOU WERE ALL RELIEVED, AS I WAS, TO HEAR THAT THE INCIDENT IS NOW OVER.

THIS MORNING I PROPOSE TO SHARE WITH YOU SOME IMPRESSIONS AND VIEWS ON TOPICS WHICH I KNOW ARE OF PARTICULAR INTEREST TO YOU.

THE ISSUE OF HUMAN RIGHTS IS COMMANDING SIGNIFICANTLY GREATER ATTENTION ON A GLOBAL SCALE, AND I RECOGNIZE AND APPRECIATE NOT ONLY THE CONSIDERABLE EFFORTS YOU ARE MAKING IN THIS FIELD BUT ALSO THE VERY SPECIAL MEANING OR RELEVANCE THIS HAS FOR MANY OF YOU. I CAN ASSURE YOU THAT YOUR CONCERN WITH THIS ISSUE AND THAT FELT BY MANY CANADIANS IS ENDORSED FULLY BY THE CANADIAN GOVERNMENT, AND WE ARE DETERMINED TO CONVEY OUR SENTIMENTS AND VIEWS IN THE CHANNELS OPEN TO US. YOU ARE AWARE, I AM SURE, OF THE ACTION TAKEN BY PARLIAMENT ON FEBRUARY 15 WHEN IT WAS DECIDED TO CONVEY TO THE GOVERNMENT OF THE SOVIET UNION THE DISAPPOINTMENT AND DEEP CONCERN OF THE CANADIAN PEOPLE AT THE ARREST OF CERTAIN PROMINENT SOVIET CITIZENS WHO WERE ENDEAVOURING TO ENSURE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE HELSINKI AGREEMENT. YOU MAY ALSO KNOW OF THE PERSISTENT MANNER IN WHICH WE HAVE SOUGHT TO RESOLVE INDIVIDUAL CASES OF FAMILY REUNIFICATION, MANY INVOLVING JEWISH FAMILIES. WHILE WE HAVE HAD SOME CONSIDERABLE SUCCESS ON THAT FRONT - MOST EASTERN EUROPEAN GOVERNMENTS HAVE MADE ATTEMPTS TO IMPROVE THE CURRENT SITUATION - WE BELIEVE MUCH MORE NEEDS TO BE DONE AND CAN BE DONE. LATER THIS YEAR WHEN THE PARTIES TO THE HELSINKI ACCORD MEET IN BELGRADE FOR THE FIRST FORMAL REVIEW, THE CANADIAN DELEGATION WILL SPEAK WITH CONVICTION AND WITH RESOLVE ON THE HUMAN RIGHTS ISSUE. IT IS AN AREA WE HAVE CONCENTRATED ON FROM THE BEGINNING AND WHICH WILL CONTINUE TO BE THE FOCAL POINT FOR OUR ACTIVITIES.

CANADIANS HAVE A RIGHT TO BE PROUD OF THE HUMAN RIGHTS CONDITIONS WE ENJOY IN THIS COUNTRY. WE HAVE NOT ACHIEVED PERFECTION YET BUT OUR EXCELLENT RECORD IN THAT AREA IS ONE OF OUR STRONGEST NEGOTIATING TOOLS. OUR REPRESENTATIVES TO THE HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION IN GENEVA AND IN VARIOUS OTHER UNITED NATIONS FORA HAVE THE RESPECT OF THEIR COLLEAGUES BECAUSE OF THE WELL ACCEPTED FACT THAT WHEN IT COMES TO CREATING A HEALTHIER WORLD CLIMATE OF RESPECT FOR HUMAN RIGHTS, CANADIANS DO NOT ASK OF OTHERS WHAT THEY ARE NOT THEMSELVES READY TO DO AT HOME.

HUMAN RIGHTS IS AT THE CENTRE OF ANOTHER ISSUE THAT I KNOW IS OF MAJOR CONCERN TO YOU - THE ARAB BOYCOTT OF ISRAEL. WHAT IS OF PARTICULAR CONCERN TO THE GOVERNMENT, AS I AM SURE IT IS TO YOU, IS THE POSSIBILITY THAT AN INTERNATIONAL BOYCOTT DECLARED BY OTHER COUNTRIES FOR THEIR OWN PURPOSES MIGHT RESULT IN CANADIAN FIRMS OR INDIVIDUALS DISCRIMINATING ON THE BASIS OF RACE, RELIGION OR NATIONAL ORIGIN AGAINST OTHER CANADIAN FIRMS OR INDIVIDUALS OR THAT SUCH BOYCOTTS MIGHT HAVE OTHER DOMESTIC IMPLICATIONS PREJUDICIAL TO THE CIVIL RIGHTS OF CANADIANS.

I THINK I AM SAFE IN SAYING THAT THE GOVERNMENT'S POLICY TO COMBAT THE DISCRIMINATORY ASPECTS OF THE BOYCOTT HAS STRUCK A RESPONSIVE CHORD IN THE CANADIAN PUBLIC. I HAVE BEEN PLEASED BY THE SUPPORT I HAVE RECEIVED FOR MY STATEMENT IN THE HOUSE, ON OCTOBER 21 LAST YEAR, WHEN I OUTLINED THIS GOVERNMENT'S DETERMINATION TO DETER CANADIAN FIRMS AND INDIVIDUALS FROM COOPERATING WITH DISCRIMINATORY INTERNATIONAL BOYCOTTS AND THE MEASURES WE ENVISAGED TO THIS END.

THERE ARE LIMITS TO WHAT THE GOVERNMENT CAN DO. WE CANNOT PREVENT ANY CANADIAN BUSINESSMAN FROM DECIDING TO DEAL WITH ARAB COUNTRIES RATHER THAN WITH ISRAEL. NOR DO WE INTEND TO MAKE COMPLIANCE WITH AN ECONOMIC OR STRATEGIC BOYCOTT PUNISHABLE BY FINES OR IMPRISONMENT. WHAT WE CAN DO, HOWEVER, AND WHAT WE ARE DOING, IS TO TAKE EFFECTIVE STEPS TO DISCOURAGE CANADIAN COMPANIES FROM COMPLYING WITH THE BOYCOTT BY PUBLICLY CONDEMNING COMPLIANCE, WHICH WE HAVE DONE AND WILL CONTINUE TO DO, AND BY PENALISING COMPLIANCE, WHICH IS AT THE HEART OF OUR POLICY. THE GOVERNMENT'S POLICY HAS TEETH IN IT BECAUSE IN THE MIDDLE EAST IT IS EXTREMELY DIFFICULT TO DO BUSINESS WITHOUT THE KIND OF GOVERNMENT SUPPORT THAT WILL BE WITHDRAWN FROM ANY COMPANY COMPLYING WITH THE BOYCOTT.

SPEAKING CONCRETELY, IT MEANS THAT BY VOLUNTARILY COMPLYING WITH THE BOYCOTT, A COMPANY WILL AUTOMATICALLY DISQUALIFY ITSELF FOR EXPORT DEVELOPMENT CORPORATION INSURANCE WHICH IS, AS MANY OF YOU WILL KNOW, SO VITAL IN OBTAINING BANK CREDIT. FOR SUCH A COMPANY, EXPORT DEVELOPMENT CORPORATION FINANCING, WHICH IS PRACTICALLY A PREREQUISITE FOR EXPORTS OF CAPITAL GOODS, WILL NO LONGER BE AVAILABLE. LAST BUT NOT LEAST, SUCH A COMPANY WILL EXCLUDE ITSELF FROM THE KIND OF ASSISTANCE GENERALLY PROVIDED BY OUR TRADE COMMISSIONER

SERVICE. SUCH ASSISTANCE IS SOMETIMES A DETERMINING FACTOR IN DEVELOPING BUSINESS CONTACTS, ESPECIALLY IN THOSE COUNTRIES THAT DEAL THROUGH THE EXCLUSIVE CHANNEL OF GOVERNMENT PURCHASING AGENCIES.

THE GOVERNMENT'S POLICY HAS ONLY RECENTLY BEEN PUT INTO EFFECT AS A RESULT OF DIRECTIVES ISSUED BY THE DEPARTMENT OF INDUSTRY, TRADE AND COMMERCE. I AM HAPPY TO REPORT, HOWEVER, THAT PRELIMINARY INDICATIONS FROM OFFICIALS OF THAT DEPARTMENT ARE THAT CANADIAN BUSINESSMEN ARE ANXIOUS TO ADHERE TO THE GOVERNMENT'S POLICY AND ARE SEEKING THE ADVICE OF OFFICIALS IN THE EFFORT TO AVOID ANY COMPLIANCE WITH THE KIND OF BOYCOTT CLAUSE THAT WE CONSIDER OBJECTIONABLE AND AGAINST WHICH OUR POLICY HAS BEEN DESIGNED.

BUT THE ARAB BOYCOTT AGAINST ISRAEL IS ONLY PART OF THE LARGER PROBLEM -- THE THIRTY YEAR WAR THAT HAS GONE ON, HOT AND COLD BY TURNS, BETWEEN ISRAEL AND ITS NEIGHBOURS. I DO NOT HAVE TO TELL YOU HOW ISRAEL NEEDS AND LONGS FOR PEACE AND SOLID RECOGNITION OF ITS LEGITIMATE PLACE IN THE AREA FROM ALL COUNTRIES OF THE WORLD, BUT PARTICULARLY FROM THE ARAB COUNTRIES THAT SURROUND IT ON ALL SIDES.

WHO CAN DOUBT THAT THE ARAB COUNTRIES ALSO NEED PEACE, THE LACK OF WHICH CONTINUES TO HOLD BACK THE SOCIAL, ECONOMIC AND CULTURAL DEVELOPMENT OF THE WHOLE AREA? FOR THE REST OF US, A MIDDLE EAST ALWAYS ON THE EDGE OF WAR POSES A CONTINUING AND SERIOUS THREAT OF A WIDER CONFLAGRATION. THE WORLD CANNOT AFFORD ANOTHER ARAB-ISRAELI WAR, BUT THAT IS EXACTLY WHAT THE WORLD IS LIKELY TO GET UNLESS A WAY CAN BE FOUND TO BRING ABOUT ARAB-ISRAELI PEACE.

BUT SUCH A PEACE CANNOT BE AT THE EXPENSE OF ISRAEL'S SURVIVAL. ANYONE WHO HAS VISITED ISRAEL AS I, LIKE MANY OF YOU, HAVE DONE TAKES BACK WITH HIM A VIVID IMPRESSION OF ISRAELI GEOGRAPHY AND PHYSICAL VULNERABILITY.

THE TREMENDOUS ACHIEVEMENTS IN EVERY AREA OF HUMAN ENDEAVOUR WHICH SO IMPRESS A VISITOR TO ISRAEL TAKE ON A NEW DIMENSION WHEN ONE CONSIDERS THAT MEN, WOMEN AND CHILDREN WHO BROUGHT THEM ABOUT HAD TO OPERATE UNDER STRINGENT SECURITY MEASURES AND UNDER THE PRESSURE OF DAILY TENSION. WHAT COURAGE! WHAT WILL TO SUCCEED AGAINST FRIGHTFUL ODDS! KNOWING HOW THE COUNTRY OF ISRAEL WAS BORN, IT IS NOT DIFFICULT TO UNDERSTAND THE DEPTH AND INTENSITY OF ISRAELI CONCERN TO ENSURE THAT A PEACE SETTLEMENT REALLY DOES PROVIDE THEM WITH THE SECURE AND RECOGNIZED BORDERS THAT THE UNITED NATIONS SECURITY COUNCIL CALLED FOR ALMOST TEN YEARS AGO.

OUR ULTIMATE GOAL IN THE MIDDLE EAST IS THE SAME AS ISRAEL'S -- A JUST AND LASTING PEACE IN WHICH THE WHOLE REGION CAN FLOURISH AND PROSPER TO THE BENEFIT OF US ALL.

CAN SUCH A PEACE BE ACHIEVED? WE CAN BE SURE THAT THE PATH TOWARDS A SETTLEMENT WILL BE LONG AND DIFFICULT, BUT ALL PARTIES, AND THE WORLD, RECOGNIZE THE URGENCY OF MAKING FURTHER PROGRESS TOWARDS THAT GOAL. WE CAN ALSO SEE, JUST POSSIBLY, A FEW HOPEFUL SIGNS TO SUGGEST THAT SOME PROGRESS MAY BE POSSIBLE:

- (1) THERE IS A GENERAL RECOGNITION OF THE NEED FOR PEACE.
- (2) THERE IS INCREASING EVIDENCE THAT ISRAEL'S NEIGHBOURS, STARTING WITH EGYPT, HAVE COME TO ACCEPT THE REALITY OF ISRAEL.
- (3) EVEN AMONG SOME PALESTINIAN ARAB LEADERS, EXCEPT THOSE ON THE EXTREMIST FRINGE, THE POSSIBILITY OF ACCEPTING AND LIVING AT PEACE WITH ISREAL IS NO LONGER AN UNTHINKABLE HERESY. THERE MUST BE A FORMAL AND PUBLIC COMMITMENT BY THE PALESTINIANS TO THESE GOALS. WITHOUT IT PROGRESS TOWARDS PEACE WILL REMAIN IN JEOPARDY. ON THE OTHER HAND, NO MIDDLE EAST PEACE SETTLEMENT WILL WORK FOR LONG UNLESS THE PALESTINIANS HAVE ACCEPTED IT.
- (4) THE UNITED STATES REMAINS WILLING TO THROW ITS WEIGHT INTO THE EFFORT TO REACH A JUST AND LASTING SETTLEMENT. THERE IS EVERY REASON TO BE CONFIDENT THAT THE BRILLIANT DIPLOMACY OF DR. KISSINGER HAS BEEN SUCCEEDED BY EQUAL TALENT AND DETERMINATION FROM THE CARTER ADMINISTRATION.
- (5) THE SOVIET UNION IS ALSO WILLING TO PLAY A MODERATING ROLE AND TO BE INVOLVED AS CO-CHAIRMAN IN EFFORTS TO REVIVE CONSTRUCTIVE NEGOTIATIONS AT A GENEVA CONFERENCE, WHICH HAS THE SUPPORT OF ALL PARTIES.

WHAT OF CANADA'S ROLE?

OUR EFFORTS IN PEACE-KEEPING ACTIVITIES OVER THE YEARS BEAR ELOQUENT WITNESS TO OUR CONCERN FOR PEACE AND OUR WILLINGNESS TO DO SOMETHING ABOUT IT. WE HAVE ALSO MAINTAINED OUR SUPPORT FOR THE PROVISIONS OF SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTION 242, WHICH WE HELPED TO WORK OUT TEN YEARS AGO, AND WHICH WE STILL CONSIDER THE MOST HOPEFUL BASIS FOR NEGOTIATIONS. IN PARTICULAR, CANADIAN POLICY PLACES FIRM EMPHASIS ON THE RECOGNITION WHICH IS BASIC TO 242, OF ISRAEL'S RIGHT TO EXIST AS AN INDEPENDENT AND SOVEREIGN STATE IN THE MIDDLE EAST.

AS MEMBERS OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL IN THE MONTHS AHEAD WE WILL CONTINUE TO URGE THESE POSITIONS AND TO DO WHAT WE CAN TO ENCOURAGE AN EARLY RESUMPTION OF NEGOTIATIONS, WHETHER AT GENEVA OR BY SOME RETURN TO THE SO-CALLED "STEP-BY-STEP" METHOD WHICH HAS ALREADY ACCOMPLISHED MUCH. WHERE WE SEE ONE SIDE OR THE OTHER ADOPTING POSITIONS OR POLICIES THAT SEEM TO US TO MAKE IT MORE DIFFICULT TO GET NEGOTIATIONS STARTED WE WILL SAY SO. WHERE WE SEE OPPORTUNITIES FOR PEACE WE WILL URGE THAT THEY BE PURSUED. WE SHALL CONTINUE TO URGE THE PARTIES TO EXAMINE ALL REASONABLE POSSIBILITIES FOR A SOLUTION THAT CAN BE DEvised.

WE SHALL ALSO CONTINUE TO OPPOSE BARREN EXERCISES IN PROPAGANDA OR RESOLUTIONS FULL OF EXAGGERATED AND INTEMPERATE CRITICISM OF ISRAEL WITH UNSUBSTANTIATED ALLEGATIONS AND UNREASONABLE RECOMMENDATIONS THAT DO NOT IN ANY WAY SERVE THE CAUSE OF PEACE IN THE MIDDLE EAST. CANADA AND TWO OTHER MEMBERS OF THE UN COMMISSION FOR HUMAN RIGHTS VOTED AGAINST A RESOLUTION OF THIS KIND LAST MONTH. HAD WE BEEN THE ONLY COUNTRY TO OPPOSE SUCH A RESOLUTION WE WOULD STILL HAVE VOTED THE SAME WAY.

WHILE WE MAY BE ABLE TO PLAY A CONSTRUCTIVE ROLE IN THE SEARCH FOR PEACE IN THE MIDDLE EAST IT WILL OBVIOUSLY NOT BE A MAJOR ONE. I DO PLAN HOWEVER TO ADD A PERSONAL DIMENSION TO THE CANADIAN ROLE BY VISITING ISRAEL AND PERHAPS A FEW OTHER COUNTRIES IN THE AREA LATER THIS YEAR - PROBABLY IN THE FALL. I LOOK FORWARD TO MEETING PRIME MINISTER RABIN AND TO RENEWING ACQUAINTANCE WITH FOREIGN MINISTER ALLON, WHO WAS ONE OF MY FIRST DISTINGUISHED COLLEAGUES TO VISIT CANADA LAST FALL AFTER I TOOK OVER THE EXTERNAL AFFAIRS PORTFOLIO. I REMEMBER THE VERY FRANK AND CORDIAL EXCHANGES WE HAD ON THAT OCCASION WHICH HELPED ME A GREAT DEAL IN ACQUIRING A BETTER UNDERSTANDING OF ISRAEL'S POLICY. A BASIC PREMISE OF CANADIAN POLICY IS THAT IT IS THE PARTIES THEMSELVES WHO MUST WORK OUT A PEACE SETTLEMENT. NATIONS OUTSIDE THE AREA CAN HELP. IN SOME CASES (AND I AM THINKING OF THE ROLE OF THE UNITED STATES IN PARTICULAR) THEIR HELP MAY BE CRUCIAL. BUT ONLY THE BELLIGERENTS CAN MAKE PEACE.

DIPLOMATIC EFFORTS TO MAKE THIS POSSIBLE ARE INTENSIFYING. WE HAVE HAD VISITS TO THE MIDDLE EAST BY UN SECRETARY-GENERAL WALDHEIM AND THE AMERICAN SECRETARY OF STATE. I SAW MR. VANCE TWO OR THREE WEEKS AGO AND HIS ASSESSMENT WAS ONE OF CAUTIOUS OPTIMISM. NOW ISRAEL'S PRIME MINISTER HAS VISITED WASHINGTON AND PRESIDENT SADAT OF EGYPT IS SOON TO DO SO. THE DIALOGUE IS GETTING STARTED AGAIN, IF ONLY INDIRECTLY SO FAR.

PERHAPS IT IS TOO EARLY TO BE AS OPTIMISTIC AS THAT. THE POSITIONS OF ISRAEL AND THE ARAB STATES ARE STILL VERY FAR APART -- NOTABLY ON THE QUESTION OF FRONTIERS AND THE POLITICAL FUTURE OF THE PALESTINIANS. THERE DOES HOWEVER SEEM TO BE A CONSENSUS THAT THE GENEVA TALKS SHOULD BE RESUMED LATER THIS YEAR, WITHOUT CONDITIONS IN TERMS OF WHAT COULD BE DISCUSSED. THE PARTIES ARE ALSO ANXIOUS FOR A PERMANENT AND COMPREHENSIVE SOLUTION, NOT MERELY INTERIM MEASURES.

GIVEN THIS CONSENSUS, A SHARED SENSE OF URGENCY AND A FELT NEED FOR PEACE, I THINK THE OPPORTUNITY IS WITHIN OUR REACH. THIS IS SOMETHING NEW AND IMPORTANT. WE MUST HOPE THAT THE OPPORTUNITY CAN BE SEIZED, FOR IT MAY NOT COME SOON AGAIN. MAY THOSE WHO CARRY THE GREATEST RESPONSIBILITY FOR PEACE BE EQUAL TO THE CHALLENGE THAT 1977 HOLDS UP TO THEM. THIS MUST BE THE HOPE OF ALL OF US IN THIS ROOM, AS FRIENDS OF PEACE AND FRIENDS OF ISRAEL.