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An Address by the Secretary of State for External Affairs, the Honourable Paul Martin, P.C., M.P., to the Annual Dinner Meeting of the Canadian Institute of International Affairs in Quebec City, June 8, 1963.

Discours du secrétaire d'Etat aux Affaires extérieures, l'honorable Paul Martin, C.P., député, au dîner annuel de l'Institut canadien des affaires internationales, à Québec, le 8 juin 1963.

I am happy to be in Quebec City to speak to the thirtieth annual dinner meeting of the CIIA. For me this is a time of some nostalgia, for I have been a member of the Institute from its beginning and the association has been one of the most valuable of my activities. The "International Journal", the "Behind the Headlines" pamphlets and the scholarly works on Canada in world affairs are all important aspects of the fine contribution which the Institute has made to the study of Canadian foreign policy.

We are very fortunate in the Institute to have John Holmes as President. For many years with the Department of External Affairs at the United Nations and as an Assistant Under-Secretary of State for External Affairs, and more recently with his writings on international affairs, John Holmes has made and continues to make a truly significant and highly valuable contribution to Canada. Under his fine leadership I am certain the Institute is going to play an even more vital role in Canadian foreign policy in the future. As one indication of this I am particularly pleased to see you developing in the Province of Quebec.

On m'a questionné plusieurs fois ces derniers temps au sujet de l'orientation nouvelle de notre politique étrangère. Bien que ce soit sans doute, une question fort justifiée, il n'est évidemment pas facile d'y répondre, surtout durant les semaines très chargées qui font suite à l'entrée en fonction d'un nouveau gouvernement.

Avant d'adopter une politique et des objectifs, il faut d'abord beaucoup d'étude et de détermination, car la politique étrangère d'un pays doit refléter son caractère profond. Ces dernières années, plusieurs ont eu l'impression que le Canada ne trouvait plus sa voie ni sa destinée propre et manquait peut-être de confiance en l'avenir.

Nous sommes résolus de retrouver cette voie, d'éclairer cette destinée, de rétablir cette confiance. Les voyages du premier ministre, M. Pearson, à Londres et Hyannis Port ont été le premier signe de cette

détermination. Des indices précis nous permettent de constater déjà que les Canadiens commencent à reprendre confiance au Canada et à son avenir. Nous devons dès maintenant faire résolument face aux problèmes qui nous affrontent, tant au Canada qu'à l'étranger.

This evening I would like to do two things. First, I want to discuss with you some of the new economic dimensions in Canadian foreign policy. Secondly, I want to show how the very character of the Canadian nation influences our policies and provides us with important diplomatic assets.

Perhaps the most striking development in international affairs in recent years has been the increased awareness and importance of a nation's foreign economic policy. In a world where the great issues of peace and war are coming to have increasingly significant economic aspects, a world in which the importance of international trade to the domestic economies of virtually all countries is of increasing importance and a world which is witnessing the great ascent of the developing countries, foreign economic policy becomes a crucial element in a nation's overall foreign policy.

International trade and economic relationships are undergoing great changes today. For Canada, today's world may be tougher and more competitive than the one we lived in during the early 1950's. However, it holds great promise and great opportunities. The rewards and influences are there to be achieved provided our foreign economic policies are designed with a full understanding of these changes.

Underlying the changes in international economic relationships are the striking advances in science and technology which characterize our age. Canada has successfully entered the fields of electronics, of satellite communications and of the peaceful uses of nuclear energy. Cobalt therapy equipment, designed in Canada, is now found in many areas of the world. We supplied a research reactor to India. We have designed and constructed natural uranium powered reactors. The Government intends to participate fully in programmes of satellite communications. We are proud of the fact that in addition to the United States and the U.S.S.R. Canada is the only other country to have designed and built a satellite in orbit. I refer to our advanced research satellite, launched in co-operation with the United States, appropriately named "Alouette".

I cannot emphasize too strongly the importance of these developments. They have opened up vast new opportunities for Canada. But we forget at our peril that we live in a world in which man has learned to communicate with another man orbiting the earth but not with a man separated by only a few feet of dark stone wall in the city of Berlin. In history our age will surely be judged on the choice we make regarding the use of our scientific achievements; whether we use them for constructive or destructive purposes, whether we use them for swords or for ploughshares. We are determined to make the right choice.

Let me now turn to some of the economic factors influencing Canadian foreign policy. Trade and economic patterns all over the world are being profoundly affected by the new regional economic groups, especially in Europe, but also in Latin America and in Africa.

Canada has always placed traditional emphasis on trade and economic relations with Britain, the Commonwealth and the United States and we shall continue to give these trading relations all the attention and care which they warrant.

But Canada cannot remain indifferent to the emergence of the new economic giant in Europe. With its remarkable rate of economic development, the ECM is of great significance to Canada both as an expanding market and because of the new economic and political techniques which are being pioneered there. The ECM will have a major voice in the development of world-wide trade policies and, as the recent discussions at GATT ministerial meeting showed, The Six can speak with a determined mind of their own when they wish.

The Canadian Government is sympathetic with the political and historical trends which have brought The Six together. Now that Europe and the United States are faced with the historic promise of working together and co-operating to further the prosperity and development of both the free world and the developing world, we are determined to play our part in this great endeavour.

One of the crucial international issues today is whether the advanced countries of the Western world are prepared to reduce trade barriers and to work for the expansion of world trade.

At the recent meetings in Geneva, the GATT nations had before them proposals for a more comprehensive approach to negotiations on tariffs, the difficult matter of world agricultural trade, which in so many countries is subject to restrictive arrangements and the whole question of opening new and better trading opportunities for the less developed countries.

The ministerial meeting, which was the fifth since 1947, marked the opening of new efforts to deal with all these trade problems in the GATT. A definite time-table for the tariff negotiations was established and broad agreement reached on the general principles and procedures to be followed. The position of countries such as Canada with a limited range of exports and a great variety of imports was recognized. It was also decided that agricultural trade would be fully included in the negotiations. In total the results of the meeting constitute a significant achievement.

A vital aspect of international economic policy is the need to stimulate the economic growth and prosperity of developing countries of half the globe. Although these countries must, of course, carry the main burden of responsibility for their own economic well-being, it has been recognized for some time that the advanced industrialized countries have great responsibility for assisting these countries through the difficult phase before their economies become self-sustaining.

In the last decade a great deal has already been accomplished. Many lessons have been learned and much hard experience has been gained. Even though the problems involved are steadily increasing in scope and are becoming more complex and more urgent, I think that we in the Western world are better equipped now after over a decade of experience to play our part in what has come to be known as "the great ascent".

While the importance of strict financial assistance to the developing countries has in no way diminished, there is, I believe, a new awareness of the trade problems of these countries. For the past several years the GATT Contracting Parties, through their Committee III, have been making a special study of ways to expand the export opportunities of these developing countries. At the GATT ministerial meeting to which I have already referred, these problems were given a great deal of attention. It was agreed that in forthcoming tariff negotiations the less developed countries should not be expected to pay fully for trade and tariff benefits they have received.

Meanwhile, in the United Nations an initiative was launched by the Economic and Social Council last summer for a special World Trade and Development Conference, which is to be concerned mainly with the trade and economic problems of developing countries. Canada is a member of the 30-member Preparatory Committee which is now meeting for the second time in Geneva to make plans for this conference which will probably take place early next year.

Here then is an area of great concern to the people of Canada. As an advanced country with a high standard of living, we must play our full share bilaterally and through our membership in international organizations to hasten the economic progress of the less developed countries. This is not a task of charity. It is a responsibility which rests upon the recognition that faster economic progress and greater political stability in the less developed world is vital to world peace.

The Government recognizes the importance of this responsibility, and the energies of several other departments, in addition to my own, are being brought to bear on the problems of the developing countries.

The encouragement and the support of the Canadian people for these efforts are absolutely vital. The Institute has assisted in the creation of this public support and understanding. I hope that you will do even more in the future. I hope that the Government can do much more to explain the nature and the extent of our obligations and responsibilities to the developing countries to the people of Canada.

J'ai tenté de décrire les nouvelles dimensions économiques de la politique internationale et d'évoquer quelques-uns des effets qui s'ensuivront pour la politique étrangère du Canada. C'est au sein de la Communauté atlantique que se manifestent, sans aucun doute, la plupart de ces transformations.

Les bénéfices qui peuvent résulter d'une coopération économique étroite entre les pays de l'Atlantique doivent cependant profiter au reste du monde, et tout particulièrement aux pays en voie de développement. C'est là un des principaux objectifs de l'Organisation pour la coopération et le développement économiques, - objectif qui ne peut être atteint que si les pays de la Communauté atlantique coopèrent le plus étroitement possible. Je crois que le Canada peut jouer un rôle à cette fin.

A l'occasion de la récente réunion ministérielle du Conseil de l'OTAN, j'ai eu le plaisir de rencontrer les ministres des Affaires étrangères des quatorze autres pays membres de notre Communauté atlantique. "Tout au cours des entretiens privés que j'ai eus avec nos distingués

visiteurs, comme je le déclarais à la Chambres des communes le 28 mai, s'est manifestée une conscience profonde de ce que le succès de l'Alliance dépend en dernière analyse de notre capacité d'atteindre à une association réelle des peuples de l'Europe occidentale et de l'Amérique du Nord. Cette association dépendait surtout naguère de l'entente anglo-américaine, à laquelle il est arrivé au Canada de contribuer à l'occasion. L'intimité qui règne entre Washington et Londres en est l'encourageant résultat.

"Aujourd'hui que l'Europe s'est complètement relevée des ruines de la guerre, la Communauté atlantique doit reposer sur des bases plus larges.

"Le Canada, en sa qualité de pays nord-américain, doté d'un précieux héritage et de deux cultures reçues de deux mères-patries, peut encore avoir l'occasion d'être utile en exerçant une influence discrète en vue d'une entente atlantique encore plus parfaite."

Le caractère bilingue et biculturel du Canada peut accroître et rendre plus utile son rôle international, en même temps qu'il lui est une source d'enrichissement et un gage de son identité en tant qu'Etat distinct. Parce qu'il participe historiquement et culturellement à des civilisations britannique et anglo-saxonnes aussi bien qu'à des civilisations française et latines, tout en étant voisin des Etats-Unis et membre de Commonwealth, le Canada est admirablement doté pour contribuer au rapprochement entre les nations de la Communauté atlantique.

Une fédération canadienne unie dans sa riche diversité pourrait peut-être servir d'exemple ou d'encouragement aux jeunes Etats comme aux nations chevonnées qui songent à se fédérer. J'ose croire qu'il ne s'agit pas là d'un rêve mais d'un objectif que nous pouvons réaliser si nous le voulons vraiment.

Mais la tâche ne sera pas facile. Seuls la compréhension, le respect et la tolérance mutuels nous permettront de l'accomplir. Cela exigera travail et sacrifices.

I emphasize to you that Canadian foreign policy should reflect the history and traditions of the various groups within Canada. Mr. Louis St. Laurent stated this well in a lecture which he delivered in 1947 on the foundations of Canadian policy in world affairs:

"The first general principle on which we agree is that our external policies should not destroy our unity."

In that same lecture, Mr. St. Laurent discussed our historic ties with France:

"With France also our relations rest upon principles that have emerged clearly from our history. We have never forgotten that France is one of the fountainheads of our cultural life. We realize that she forms an integral part of the framework of our international life. We have so much in common that, despite the differences between the French political system and our own, we cannot doubt for a moment that our objects in world affairs are similar. We in this country have always believed in the greatness of France."

Au cours d'entretiens que j'eus le mois dernier avec le ministre des Affaires étrangères de France, M. Couve de Murville, j'ai souligné l'importance accrue que nous aimerais donner à nos relations avec la France, et ce dans tous les domaines. Sans être nécessairement d'accord en tous points avec certains aspects de sa politique étrangère, nous admirons tous la façon prodigieuse dont la France s'est redressée depuis une guerre dévastatrice, l'essor remarquable de son économie et son dynamisme industriel, soutenus par la vigueur de ses recherches scientifiques et de ses progrès techniques.

Cette renaissance économique et la politique énergique poursuivie par le président de Gaulle vont d'ailleurs de pair avec une activité soutenue dans les domaines des arts et des lettres, de la culture et de la pensée sous toutes ses formes. Ce respect dont témoigne l'Europe occidentale pour les valeurs de l'esprit et son rapport culturel demeurent les facteurs d'enrichissement essentiels pour notre civilisation.

It is of profound value to Canada that nearly one-third of our own population embodies in a more and more dynamic way many aspects of the French culture in our North American environment.

I could mention an imposing number of international associations that draw representatives of the French-speaking nations together, be they journalists, lawyers, physicians or scientists. It was university men from Quebec who originated and founded two years ago the Association of French-speaking Universities. These associations contribute to making Canada better known not only in Europe but also in Africa, from the Mediterranean to Madagascar. A growing number of French-speaking students, especially from Africa, are attending universities in Quebec. In addition, our French-Canadian colleges and universities have been attracting students from Latin America for a long time, because their curricula are based on common humanistic and spiritual values as adapted to the modern world, French-Canada alone, I believe, can offer such a living synthesis of the Latin and the North American spirit.

The Government of Quebec is co-operating with the Federal Government in organizing a technical assistance programme for French-speaking African states and with the provision of French-speaking teachers for these states. This is an aspect of our foreign policy in which the French-Canadian contribution is of extreme value.

Les Canadiens français ont avec l'Amérique latine de nombreuses affinités d'ordre culturel, social et religieux. Les missionnaires du Québec et du Canada français ont été les premiers représentants de notre pays en Amérique latine, bien avant que nous puissions y ouvrir des ambassades. Tout en accomplissant un travail que nous ne saurons jamais trop admirer, ils y font encore aujourd'hui aimer le Canada. Il y a présentement en Amérique latine environ 1,300 missionnaires catholiques du Canada français, s'occupant d'enseignement, d'oeuvres sociales et d'hôpitaux ou de cliniques, tout en poursuivant leur oeuvre pastorale. Trois des évêques d'Amérique latine sont canadiens-français.

Il y a de plus en Amérique latine un grand nombre de missionnaires protestants. L'excellente réputation dont jouit notre pays tout entier en Amérique latine, nous en sommes redevables en grande partie à tous ces missionnaires, et je veux aujourd'hui leur rendre tout particulièrement hommage.

Enfin, il faut souligner l'apport indispensable de nos diplomates canadiens-français à la diplomatie canadienne. Je songe à mon distingué prédécesseur et premier ministre, M. Louis St-Laurent, et à notre ancien ambassadeur en France, Son Excellence le général Georges Vanier; je songe aussi à notre sous-ministre adjoint, M. Marcel Cadieux, à nos ambassadeurs successifs à Paris ou à Rome ou maintenant aux Nations Unies, et à tous nos chefs de mission à l'étranger qui sont de langue française.

I am thinking as well of all our foreign service officers, who have elected to play an active and direct role in the conduct of Canadian foreign policy and whose contribution is not only helpful and always greatly appreciated, but is absolutely essential. Their personal culture, their traditions, their understanding of both the European and American minds are an invaluable asset while some of their other qualities, such as their flexibility, are essentially qualities of diplomacy itself.

Je crois avoir amplement démontré à quel point notre diplomatie et notre prestige international bénéficient du caractère biculturel du Canada. Ce soir, à Québec, je voudrais inviter les étudiants canadiens-français qualifiés à entrer en plus grand nombre dans notre Service extérieur afin d'enrichir le caractère même du Canada et de nous aider à jouer pleinement notre rôle au sein de la diplomatie internationale.

Je sais qu'un certain nombre de candidats qualifiés hésitent à se joindre à nous à Ottawa parce que l'administration fédérale n'a pas toujours su reconnaître en pratique le caractère biculturel qui doit être le sien pour le plus grand enrichissement du pays.

Je vous assure qu'en dépit de l'enchaînement des problèmes nous entendons remédier à cette situation.

Let me summarize what I have said this evening:

1. It is vital that Canadian foreign policy include the co-ordination and integration of all aspects of external policy, especially in the fields of trade and defence.
2. Canadian foreign economic policy, while designed to provide maximum benefits for all sections of Canada, has high among its objectives the lowering of international trade barriers and the stimulation of the economic growth of the developing countries.
3. The benefits which can be achieved from greater economic co-operation amongst the nations of the Atlantic area must radiate out into the countries of the developing world.
4. Canada is uniquely fitted to play a useful part in promoting understanding and co-operation between Europe and North America.
5. The bicultural character of Canada is an important factor in the shaping of our foreign policy and is an immense asset in our diplomacy. I appeal to qualified bilingual Canadians to join our foreign service so that we may enhance our country's international stature and ensure that the heritage of Canada is fully reflected in our foreign policy.

We are living in a revolutionary age, where our system of government and our basic values and ideals are being challenged both from without and sometimes even from within. I am convinced that, with good leadership and by remaining true to the great heritage of our country, Canada has a vital part to play in the age-old pursuit of mankind -- a pursuit all the more hazardous today -- the search for a world where men and women everywhere can live in peace and security.

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