

## STATEMENTS AND SPEECHES

INFORMATION DIVISION  
DEPARTMENT OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS  
OTTAWA - CANADA



No. 49/17

### CANADA-UNITED STATES ARRANGEMENTS FOR NORTH AMERICAN DEFENCE

Text of an address by General A.G.L. McNaughton to the National Management Council of the U.S.A., at the Waldorf Astoria Hotel, New York, on April 7, 1949.

I count it a very great compliment indeed to be invited to be the guest of the National Management Council to-day and to have this opportunity of saying a few words to you on a subject which, most unfortunately, has become of increasing concern to everyone of us. I refer to the problem of North American defence, which is a problem in which Canada and the United States are both very closely involved and in which they are likely to become even more involved in the uneasy days that lie before us.

It is a happy circumstance that our two countries have come to realize the great interests which we hold in common and, because of the experience of two wars, that we have learned the necessity for co-operation in defence. We have learned also that the habit of co-operation is one which grows in intimacy with practice and so to-day as we look out at a deeply troubled world I can say, not only do we understand one another's assessment of the dangers, but our views are in close accord as to how the trends which may menace our way of life are to be met and how the various contingencies should be provided for.

Most fortunately, I think, the leaders of our governments and of public opinion, both in Canada and in the United States, have clearly recognized that an insular military defence, however extensive and elaborate, is by itself not enough to make us safe but that on the contrary to be effective it must be supported in the economic, the social and the cultural spheres and all these endeavours must be amplified by association with like-minded nations elsewhere who believe with us in the fundamental principles of a Christian Democracy and in the freedom of the individual in contradistinction to the pagan tenets of communism which have submerged so many fine peoples under the crushing heel of totalitarian despotism.

Not the least of our endeavours, in our own interest as well as for Christian charity, must be to put an end to this process of engulfment of peoples who are our friends. It is only thus by generous timely help to others in need and in distress and by our own widened endeavours that we can hope to solve the problems of our defence to give us that security we seek.

In the study of military defence it is most important to realize the very remarkable progress which has come about, particularly since the close of World War I, in the application of science and engineering to war. To-day for those who are suitably prepared and equipped, distance has largely lost its former attenuating effect on the conduct of military operations and we must realize not only that continents are now within aircraft range of one another but that with every new development space continues to shrink still further. Thus we have now become closer to Europe, both in terms of the reinforcements we can give to our friends and also in relation to the repercussion on this continent which would be the consequence of any enemy success there. We have become closer to Europe both in terms of the magnitude on which military operations might be conducted and also in the reduction of the time element involved in bringing into engagement the massive forces which would probably be required.

We have to contemplate the possibility of aircraft at super-sonic speed; guided missiles of great range; of the application of virulent bacteriological and chemical poisons; and, most important, of atomic bombs of catastrophic power. We must realize that in the very near future these forms of bombardment may be rapidly followed up by considerable forces, airborne or seaborne in special types of vessels capable of landing on beaches without the use of established ports. Moreover these airborne and seaborne forces would be capable of operating with great effectiveness on the ground even in the face of the widespread destruction and contamination which will result from the long range, high explosive bacteriological, chemical, or atomic bombardment.

With the increased range of action and of speed in transit, continents today have already become the least geographical units on the basis on which questions of defence can properly be studied; consequently effective arrangements for the defence of the territory of one nation have become matters of vital concern to all other nations of that continent. Further, the particular anxieties which concern us from within the Iron Curtain require an extension of association in defence beyond the continent of North America to include both the nations of North America and of Western Europe in order that we may create an adequate balance or counterpoise.

Perhaps I might refer to this matter first because within the last few days the answer has been given in most convincing fashion in the Atlantic Pact through which our two nations will be brought into association with other nations of the North Atlantic Community in Western Europe.

Through the organization which this Treaty will provide we may expect that the democratic countries of Western Europe and of North America combined will be able to muster an overwhelming preponderance in military, economic and moral resources in opposition to any aggressor and we may hope that by the manifest intention of all concerned to make proper preparation for the discharge of the responsibilities they have assumed, there will be created an effective deterrent to any nation or group of nations who might be tempted to launch an armed attack against any of its signatories.

As the Prime Minister of Canada has said--

"This treaty is to preserve the peace of the world by making it clear to any aggressor that if he were so unwise as to resort to war he would be apt to finish with the Kaiser and Hitler and Mussolini.

"This treaty would bind together in an alliance against war the free nations of the North Atlantic Community which shared a common heritage, a common civilization, a common belief in the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations, and a common desire to live in peace with all peoples and all governments."

Mr. Pearson, our Secretary of State for External Affairs has said--

"For the people of the North Atlantic Community the Treaty is a new beginning. It carries the promise of a greater security and fuller co-operation amongst the nations. It spans an ocean to join two continents. It gives many millions of people who live in this area a chance to develop the principles and practice of international co-operation under rules of law and conduct that are familiar to them. It holds out the hope of freedom, order and progress in a peaceful world."

Such is the nature of the plan which has been made to chart the course of action for Canada and the United States which will associate us in defence with like-minded peoples overseas so that all together we may be so strong our freedom will not be challenged,--that we may be so strong our confidence

the ways of peaceful progress through the United Nations may be restored,-- that we may be so strong that the menace which hangs over Europe may be dissipated and that the people there will come again to enjoy their freedom from care and want and ever-present anxiety.

But these arrangements in relation to defence collaboration overseas are in themselves not enough. From the very nature of the contingencies which may have to be dealt with and by reason of the existing locations of resources in raw materials, manpower, economic facilities and manufacturing capacity this North American continent has become the base for the provision of much of the varied and voluminous equipment and supplies needed for the restoration and sustenance of the European economy and for the conduct of defence in war should that become necessary. No longer is this continent of America immune by reason of distance from the scene of possible hostilities and so our industry would present a major objective to attack should the possibility for this be left open.

Not only therefore is it necessary for us to make defence arrangements for the protection of the North Atlantic Community as a whole but, in view of our special problems in North America, it is also necessary to continue the intimate co-operation between the United States and Canada in defence matters.

The North Atlantic Pact is therefore not some magic formula by which we may have shifted a burden to other backs to bear but it is a great co-operative defensive endeavour which will call to us at least for equal sacrifice and effort; and this to be efficient--as it must be--requires that we work together in all defence matters from the elementary planning for civil defence through the exacting business of research to the development of new weapons and resources; in design and standardization and methods of manufacture of equipment and their quantity production; in organization and training, on land, at sea and in the air--it calls for the closest association in all these matters right up to and including the employment of our forces in war, if that unhappy eventuality should come.

In the limited time available to-day it is not possible to even sketch the organization which is evolving here to deal with all these important aspects of the problem and to indicate how they are to be integrated with the corresponding set-up on the other side of the Atlantic. But I would like to mention one feature of the organization between Canada and the United States which is novel and for which there is no counterpart elsewhere and that is the Permanent Joint Board on Defence.

This Board was established by the President of the United States and the Prime Minister of Canada in August, 1940, not by some formal treaty after long negotiation but by the simple process of a joint statement giving form and substance to a conversation -- an intimate conversation -- which they had held in a railway car on the previous night.

The President and the Prime Minister gave this Board the responsibility "to commence immediate studies relating to sea, land and air problems, including personnel and material." It will consider, they said, "in the broad sense the defence of the northern half of the Western Hemisphere." The word "permanent" was part of the original designation. This Board was thus designed as a continuing and sensible arrangement to work out and prepare the measures which should ensure the future existence of our two countries in safety on this continent until such time as the world had moved forward to a new order based on friendship and goodwill between all nations, when perhaps the strict precautions now necessary may possibly be relaxed. I cannot overemphasize that this Board does not represent any alliance formed as a threat to other peoples.

The Permanent Joint Board on Defence is organized in two national sections, each with a Chairman. When the Board meets formally, the Chairmen preside jointly, but with a single purpose, which is to ensure that a proper answer is given to every problem in the interests of the maintenance of North American security. The procedure is by way of discussion and agreement, never by vote, and in all its history every conclusion has been unanimous. Very often, discussions and interchange of information serve to bring to attention some point on which there may have been a lack of understanding in the relations between the Armed Forces of the two countries

and when this happens the responsible representatives undertake to have the matter studied by their respective services and to report the results. This is usually sufficient to dispel the problem, which otherwise might, in the process of more formal diplomatic communication, have grown in magnitude.

The Permanent Joint Board is not a combined staff and likewise in its national sections it is not a rival to the Military staffs in Washington or in Ottawa. Its strength for its special task lies in the fact that it has not been clothed with any executive responsibility. It cannot order anything but it can suggest what needs to be done. The Board has the duty to constantly review the situation and if any of its suggestions have not been acted upon it can draw this situation to the attention of the President and the Prime Minister. In practice this has proved to be ample authority.

During World War II the Permanent Joint Board was very active in the discharge of its responsibilities and it was under its auspices that the basic plans for the defence of Canada and Alaska were drawn up; that arrangements were made for such important defence undertakings as the Alaska Highway, the Northwest Staging Route for ferrying aircraft to Russia and China, the Crimson Route across Hudson's Bay, Baffin Land, Greenland, etc. to Europe, etc.

It was at the instance of the Board also, in the immediate post-war period, that steps were taken to transform the international character of the various installations of these joint undertakings to ensure that full ownership and clear title to all establishments in Canadian territories should vest in Canada. Very large sums of money were paid over by Canada to the United States in this process of liquidation.

Since then the Board has concerned itself with the future.

At an early meeting the Board recognized the need for wider interchange of officers and specialists, including those concerned with the design of new weapons and with eventual standardization; for joint tests and the interchange of observers on exercises, etc.

The result of these discussions was made known in a statement given simultaneously on 12 February, 1947 in Ottawa to Parliament by the Prime Minister, and in Washington by the Secretary of State. This statement defined the measure of agreement which had been reached for co-operation in our defence policies and I am sure that anyone who will consider and weigh these principles will feel, as I do, that everything which is essential for the closest military co-operation and preparation for defence has been included and that there is thus provided a comprehensive basis on which either country may bring forward any defence matters which it may wish.

I think that it is particularly advantageous to Canada that we are enabled to make the very significant contribution of which I believe our engineers and scientists are capable in the fields of weapon development and research. It has been our special concern to ensure that in this section of the nucleus of our war organization we are especially well equipped and staffed.

These arrangements with the United States are of great importance both because of the positive measures of association, collaboration and standardization which have been established between our respective armed forces and for the mutual and reciprocal availability of military, naval and air facilities in each country which are announced. They are important also by reason of the statements of what is not intended and in this respect they make clear to all the world that Canada intends to continue, as we have always done, to carry our full and proper responsibilities for the defence of our own territory and that all arrangements within our own territory will remain strictly under our own control. That is, as Mr. Truman said in his address in Ottawa to both our Houses of Parliament on 11 June 1947, we "participate on the basis of equality and the sovereignty of each is carefully respected."

With these provisions for the free and intimate discussion of defence  
....matters

matters which are of mutual concern to Canada and to the United States and for their orderly conduct through the medium of our Permanent Joint Board on Defence, no one in either of our countries, or in any other country need fear lest any of the precautions essential to the security of North America are being neglected.

The stated policy of the Government of Canada is to do everything possible through the United Nations or otherwise to settle disputes between nations and to prevent the outbreak of another world war, or failing that, should war come, to ensure that we and our potential allies are in a position to win and win quickly.

It is clear, therefore, that Canadian effort must be directed along both these lines of endeavour. The first in developing international co-operation not only in the realm of security such as is proposed in the North Atlantic Pact but also for dealing with the vital political and economic questions whose solution will serve to unite instead of divide the world. The medium which has been established for this purpose is the United Nations and it is through this organization that ways are opening up for peaceful progress which, we still may hope, will yet transform opposing interest and suspicion in co-operative endeavour and mutual confidence and thus bring about for all nations of the world, a relationship similar to that which exists between Canada and the United States. We of North America who have been greatly favoured by Providence have a special responsibility to help others who have had to bear the impact of war upon their own home lands. I have no doubt therefore, that in the Assembly, the Interim Committee, the Atomic Energy Commission, the Security Council, in which we now hold membership, and in other United Nations groups as well, Canada will continue to press these matters with all the insistence which she can muster. On the other hand, in this time of great anxiety we must pay heed to the wise old saying that "the strong man armed keepeth the peace" or as Mr. St. Laurent put it last Armistice Day, "Heaven helps those who help themselves."

The application of this axiom to our present position is that if we and our friends are strong in defence and conscious of our strength, we can go forward without anxiety to do those things which may make war impossible and to carry aid and comfort to those in need.

I conclude these remarks on "Canada-United States Arrangements for North American Defence" by saying that until the United Nations can be developed into an effective organization through which the aspirations of all nations can be harmonized by peaceful means we will continue to need our armed forces as a deterrent to attack against ourselves and the other peoples of the North Atlantic Community, and as an assurance to all other peace loving nations who think with us, that the peoples of North America remain strong.

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