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An address by Mr. Sidney E. Smith, Secretary of State for External Affairs, to the Biennial Conference of the Association of Canadian Clubs, Quebec City, June 21, 1958.

The presidential chair of this Association, which I have had the honour of occupying, has indeed been a comfortable one. Unlike most presidential positions, it is by nature essentially sedentary; the incumbent can share the elation of good talk and the joys of good companionship with few very arduous responsibilities to discharge; and such demands as the position may make are generally, as in the present circumstances, a pleasure to fulfill. Indeed, the constitution of our Association stipulates only that the President shall represent the Association, but living as we do under the influence of the special genius of the British Constitutional spirit, it is, I suppose, nigh inevitable that we should be governed in our proceedings not so much by the imperious demands of explicitly enunciated regulations as by the more gentle but perhaps more persuasive urgings of tradition. And regardless of what our "founding fathers" may have had in mind for the Association's presidents, custom and usage have come to require a presidential address on occasions such as this. Insofar as the President himself is concerned, this is probably a wise precedent; the pages of history have amply demonstrated that privilege without responsibility, is not, in the terminology of one school of historiography, a good thing. For a non-working member of the organization's staff silence corrupts, from which it follows by the inexorable laws of misquotation that absolute silence corrupts absolutely. The custom of a presidential address has evolved, I suspect, in response to much the same needs as are met by the human conscience and Her Majesty's Loyal Opposition. (I did not say human conscience or Her Majesty's Loyal Opposition). If it would not be entirely accurate to say that the custom keeps him on his toes, it brings him to his feet at least once in his two years of office.

Few associations in this country bring together, in their national conferences, such outstanding representation from the many communities - social, cultural, business and professional, and academic - of which the mosaic of our nationhood is constructed, and the honour of not only speaking for the Association as a whole, but also of speaking to it, is one for which I am deeply grateful. In this audience, there is a cross section, but not a cross-grained section, a microcosm, of the Canadian scene.

Since last I had occasion to speak for and to the Association two years ago in London, many changes have impressed themselves on our lives, and although the Association's presidential address then as now was and is being uttered by one and the same person, his designation has undergone a metamorphosis. In emerging from the chrysalis of academic politics to the flights of political affairs, the "Doctor" - and in my new capacity, I always hasten to add that it was honorary anyway - has become "Mister". Such distinguishing marks as I may have had among the ubiquitous and anonymous tribe of Smiths have thus disappeared. Sic transit gloria academica.

The political world, however, is not to be outdone by the academic in the cabal of prefixes and suffixes it permits its practitioners to add to their names, but in this connection I hasten to add that the "P.C." after my name which I acquired in exchange for the "Doctor" in front, does not before this audience stand for Progressive Conservative.

When last Autumn, I took up my present responsibilities, I was prepared - but not without reluctance - to retire from my present position in the Association and I so informed our National Director who after presenting my letter to a meeting of the National Executive, wrote to me as follows:-

"They wondered if you could possibly reconsider this and remain as President. (This could not too seriously embarrass those of us who are not Conservatives because they knew you were appointed President earlier!)"

This excerpt had, however, been corrected in ink by the hand of our Director. What was actually typed on the page read this way:

"This would not too seriously impress those of us who are not Conservatives...."

In any event, I trust that my decision to remain has neither impressed nor embarrassed, and that into my present participation in these proceedings, no one will read the dubious motive of attempted political subversion - a formidable task indeed and one which I would hesitate to undertake even prior to, let alone after a general election, in present company with its established reputation - and indeed, this is one of the objectives of the Association - for the encouragement of independent and well-informed opinion. Otherwise no man in public life would be invited to speak to a Canadian Club.

In promoting these objectives and in serving the Association in a hundred ways of which we the membership seldom are consciously aware, no one has made a greater contribution than our Director, Eric Morse, and I wish - and I know I do so with the unanimous endorsement of everyone here - to pay tribute to his achievements on behalf of the Association. The high standards which he has so ably maintained in our programmes and the Association's wise policy of emphasizing "quality", in the realization that "quantity" will then look after itself, are to be warmly commended. Above all, however, we are grateful for the efforts which he has made in ensuring that the Association in outlook and in ethos as well as in name, shall be one of Canadian Clubs. This, I firmly believe, is the paramount objective of our Association, and it is a purpose which we can and which we ought to serve, if indeed utilitarian justification need be sought. The encouragement of a renewed and vigorous sense of Canadianism is not a luxury for us, but an imperative requirement. I use the word "Canadianism" not in any narrow, jingoistic sense; there is and always has been a surfeit of rampant uncompromising nationalism crashing through the congress of the nations. I have in mind rather the special, and I think it is special - contribution which we, as Canadians can make, as a result of our own national experience, to the wider international community in which we participate voluntarily yet of necessity. The sort of Canadianism I have in mind is best described - if I may borrow a phrase - as our sense of identity, our awareness that we have essential values and ideals in common, that from our experience in meeting our problems has emerged a similarity of viewpoints and attitudes and perspectives and purposes. All of these are aspects of what I might refer to as the Canadian experience and it is the frontiers of that experience that I intend to explore.

Frontiers of course involve challenges and from meeting the challenges which nature, history and a variety of other factors have put into our lives, we have evolved common responses.

On our physical horizons, our geographical and geological frontiers, I do not propose to dwell at length. I observe however that we must be worthy stewards of the bounty with which a kindly Providence has endowed this country. We must not forget that the response to the challenge of a pioneer and rather inhospitable environment by our forefathers continues as a facet of our consciousness. They left us a noble heritage.

We are still ready to conquer frontiers; we are still exploring and prospecting them. There can be no doubt that our economic frontiers have had a profound effect on our development as a nation and that our achievements in mastering and exploiting our natural resources have been of foremost significance. But sometimes I think we become almost mesmerized with wonder when as we scan our record in terms of tons extracted, barrels filled, shares traded and box cars loaded. It is sobering to examine for a moment what history records of the civilization of ancient Greece. Although their techniques may not have been so developed as ours, I am sure that the Greeks were no less adept than we are in the practices of commercial accounting, yet who remembers the trade statistics of Athens in the days of Solon?

The economic frontier, it is salutary to recognize, is only one of many and a nation's achievements in pressing hard on the frontiers of human understanding, of wisdom, of culture - the frontiers of mind and spirit - are in the final analysis of a more lasting and profound significance. The frontiers of the world's economic development yield to the irresistible persuasion of new technology and scientific advances, but the frontiers of the mind and spirit require more subtle and more complex elements than bulldozers, diamond drills and sliderules for their enlargement.

My reference to the frontiers of mind and spirit is not of course unrelated to the venue of this Conference, for no city in Canada or indeed in North America knows better or has made a greater contribution to the expansion of our national horizons in this regard than the old City of Quebec, a city of pageantry, and bells and international commerce and quiet dreaming streets, a city with the triumph of achievement and the bitterness of disappointment written in its story. Indeed no Canadian can rest awhile in Quebec without emotion. This site attracted the earliest explorers. The blood of Indian, French, British and American was shed on this coveted soil. From here set forth the priest, voyageur, trader and adventurer, soldier and sailor. To all Canadians, Quebec is a splendid symbol. With its rugged natural ramparts and with its commanding view of the River, Canada's River, the arterial highway of our nation's history, Quebec bespeaks the qualities which have

inspired our countrymen's restless sense of adventure. At the same time, this city represents much more than that. Here was established the first centre of higher learning in North America, the first anchor point in the New World of the culture and civilization of the Old. Throughout its history, the University of Laval has cherished this heritage as a vital demonstration of the proposition that our cultural and spiritual frontiers extend far beyond the limits which nature has set.

As a scene of many conflicts, Quebec has been in a sense a crucible of our national experience. But from these conflicts we have learned the lesson of compromise. In the death of two men who, though opposed in immediate purpose, fell in upholding the honour of a trust, the symbol of service and sacrifice has been indelibly imprinted on our national consciousness.

More than a century later and almost a century ago, Quebec witnessed a gathering of bewhiskered Victorian gentlemen from the British North American Provinces and out of their deliberations issued the resolutions which became the British North America Act. I am confident that it was not mere accident which determined that Quebec should have been the birthplace of a design for a Confederation, conceived in the wise recognition that a unity in diversity could be achieved only by compromise and by mutual accommodation.

To me, this citadel City represents then a kind of embodiment and guardian of our cultural and spiritual frontiers and symbolizes those qualities of stability, tolerance and endurance which are integral factors in true Canadianism. At the same time, Quebec, through her busy waterfront, looks out on an international perspective of increasing complexity and danger.

In recent years - and this is a comparatively new development - the advent of Canada to middle power status has added a new dimension to our experience as a nation. We have assumed grave responsibilities in the field of foreign affairs. To the tasks we have undertaken, we bring I believe the special qualities and characteristics which we have developed in our national evolution. In moving up on this new frontier, we have attempted to contribute, in a sense, a national policy to international problems and in so doing to represent the views of the Canadian people in the shaping of a world order.

For Canadians, this new challenge is a many-sided one: the frontier extends out in many directions, embracing the United Nations, the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, the Commonwealth of Nations and the United States. With each of these groupings we have relationships of a special character and to all and to each, I reiterate, we bring something of those special qualities which I have referred to as Canadianism. Into the amalgam of our foreign policy have gone something of our history, something of the ideals and values we hold in common with others, something of the irrevocable demands which geography imposes on us and above all, something of the talents which we have developed for stability, tolerance, endurance compounded with compromise and adaptation. We know that flexibility is not a spineless posture and that open mindedness does not necessarily mean an empty mind through which the winds of indifference or cynicism blow unimpeded. Rather, these qualities for Canadians bespeak a willingness to listen to "the other guy", and an attempt to take his point of view into account even if we do not accept it.

Compromise is not a naughty word: it does not involve a lack of moral standards. The reconciliation of opposing viewpoints for reaching a position on which all can agree, is of course not an easy task; it is long and laborious, it is often a tedious endeavour and more often than not a frustrating one. But in these days, not of alternatives, but of THE terrible alternative, it is an imperative course of action, and one from which we can never back away in dismay or a sense of futility. It is an honourable and constructive role that we seek to play in opening new avenues of approach to, and new perspectives on, this challenging frontier. Our way is the way of the explorer and the frontiersman (although I hesitate to press this metaphor further lest members of the Department of External Affairs become convinced that I am advocating a substitution of the coon skin hat of Davey Crockett for the more formal attire which has become their trademark). We must, like the explorers whose names figure so brilliantly in our history, anticipate new routes, new lands, new peaks, whether the latter have the dramatic appeal of a distant summit, or the lower attraction of the foothills. At the same time, we must chart our onward course with care, never losing sight of the fixed landmarks by which we steer and the hinterland from which we have come. On this frontier, we can never allow ourselves to be like the lamentable individual who knows not where he has been, neither does he understand where he is at, nor envisage where he is going.

The formulation of a democratic foreign policy is thus a complicated task, and one which demands above all for its effective execution, an informed public opinion which is alive to the issues involved and aware of the ends our policies on this frontier are designed to serve.

In the cultivation of such a level of public opinion, in developing the wide popular base on which foreign policy of a democracy must rest, I can think of no more suitably constituted forums than the Canadian Clubs. In speaking to the last Biennial Conference in London in 1956, I said that the Canadian Clubs, throughout their history, had been talking clubs, and I hope that they will continue to be just that, for the type of talk we value is not chatter, but informed talk leading to thought and then to intelligent action. This pattern has, of course, a relevance for all the frontiers of our national experience, be they economic, cultural or intellectual. I pray, however, that I may be forgiven for universalizing my own concerns, if I propose that this pattern has a special relevance for the international frontier, where the need for an awareness of the problems on the part of the people as well as on the part of the diplomatic pick and shovel gangs, has never been greater.

To the opening and expansion of this relatively new frontier in our experience the Association of Canadian Clubs can - and, I am confident, will - make as great a contribution as they have in developing other phases of the sense of Canadianism which we seek to promote.

For Canadians, as for all who respond to the challenges of an unknown land beyond the frontier whether it be geographical or the uncharted regions of human understanding or in the swamps or the mountain ranges of international affairs, the attitude which we must nurture for our action and our course of progress is curiosity. "Where there is much desire to learn" and I quote from the Areopagitica - "there of necessity will be much arguing, much writing, many opinions; for opinion in good men is but knowledge in the making". With the addition of the words "many meetings and speeches", I think that this piece of Miltonian prose might well serve as a motto for the Association, pointing as it does to the essential relationship between the form of our modus operandi and the objectives which we seek to promote throughout and through Canada.

I have spoken of the objectives of our Association in terms of the development of a vital sense of Canadianism, and of expanding the horizons of our experience as Canadians, in rather general terms but while I am still on my presidential feet, I wish to move in the manner of Euclidian deduction from the general to the specific and to explore for a moment something which will be a milestone of the past and a frontier for the present.

I have in mind the Centenary of Confederation. It is appropriate to discuss this with you in a city which has figured so prominently in the achievements which this milestone represents.

On July 1, 1967 Canada will become a centenarian - a venerable age surely for a nation which has tended to think of itself only too frequently as a gawky adolescent. On that day Canadians will celebrate the hundredth anniversary of the proclamation of the British North America Act and Canadians everywhere will mark this occasion, as they did in 1867, with festivities and the observances which befit an occasion of national rejoicing. I express the hope, however, that we will express our feelings in something more than band concerts, parades and fireworks, because an anniversary of this importance warrants I suggest something more than a big party with cake and streamers and noisemakers. Before I am branded an extreme Puritan, I hasten to express the hope that we will have these accoutrements of sober revelry, and that we will approach this event in a spirit of celebration. At the same time, an anniversary - and this one in particular - is a time for reassessment, a time for looking back with a critical eye, and forward in a constructive cast of mind.

In preparing for this great event, I forecast a significant part which the Canadian Clubs can - and I hope - will play. It is not too soon - I repeat, it is not too soon - to begin forthwith planning a programme not just for the anniversary year but for the years leading up to it. Let us now start on assessments and forecasts of past and future progress which must accompany such celebrations by a thoughtful people. Janus-like, we must look in both directions at once and our task is twofold in nature: we must be both historians and prospectors in making our plans. Studies prepared now, and discussions engaged in prior to the event can have for their aim the enhancement of our historical appreciation of the frontiers of the past, the thoughtful survey of the frontiers of our present and the prophetic shaping of our future.

May I stress again that I would lay a special emphasis on the horizons of the mind and spirit, as the key to understanding a nation's development. Psychology claims that it can open up new perspectives in understanding the individual mind, and the technical sciences can and are opening up new frontiers in the natural resources.

But the evolution of a nation, as a nation, is something more than the unfolding of a Freudian pattern in an individual just as it is something more than an accumulation of economic data, tables, charts and

statistics. To understand this evolution and to encourage it in a positive fashion, is to delve into the realm of the human spirit - and I use the word regardless of the contention of some modern philosophy, which throws out not just baby and bathwater but bathtub to boot - I use the word without hesitation or apology. We must draw more deeply on transcendent sources of religion for the better realization of the power of faith and a deeper understanding of God's purpose. Thus one can comprehend and translate into action more fully the healing theme of the Fatherhood of God and the Brotherhood of man.

We need the independent spirit limited only by the prescriptions of noble purpose to push back our frontiers, we must encourage and stimulate that spirit, we must better identify its purpose. In this process the Canadian Clubs can take a leading part. Their name and their charter make it incumbent upon them to do so.

In thought, faith;
In word, wisdom;
In deed, courage;
In life, service;
So may Canada be great.

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