



# STATEMENTS AND SPEECHES

INFORMATION DIVISION  
DEPARTMENT OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS  
OTTAWA - CANADA

No. 69/24

## A NEW LOOK AT CANADA AND EUROPE

Text of Speech by Mr. Jean-Pierre Goyer, Parliamentary Secretary to the Secretary of State for External Affairs, to the Consultative Assembly of the Western European Union, Paris, December 10, 1969.

I should like first to thank the Assembly for having invited us to send an observer to this session. I am delighted to have this opportunity of discussing, from the viewpoint of Canada's relations with Europe, the subjects you will be considering in terms of Europe's relations with the United States. Canada's views on co-operation with Europe and on European security can provide a supplementary contribution to the discussion. In a way, Canada constitutes an added dimension to the questions on the agenda, and I presume that it was with this in mind that your invitation was extended.

Geographical, historical and commercial factors, together with our political objectives, have created a broad variety of interests unique in the world for a country with Canada's population. Canada has access to three oceans: the Atlantic, the Pacific and the Arctic. We have a common border with the United States, and close relations with Europe; our acquaintance with Asian countries, especially Japan and soon, perhaps, the People's Republic of China, is developing very rapidly. We are making our presence felt more and more in both English-speaking and French-speaking Africa, and we are in the process of rediscovering Latin America, whose peoples share the same hemisphere with us.

This is the background against which our young country has achieved such rapid growth.

At this stage in its political life, Canada feels a need to pause, reconsider its objectives, and see whether its policies are still based on its own best interests and those of the international community - in other words, to review the premises on which its activities are founded, in order that they may reflect contemporary needs.

With this in mind, it is only natural that we should reconsider our relations with Europe.

A desire for co-operation based solely on good intentions is usually fruitless. In order to succeed, co-operation must meet real and specific needs. We must both define our positions and determine priorities in accordance with

our basic requirements, and then decide in what ways co-operation can help us to achieve our common objectives more efficiently and economically.

Having stated the question thus, I intend now to analyse briefly our relations with Europe, what they have been until now, and what new elements they have acquired, in order to bring out a number of consequences that appear to follow from them.

Canada possesses a broad foundation on which to develop its relations with Europe. It is at the meeting-point of two civilizations - the European and the American. Geographically and historically, it is an American country, but it retains close kinship with Europe.

Almost all Canadians (96.8 per cent, according to the 1961 census) are of European origin. Forty-three per cent of these Canadians are of English, Irish, Scottish or Welsh ancestry, 30.4 per cent French, 5.8 per cent German and, in fourth place, 2.6 per cent Ukrainian. About 14 per cent of Canada's present population were born in Europe. With so many Canadians of European birth or origin, it is not surprising that European cultural influences have been so dominant.

Our constitutional and judicial institutions, for example, have been very largely based on yours. Our cultures have developed more or less in symbiosis with one another, and are continuing to do so more and more as a result of the recent extraordinary progress in the field of communication. On both sides of the Atlantic, patterns of economic and political behavior are rooted in certain basic values that underlie Western civilization.

In the field of foreign policy, circumstances have dictated that Canada should be associated with the United States and Western Europe. Through two world wars we have been closely involved in events in Europe. For 20 years Canada has been a member of a defensive alliance with Western Europe and the United States. Peace, prosperity and stability in Europe are of direct concern to Canada, since it could not hope to escape the consequences of any world conflict that might result from a failure to settle Europe's problems. In a way, Canada's security is rooted in Europe, where its interests are bound up with those of its allies. It is thus entirely natural that Canada should be associated with all discussions aimed at reducing tensions in Europe.

Times change, however, and the situation is not the same as it was 20 years ago, either for Canada or for Europe. The political, economic, commercial and technological circumstances are different. Even in cultural matters, opportunities for co-operation exist now that were difficult to imagine a few short years ago.

In these 20 years, many things have come to pass in the world, and in Canada, that prompt us to re-examine things from a fresh angle, from a point of view more in keeping with the new situation. Canada, like any other country, must adapt itself to the new conditions prevailing in the world in which it must live and develop.

What can we observe in the world today?

The military and destructive power of some countries is now greater than it has ever been. Paradoxically, it is this very power that has so far frustrated

any desire to make use of the weapons available. The fact remains that military power is, nonetheless, used to perpetuate hegemonies that have no real place in our conception of true liberty.

Material prosperity has never been so great in all history; nevertheless, it must be noted that the gap between the poor nations and the rich has never been so wide. Technology brings great benefits, but it also forces us to make a reappraisal of the very foundations of our society. Today's world is different from that of the fifties: the present intercourse between peoples is making our world smaller and bringing countries on all continents to a state of solidarity and interdependence. Now that television permits us to admire a view of the earth as seen from the moon, we can contemplate the pettiness of our concerns, the futility of our quarrels.

Europe, too, has changed. Today most of its countries enjoy economic prosperity and are investing more and more in scientific research and adapting their production methods to meet the requirements of modern technology. Europe has also set its eyes on the goal of unity, as simple self-interest dictates. Its tremendous potential will be realized as and when this unity becomes fact. Canada, for its part, has been influenced by the ebb and flow of events in the world around it.

Until recent years, Canada has concentrated on furthering its own development and fostering national unity and creating a national identity. From now on, Canada intends to regard its own development, taking account of all relevant factors, including its pluralism and its linguistic duality - essential elements of the Canadian identity - as one of the foundations of its foreign policy. Canada wants to build a just society characterized by better distribution of the country's wealth and to contribute to a pursuit of the same objective on an international scale. It wants to continue to play an active role in the world, but a role better adapted to its means and resources.

It was inevitable that new conditions in the world, in Europe and in Canada, should lead the Government and people of this country to attempt to define the place it should occupy in the international community.

One of the first conclusions to emerge from our studies is that Canada's role in the defence of the European continent as a member of NATO must be more in keeping with the realities of the world in which we live and with the internal situation in Canada itself. There is no question of Canada's becoming a neutral country, passive and isolated. I believe that such a move would be at variance with our common aims and interests. It is with this in mind that the Government has recently decided to continue its participation in NATO while reviewing Canada's role in the alliance.

There are two main factors involved. Firstly, Canada is the only country, apart from the United States, contributing to two collective security systems - NATO and NORAD, which joins us with the United States in the defence of North America. The question is - to what extent can we contribute to NATO in Europe while assuring our sovereignty and security? When we add to these major military deployments the various peacekeeping tasks performed by Canada throughout the world under the auspices of the United Nations, we are faced with the realization that the Canadian military budget, like all other budgets, must be established in a context of priorities.

Secondly, the European members of NATO are better-equipped than in the past to provide the conventional means required for individual and continental defence. In this connection, the Prime Minister of Canada, speaking in the House of Commons last April, stated:

"We feel that Europe, 20 years after the establishment of NATO, can defend itself better, and we hope that NATO's European member countries, with the support of the United States and Canada, can reach some agreement with the Warsaw Pact countries to de-escalate the present tension. For our part, we are not now advocating a reduction of NATO's total military strength, although we hope that this may become possible, but a readjustment of commitments among NATO members."

At the last ministerial meeting in Brussels, NATO reaffirmed its wish to promote an improvement in East-West relations, and Canada intends to make this the basis of future policy. We wish to give the same priority to and expend as much energy in this new rôle as we have done militarily within the alliance.

In this context, we view NATO conferences on European security as more important than ever. NATO and the Warsaw Pact publish collective statements as a matter of course. As far as NATO is concerned, this is the natural result of the political consultation upon which alliance members, especially the middle powers, have long insisted. Nevertheless, I hope that such consultation will not represent the limit of dialogue on European problems. Such problems cannot, I feel, be solved through a simple exchange of statements between blocs. Discussion will surely have to be on a much broader level and involve all European states, as well as the U.S.A. and Canada. The dialogue must be extremely flexible in character, so that in theory no topic is barred, whether in connection with security or any other issue. Canada's interest in Europe obviously goes beyond the problem of European security; there is considerable interest in political, economic, cultural, scientific and technological matters. I should like to limit my remarks to two particular areas: our economic relations and our co-operation in the field of science and technology. Economically speaking, we feel the influence of economic and monetary circumstances in Europe. Our trade, our industries and our agriculture are affected. The search for European economic unity cannot be viewed with indifference by third countries. In truth, we are following the build-up of the European community with a great deal of interest. We are not opposing this movement towards unity; that would be fighting progress. Quite the contrary, we wish to contribute to that unity, to take it into account immediately and to learn to profit from it. Of course, in order to do so, it must be made clear that Europe itself is no longer the same as before and that therefore our relations with Europe must not only accommodate this fact but must evolve at the same rate as the changes taking place and even attempt to predict them. On the whole, we are still guided by the hope that greater European prosperity, made possible by the Common Market, will improve our economic prospects and will open the way to wider financial and commercial relations.

At present, about 20 per cent of our exports go to Western Europe and Britain. This is very little when we consider that Europe has a population of several hundred million and, consequently, is the area that, in principle, offers the best prospects for diversifying our trade. Multilateral negotiations within GATT on the reduction

of tariffs or the elimination of non-tariff or para-tariff barriers would increase trade between Canada and Europe. However, that should not hinder the search for bilateral solutions which may be mutually beneficial. The spirit of full participation generally prevalent in Europe during the Kennedy Round negotiations was not as fully apparent in certain sectors as we should have wished. Canada has increased its exports, particularly manufactured goods, to Europe, but Canadian exports of agricultural products and industrial goods continue to be beset with difficulties.

Moreover, for approximately two years there has been a very marked increase in private and public loans contracted on the European financial market. Although it is still modest, European investment in Canada has also increased. We could accept even more European investment capital which could be used profitably in Canada.

Nor is there any doubt that scientific and industrial co-operation between Canada and European countries could be increased. To date, Canada's technological co-operation with Europe has not been significant. No major joint project has been carried out. Nevertheless, Canadian scientists, individually or through international organizations, have established personal contacts with their European counterparts in most sectors of their scientific activities. Are such exchanges however, the answer today to the growing importance of modern science and technology in our respective countries? We have all achieved sufficient progress in certain sectors that mutually profitable co-operation can henceforth materialize. In my opinion, such sectors are satellites and space research, atomic energy, transport and communications, oceanography and computers.

It is quite clear from the foregoing, I believe, that Europe ranks high in our foreign relations. The nature of our relations may have changed or evolved, our objectives may have been redefined, but this does not necessarily imply that our interest in European countries has diminished.

It is perhaps more important than ever that we understand one another. This is why I eagerly accepted the invitation to speak to you today. I am pleased to have been able to point out the importance we attach to co-operation with Europe in the various sectors where our mutual interests are most pronounced. We should like to see the idea that new forms of Canadian-European relation must be developed gain ground because they are in keeping with the basic aspects of our reciprocal interests. In this regard, our meeting today is a step in the right direction.

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