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THE UNITY OF THE FREE WORLD

Text of an address by the Under-Secretary of State for External Affairs, Mr. L.D. Wilgress; delivered to the Annual Congregation of the University of British Columbia, May 19, 1953, at Vancouver, British Columbia.

... I have chosen as the title of my address "The Unity of the Free World". This is a fitting subject for an address by a member of the Canadian diplomatic service. There is nothing that is more important in the world to-day than that we of the Western world should remain united. It has been one of the aims of the Soviet Union to sow dissension among the countries that lie outside the orbit of Soviet power. We must constantly be on our guard against these efforts to bring about disunity in the free world. While we must be especially vigilant against efforts to separate the North American from the European members of the North Atlantic alliance, we must also take care to see that nothing is done to upset our relations with those other countries which are not bound to us by formal ties of alliance but whose interests, nonetheless, are inseparably bound up with those of the free world.

We do not have the kind of world we had hoped for when the young men of this country in their many thousands were going forth to fight the battles for freedom and democracy. At that time we spoke much about the ideal of "One World". It was with this ideal in mind that we gathered together at San Francisco in April 1945, to draw up the Charter of the United Nations. We were hoping that all the nations would co-operate together to assure the maintenance of both peace and prosperity. The lessons of the previous quarter of a century had demonstrated that peace and prosperity are indivisible. The world has become contracted and nations now must work together if we are to have peace and prosperity. If, because of the behaviour of the Soviet Union, we cannot have "One World", let us see that we can at least have only "Two Worlds".

Under the system of "Two Worlds", we of the free world can enjoy peace and prosperity under two conditions. The first condition is that we remain sufficiently strong to remove the fear of aggression. This is the purpose of the North Atlantic alliance. If we, who are parties to that alliance, are steadfast in our determination to build up our strength until it is sufficient to deter aggression, we will have achieved the purpose which was in our minds when we resorted to the right of collective self defence, provided for in Article 51 of the United Nations Charter. In working towards this goal of real security, let us not lose sight of the other condition to a peaceful and prosperous free world under the "Two Worlds" system. That condition is the maintenance of the essential unity of the free world.

In recent months there have been encouraging developments looking towards the removal of one of the chief causes for division between the countries of the free world. I refer to the division between the dollar and non-dollar groups. Economic co-operation is always difficult when countries are divided into groups, when one group is discriminating against another group, or when one group of countries is dependent upon grants in aid in order that they may remain solvent. The Commonwealth Economic Conference held in London at the end of last year signified the beginning of a determined attempt to solve this problem. The initiative that was then taken will, it is hoped, be the first of a series of constructive steps. It is being increasingly realized that the success of the free world in solving its economic problems is of decisive importance in the struggle against Soviet Communism.

The principal political divisions in the world of to-day become evident from the discussions which take place in the organs of the United Nations. Three main cleavages have become apparent in that organization. There is first of all, of course, that fundamental cleavage between East and West or between Communism and democracy. Under the one system, the interests of the individual are subordinated to those of the whole. Under the other system, the interests of the individual are identified with those of the whole. Accordingly, under the one we have the subjection of the individual to totalitarian dictatorship; under the other we have liberty or freedom for the individual.

At San Francisco we still hoped that it would be possible to reconcile these two opposing philosophies. We believed in the professions of Stalin when he talked about the possibility of the peaceful co-existence of the Communist and capitalist worlds. The Charter of the United Nations was drawn up on this optimistic assumption, but we very soon found out that the Soviet Union had no intention of co-operating with other nations in the maintenance of peace and security. It has been the lack of the desire for peace on a basis of freedom that has divided us from the East and has prevented the co-operative accomplishment of our aims.

In recent weeks it has appeared that the chances of effecting a reconciliation between East and West have become more promising. The peace feelers from Moscow make the possibility of peaceful co-existence of the Communist and capitalist worlds appear more real. The free nations must seriously welcome and realistically follow up every opening for a settlement of outstanding differences. This is worthwhile if only to relieve the tension which has been filling our thoughts with fear of war. At best, however, peaceful co-existence may mean an uneasy peace. The burden of rearmament can be lessened only if there is real agreement on disarmament. It would be fatal to slacken our defence efforts until we have made more progress in removing the disparity in military strength between the East and the West. Along with disarmament there should be efforts to bring about a settlement of Far Eastern questions, a peace treaty with Austria and the unification of Germany based upon the free choice of the people in both the Eastern and Western parts of that country. In the consideration of these questions we must be constantly on our guard against

efforts of the Soviet Union to sow dissension between the United States and the European partners in the North Atlantic alliance. While, therefore, there are hopes of reconciling the differences that now divide East and West, we may have to continue to accept this division as still frustrating the dreams we once held of "One World".

In the meantime our attention should be directed to the other two main cleavages which have become apparent in the United Nations. The second of these cleavages is that between developed and under-developed countries, or rather between the "haves" and the "have-nots". The third cleavage is that between the anti-colonial countries and those with dependent territories.

In each of the three cleavages that have become apparent in the United Nations, the line-up of members is different. Whereas in the cleavage between East and West the Soviet Union and its satellites are very much in the minority, they are usually able to align themselves with the majority when issues relating to the other two cleavages come before the General Assembly. This is because the principle of the sovereign equality of all members is respected as one of the basic provisions of the Charter. This principle, however, implies a responsibility on all members, particularly so long as the fundamental cleavage between East and West continues. Those states which have not got responsibility for the exercise of power should always bear in mind that some of their aspirations cannot be realized owing to the fact that we have lacked the peaceful co-operation of a bloc of states led by the Soviet Union.

Canada cannot be indifferent to the aims and aspirations of those seeking either the economic development of their territories or the self-government of dependent territories. We ourselves have progressed rapidly along the path of self-government, commencing as a colony of one race conquered by men of another race and ending as a nation in which the two races are welded together in complete mastery of their own destiny.

Realizing all this let us not be indifferent to the aims and aspirations of other countries. Participation in the deliberations of the General Assembly forcibly brings home the wonderful awakening that has taken place. The principle of the sovereign equality of all members of the United Nations is reflected in the bearing of each and every member of the organization. On the part of all there is a spirit of independence and a determination to proceed along the road the more advanced countries have trod. This is the result of the political education that has been taking place these past few decades. It is also the result of that contraction of the world about which I have spoken. There can be no going back on this tendency. The peoples of the free world want to be free. It is this freedom which chiefly distinguishes them from the peoples of the Soviet world. What the peoples of the free world require, therefore, is co-operation not domination.

This requirement is a challenge to all of us who live in the more advanced countries. By accepting the challenge, we can put an end to that threat of disunity in the free world which the Soviet Government has been attempting to foster. The very fact that we are more advanced gives

us the opportunity for leadership in this co-operative effort. We must strive to give other countries the benefits of our skill and experience in order that they may develop more rapidly along the road we ourselves have followed. This particularly applies to a country such as Canada, which, during the last few years, has been developing economically more rapidly than any other country. We are in a particularly favourable position to lend a helping hand to those parts of the world which aspire to economic betterment. By helping these countries we can become their partners in the wonderful adventure upon which they are embarked of endeavouring to raise the standard of living of their peoples. The main objective is worthy of our support, but we also know that by participating in this work we may be helping to save these countries from Communism and, therefore, from Soviet domination.

This is the significance of our participation in the Colombo Plan for which we have been appropriating \$25 million a year. We can consider ourselves fortunate that through our membership in the Commonwealth we are brought into close relations with such leading countries of Asia as Ceylon, India and Pakistan. It has been a practical demonstration of what the Commonwealth means that at a conference held three years ago steps were taken to initiate this important co-operative effort in the economic development of the countries of Southeast Asia. Although the Colombo Plan drew its inspiration from a meeting of Commonwealth representatives, participation in it is not confined to the Commonwealth countries. It supplements the Point Four Programme of the United States and the Technical Assistance Programmes of the United Nations so far as they relate to the countries of Southeast Asia. This, however, is not the only area that is awaiting economic development. There is also a challenge to the free enterprise, on which our free world is based, in the vast undeveloped resources of many other parts of the world. There is enough here to appeal to the adventurous spirit of those who will be graduating from our universities for many years to come.

The under-developed countries, for their part, must look upon all this as essentially a co-operative effort. Just as the more advanced countries in extending leadership should take care not to allow that leadership to tend towards domination, so the under-developed countries should realize that they too must play their parts. Their prosperity continues to be bound up with the prosperity of the developed countries. Any policies they may follow which are inimical to the industrial countries will be certain to have unfavourable repercussions on their own economies. They should also seek to create the right conditions for the investment of that foreign capital which is so necessary for their development. In co-operation with the under-developed countries, the more advanced countries should seek means of preventing that exploitation which has taken place in the past. If both sides come to appreciate that it is to their mutual interest that the development should take place, the more advanced countries will realize that they must no longer regard under-developed areas as fields for mere exploitation, while the under-developed countries will realize that capital can play its part in their development only if assured of a fair return.

In a similar manner we can turn to the third of the main cleavages which now divide the nations of the world, namely, the division between the anti-colonial countries and those with dependent territories. Here again the Commonwealth, which showed the way in the Colombo Plan, can provide the example which should help to preserve the unity of the free world. The remarkable friendliness which now exists between the United Kingdom and the newly independent countries of Ceylon, India and Pakistan is a sign-post pointing towards the path which all colonial powers can follow in responding within reasonable time to that yearning for national self-government which has become so marked in recent years. Once again the more advanced countries have an opportunity and an obligation for responsible leadership. If advantage is not taken of this opportunity, the Soviet Union will be given scope for frustrating the unity of the free world.

In all of this effort there is one prime pre-requisite and that is tolerance. This in turn presupposes a knowledge of how other peoples live and think. We can only promote the unity of the free world if we know a great deal about it. Here lies the chief opportunity for our universities, particularly the universities of Canada. We are perhaps more trusted than any other of the developed countries, largely because our history has shown that we have no selfish ambitions to pursue in relation to other countries. Our universities can play an important role not only in making Canada and Canadian skill known to these countries, but particularly in making these countries known to Canadians.

I am proud that my alma mater, McGill, has taken the lead through the founding of an Islamic Institute. I venture to express the hope that the university of which I have to-day become a graduate may respond to the stimulating environment of British Columbia and provide similar opportunities for the studies of other peoples. Here at Vancouver we instinctively look across the Pacific. We see in the Far East teeming millions, representative of civilizations much older than our own. These peoples are now the object of the struggle between two rival doctrines striving for the mastery over men's minds. Unfortunately we know too little about these peoples. We have too few facilities for the study of their cultures their religions and their economies. Perhaps ... the next time I visit Vancouver I will find that an important contribution to the filling of this need will be made by an institution which will be known as the Pacific Institute of the University of British Columbia.