

# STATEMENTS AND SPEECHES

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## HEMISPHERE AND GLOBAL PROBLEMS

Address by Prime Minister John G. Diefenbaker,  
Kiwanis International Convention, Toronto,  
July 3, 1961.

This Convention shows the strength of the common dedication to freedom which unites Kiwanians in Canada and in the United States. Kiwanians believe that neither nation can fulfil its destiny in isolation from the other, and that neither nation can make its full contribution to freedom, except in partnership with the other.

Embracing the greater part of the continent of North America is a powerful nation, strong economically, which in less than 25 years has assumed world responsibility, and adjacent to it a nation, one-tenth its population, but no less unselfish over the years in the defence of justice and freedom and in providing assistance to needy people.

These very differences in power explain many common problems and lead to misunderstandings. There are those who assume, as if it were an article of faith, that the weaker must always support and advocate the courses of action adopted by the stronger. At the other extreme are those whose automatic response in almost any situation is to disagree.

Kiwanis has done much not only to strengthen friendship and understanding between our countries and to commemorate historic events. It erected a memorial in 1935 on the old British Legation site in Washington as a tribute to the signing of the Rush-Bagot Agreement in 1817, the Agreement which set limits to the size of armed naval forces on the Great Lakes. It must have seemed unbelievable at the time of the Rush-Bagot Agreement that the events of war so fresh in memory could ever be forgotten: the destruction of the public buildings of the city of Toronto, the burning of the White House in Washington, and the threats of a "war of extermination".

There have been serious difficulties since, but in mutual understanding the United States and Canada have become unswerving friends and the closest of partners in freedom's camp. That friendship and partnership requires constant attention, mutual respect and understanding, and the exercise of tolerance and common sense.

More citizens, commodities and capital cross our frontiers than any other in the world. As traders we purchased from the United States last year \$679 million more than the United States purchased from us. Such an imbalance cannot continue indefinitely.

In the forum of ideas there is a great imbalance, and, despite the marvels of mass media, the story of Canada is not always known or understood.

### A Canadian Destiny

The United States has built a great nation, strong, independent and free, on the basis of principles of freedom, of which we are joint heirs. We are building a great nation too. Canadians, while having no intention of forcing the growth of an artificial nationalism divorced from what is best in the rest of the world, are not less determined to create the conditions in which a natural Canadianism will not be submerged but shall survive and flourish. We strive for the preservation of distinctive characteristics and the right to determine Canada's destiny.

As citizens of an independent country with its historic roots and racial characteristics, we can be different from Americans without having differences with Americans.

Some define this attitude as anti-Americanism. We assert that it is not anti-American for Canadians to be concerned about their interests and to insist that they shall not be determined by any other nation, however friendly; that while welcoming American investment, we contend that it is not anti-American for us to ask that United States firms with subsidiaries in Canada should conduct their affairs with due regard to Canadian interests. We believe that it is not anti-American for Canadians to wish to make their decisions in international affairs in Canada's interest rather than to be unquestioning followers of the views of other nations, however friendly.

### Canada and Cuba

In this connection I think I should refer to misunderstandings that have arisen over the respective attitudes of the United States and Canada to Cuba.

The Canadian Government is as concerned as any government over the Communistic trends of the Cuban Government. However, Canada, while deploring various actions and practices of the Cuban Government, has not considered such disapproval to constitute a reason for departing from the normal relations which the Canadian Government has endeavoured to maintain with various countries whose philosophies are repugnant to us. The course we follow, I would point out, has been the course followed by all other members of the NATO alliance.

It has been contended that in continuing to trade with Cuba, Canada was profiting at the expense of the United States. The answer is that, although the United States placed an embargo on trade with Cuba in October, 1960, the volume of United States exports to Cuba has remained greater than that of Canadian exports according to the latest figures.

We have banned the export of any strategic and defence materials or military equipment to Cuba, as we do to all areas of instability or political unrest.

We do not and shall not permit Canada to be used as a back door for the evasion of controls which the United States Government has seen fit to impose on its nationals.

We are deeply interested in everything pertaining to this hemisphere. We know that Latin American states are playing an ever-increasing role on the international scene and that their support to the Western world is of major importance.

Canadians welcome the constructive proposals put forward by President Kennedy in the "Alliance for Progress". We believe that only by the raising of living standards of less fortunate nations can their social fabric be strengthened and their peoples be preserved from the contaminating influences of Communist propaganda.

The improvement of conditions in Latin America can be achieved only through international co-operation. The Canadian Government was recently invited to be represented by an observer at a special ministerial meeting of the Inter-American Economic and Social Council in Uruguay and has accepted.

#### A Welfare Balance Urgent

The wealth of continental resources and skills make high living standards possible for Canadians and Americans. Our eyes and our hearts must always look out to the world where "the abyss of affluence" divides peoples, and where bridges must be built to cross that abyss if the "developed North" and the "under-developed South" on this planet are to reach out and make true contact with each other. The world cannot exist half rich and half poor, and it is to the interests of all who love freedom that a favourable balance in the massive imbalance of human welfare must be attained without delay.

In the field of defence Canada and the United States have a close and effective partnership, based on a mutual regard for each other's sovereignty and rights. In the missile age it is only by collective efforts that the demands of an adequate defence against Communism can be met.

As an example of defence co-operation and production-sharing an agreement between Canada and the United States has recently been entered into, whereby:-

- (a) the RCAF will take over 16 stations of the Pinetree radar line, which have hitherto been the responsibility of the United States;
- (b) the Canadian squadrons assigned to NORAD will be provided with 66 aircraft of the F-101B type;
- (c) the two countries will jointly finance procurement in Canada of a significant number of F-104G aircraft for our NATO partners.

This agreement provides further evidence of the determination of both countries to maintain the operational effectiveness of the North American air defence system, and will make an important contribution to the security of North America and to the European area of NATO as well.

More than that, it expresses a mutual desire to make common use of those resources which each possesses and which can be made available for the benefit of each other and all partners in NATO in the pursuit of peace.

#### Neutralist Lullabies Ineffectual

It is sometimes contended by a vociferous minority that Canada should withdraw from her defence commitments. I have no ear for the lullabies of the neutralist - neither have the overwhelming majority of Canadians. Indeed, until such time as an effective international disarmament agreement has been negotiated we must continue to maintain and perfect our defences.

Canada's record in two world wars, when freedom was at stake, gives the answer to the neutralist contentions. Canada voluntarily and of her own free will declared war - in August 1914, and again in September 1939. One hundred thousand Canadians made the supreme sacrifice, and to have an understanding of the degree of Canada's sacrifice in the First Great War, although Canada's population was less than 8.5 million, the number of Canadians who made the supreme sacrifice exceeded in number those in the forces of the United States.

#### A Dark Horizon

The world horizon is once again darkened by signs of Communist threats and intransigence. In Laos the Communists profess to support neutrality and independence but are making it difficult for the International Commission to secure these objectives. In the Congo and South Vietnam they endeavour to weaken international action.

Three years of work on a treaty designed to outlaw the testing of nuclear weapons has produced no agreement because the Soviet Union refuses to accept an effective system of inspection.

Khrushchov for the last year has been trying to destroy the United Nations, having found that he could not control it. Disarmament negotiations are stalled as negotiation by the Soviets has come to mean negation, delay and ultimate frustration of the hopes for peace of mankind.

The defensive operations of free nations in NATO, SEATO and CENTO are violently opposed.

In the last few weeks Khrushchov has become more threatening and the free world today faces its most grave and perilous crisis since 1945. He has stated that, in the absence of agreement with the West, the U.S.S.R. will sign a separate treaty with East Germany before the end of the year and will turn over regional control over Western access routes to Berlin to East Germany.

The declared policy of the U.S.S.R. for West Berlin would make its people puppets subject to control by Communist pressure and acceptance would be a mortal blow to the West.

#### Time of Testing

This is a time for faith, courage and calm determination. Khrushchov must not be permitted to under-estimate the determination of the West to preserve the freedom of the people of West Berlin, or to lull himself into the belief that the West is divided, decadent, and lacking in common purpose and dedication. He must be made aware that he will not be allowed to devour one of freedom's outposts.

The Western alliance will have to avoid the pitfalls of weakness or unreasonable rigidity, and must maintain calm judgment so that no avenues that might contribute to peace will be overlooked. The West must seek for agreement, but without appeasement or sacrifice of the pledged word. It must be tenacious in opposition to Soviet use of force or unilateral interferences by the Soviet of allied rights but flexible enough to meet changing conditions without sacrificing principles. The gravity of the situation has been revealed by President Kennedy, Prime Minister Macmillan as recently as Saturday, and by the British Foreign Secretary, Lord Home, a few days ago, when he used these words:

"These next six months are going to be one of the most difficult and dangerous periods through which this country has passed since the last war".

The mounting tension is reminiscent of 1914 and 1939, with one difference: The knowledge of the awfulness of nuclear war must exert a restraining influence on the Kremlin.

The fullest and continuing consultation between Great Britain, the United States, France and West Germany, the four powers particularly affected, and all NATO nations is required. The unity of the Western alliance, politically and economically, must be strengthened, and a concerted policy is demanded.

### Declaration of Principles

From time to time I have advocated the need of a precise declaration of the principles for which the free world stands. We did so in the Atlantic Charter in the days of war. These days are no less fraught with danger. I think we have failed in leaving too large an extent the interpretation of our ideals and purposes to the enemies of freedom.

And of these ideals and purposes there is need for the free world to disavow the practice of discrimination based on colour or race. It is with some pride that I tell you that Canada has tried to bring this about under law by a Statute passed last year by the Parliament of Canada under which fundamental and personal freedoms are declared to be the right of every Canadian, without discrimination by reason of race, national origin, religion, colour or sex.

It is not without interest that Mr. Khrushchov, only a few days ago, stated that later this month a draft of a new Soviet programme will be revealed which he claims "will bring about socialism everywhere in the world".

In counteracting the Communist campaign to dominate the world, the Western democracies must, by word and deed, demonstrate to the emerging and uncommitted nations that we will assist them to raise their standards and that the best hope of these nations of self-fulfilment and self-expression is through a scrupulous regard for the rights and dignity of the individual, respect for the rule of law, and by the establishment of free political and social institutions responsible to the requirements and will of their people.

### The Sword of the Spirit

We must mobilize that faith in God which inspired the Pilgrim Fathers and the early French pioneers of Canada - and the signatories of the Declaration of Independence. They would not have survived without faith in spiritual things. I believe with all my heart and being that, however ominous the threats of the Communists, if the free nations in unity are powerful in their defences and are armed with the sword of the spirit, freedom will live.

Great Britain, the United States and Canada with a joint heritage of freedom must maintain unity with France, West Germany and other nations in the Western alliance and, if we fail to do so, we may have failed to maintain freedom not only for this but for all future generations.

What of the future?

The Communists believe that their cause will triumph because the rules of history so decree. Unlike Marxism, which believes that the course of history is determined by immutable laws discovered by Karl Marx, democracy believes that man can, under God's providence, shape the future. We recognize human fallibility, and hold in respect the rights of dissent.

We are faced by a colossus which seeks what it considers the inevitable defeat of democracy.

The alternatives before mankind were epitomized by President Kennedy in his inaugural address when he stated that "man holds in his mortal hands the power to abolish all forms of human poverty and all forms of human life".

This is a time when the words of Longfellow have a new meaning:

"Look not mournfully into the Past. It comes  
not back again.....  
Wisely improve the Present. It is thine....  
Go forth to meet the shadowy Future, without  
fear, and with a manly heart."

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