



# STATEMENTS AND SPEECHES

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## CANADA'S INTERNATIONAL ROLE - A NEW-YEAR REVIEW

An address by Mr. Howard C. Green, Secretary of State for External Affairs, to the Advertising and Sales Bureau, Vancouver Board of Trade, on January 4, 1960.

Today Canadians enter the first full week of the 1960's--and I have thought it would be appropriate to give you a first-hand report of the part Canada is playing in the great international meetings which are such a feature of the fast-developing world scene; then, to speak briefly of our special relationship to other international groups and to certain individual countries.

As businessmen you will recognize that international affairs are not something remote--to be left to political leaders in London, Washington, Paris, Moscow and Ottawa--but rather that they have a direct and profound effect on every Canadian; in fact, unless there are peaceful stable conditions throughout the world, Canada will be one of the countries to suffer most because of her dependence on export trade.

The great powers, with their large populations and stable internal markets are, in large measure, insulated against the economic consequences of world tension.

That is one reason why Canada not only must play her full part in international affairs but also must seek constantly to give leadership in building the kind of world society in which we can develop our country within the framework of an expanding world economy.

And make no mistake about it, Canada has an important part to play. In fact, for no nation is there a greater challenge in world affairs today or a greater opportunity for leadership than there is for Canada. Now, why do I say that? Let me illustrate my point by getting back to the great international meetings of our present day.

### Our participation in the North Atlantic Treaty Organization

I begin with a report on the important meetings of NATO which I attended in Paris less than three weeks ago.

I need not elaborate for you the reasons for setting up this fifteen-nation collective security organization, participation in which forms such an important part of Canada's foreign policy. The main one was that no state, however powerful, can guarantee its security in the nuclear age by national action alone. Since its inception, over ten years ago, NATO has brought to all its members--large, medium and small--a high degree of security in the face of a serious Soviet military challenge--and that continues to be the function of the Alliance.

I think the fact which emerged most clearly at the recent meeting of NATO was that the nature of the Soviet challenge was in the process of change, that we are entering upon a new phase of international relations in which, while the threat of war may well recede, competitive co-existence in the economic and ideological spheres will continue unabated. These new circumstances pose problems for NATO no less demanding than the threat of open aggression which first led to the creation of the Alliance--and they will require certain adjustments in NATO activities.

I came away from Paris convinced that all member nations realize this fact--and convinced also that there is a deep feeling of mutual confidence which will enable the Alliance to meet this new challenge. That spirit of inter-dependence is vital and to maintain and strengthen it calls for the fullest consultation at NATO meetings on all matters which significantly affect the Alliance.

It was for this reason that, when I addressed the Permanent Council in Paris last October, I urged that the December Ministerial Meeting, which was to coincide with the meeting of the Heads of Government of the United Kingdom, the United States, France and West Germany, should be so arranged as to allow for consultation with the other NATO members both before and after the Western summit meeting.

As you know, this suggestion was adopted with the result that the three powers who will represent the West at the summit talks with the Soviet Union not only had the benefit of the views of the Alliance as a whole prior to the Western summit meeting in Paris but were able to review their tentative conclusions with the other NATO partners in the meeting which followed on December 22. I can assure you that this was no perfunctory reporting on conclusions already reached. Indeed it produced one of the best spontaneous discussions of East-West problems that NATO has ever known.

Out of it emerged decisions which I am confident will ensure a cohesive approach by the West to summit talks with the Soviet Union. In the first place, the great powers are now pledged not to adopt final positions on items to be discussed at the summit without first submitting their tentative conclusions

for the approval of the North Atlantic Council. Secondly, it was decided to set up a series of working groups within the NATO Council to assist the major powers in preparing their negotiating positions. Thus West Germany will be part of the working group on matters to do with Berlin and the re-unification of Germany; and Canada and Italy will similarly form part of the working group to prepare positions on disarmament. There is no reason why additional working groups cannot be constituted as necessary to deal with other topics at the East-West summit.

This means in a very real sense that NATO as a whole will have a sense of participation at the summit through the association of some of its members with the preparations for specific topics.

#### Membership in the Ten-power Disarmament Committee

For Canada, participation in a working group on disarmament means an additional responsibility, but it is one which we accept readily. It was a logical development, because last September we were suggested by the foreign ministers of the United Kingdom, the United States, France and the Soviet Union, meeting at Geneva, as one of the members of a ten-power East-West negotiating group on disarmament. This Committee, you will recall, consists on the Western side of Canada, France, Italy, the United Kingdom and the United States, and on the Eastern side of Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Poland, Roumania and the Soviet Union. Although not a United Nations agency, its creation was favourably noted by the recent United Nations General Assembly and it is to keep in close touch with the United Nations. On this ten-power group the main responsibility will rest for devising, negotiating and ultimately implementing a practical programme of controlled, phased disarmament. In effect it carries the hope of all nations for world peace.

As you will see the recent NATO decision to make the five Western members of that committee also a working group for preparations on disarmament questions for the East-West simply gave the group a dual function. It is, however, unlikely that anything more than directives or general guidance will come from the East-West summit on disarmament questions. The real work will take place in the ten-power group. The Canadian Government attaches great importance to the work of this Committee and for this reason such a distinguished Canadian public servant as Lieutenant-General E.L.M. Burns, until recently Commander of UNEF, has been appointed to represent Canada on the Committee.

Steps were taken in the course of the recent Paris meetings to get the work of this ten-power committee under way. Taking advantage of their presence in Paris for the NATO meeting, the foreign ministers of the Western five met on December 20 to discuss preparatory arrangements. At that meeting we took two decisions: first, to get Western preparations under

way as quickly as possible by setting January 18 as the date for a preliminary meeting in Washington and January 25 as the date on which the Western team of five countries would begin their actual work; secondly, we delegated to the Government of France the task of approaching the five Eastern members of the Disarmament Committee with a proposal to have the full Committee meet in Geneva on or about March 15. On December 28 the Soviet Ambassador in Ottawa delivered a note agreeing to the Western proposal.

The fact that the East-West discussions on disarmament are to commence at a relatively early date is most gratifying to the Canadian Government, which has consistently urged that delays be avoided lest the momentum which had developed on both sides in favour of disarmament be lost. The new negotiations, we consider, will open in an atmosphere more propitious, and therefore more hopeful, than any similar disarmament negotiations undertaken in the past decade or more.

For example they will take place against the background of important developments in the disarmament field at the recent session of the United Nations General Assembly. There both the United Kingdom and the Soviet Union advanced comprehensive disarmament proposals, the latter's including for the first time an apparent willingness to accept the principle of inspection and control. In addition a resolution was adopted unanimously which expressed the hope that measures leading towards the goal of general and complete disarmament under effective international control would be worked out in detail and agreed upon in the shortest possible time. Finally, they will take place in the improved atmosphere which, for want of a better phrase, is sometimes called the "Camp David spirit."

It is perfectly clear from past experience that mutual confidence is an essential prerequisite to successful disarmament negotiations and I feel that the present mood in international affairs offers a quite unique opportunity to come to grips with this problem.

#### East-West Summit Meetings

The time at my disposal is too brief to go into other aspects of East-West negotiations, but I might add that Canada welcomes the fact that there is to be not just one East-West summit meeting but a series, to take place in succession in the respective capitals of the participants. We have long favoured a series of summit meetings for a number of reasons; for example because complex questions of international security could patently not be settled in one brief meeting; further, because there is intrinsic value in keeping alive the discussions between the great powers; and also because one all-or-nothing summit conference could easily raise false expectations in the public mind which would almost certainly be disappointed.

Now that Canada has accepted what might be termed an advisory role on one aspect of summit talks--disarmament--the series of meetings now in prospect is bound to impose a heavy responsibility but I am sure all Canadians will approve, realizing that on the outcome of these discussions may hang the fate of the civilized world. These are the sort of stakes for which the diplomatic game is being played today.

So much for Canada's part in the great international meetings--and now a few words about our traditional associations with other international groups and with individual countries.

### Our Role in the United Nations

Without attempting to arrange these in order of importance, I go on to our role in the United Nations. This picture covers a wider canvas, for it embraces a valuable association with 81 other member nations. This great world organization since its inception has received strong and consistent support from Canada. Certainly the United Nations is not unlimited in its effectiveness and its authority grows slowly; but I remind you that these very limitations arise from the sovereign equality of the member states and from the tensions which prevail in a world divided into ideological camps.

Although it would be unrealistic to believe that the United Nations could achieve solutions of all current international problems, it is equally true that, if the organization should collapse, the world community would have no alternative but to erect a new similar organization in its place. It symbolizes and gives practical effect to mankind's desire for an ordered world and a betterment of international relations and human welfare generally. Without it there would be suspicion, hostility and probably chaos. Canada values highly the obligation and opportunity which United Nations member states have to consult together at regular intervals and to negotiate within the framework of a common objective--world peace.

Indeed, it is in the United Nations that Canada enjoys one of its greatest opportunities to offer constructive leadership. I have been impressed by the respect we enjoy in that forum as a disinterested middle power. The reasons are not difficult to find; no one fears us because we are without territorial ambitions; no one harbours resentment towards us since we have never held sovereign control of an alien people; no one suspects us of coveting his national resources as we are known to have plenty of our own. We have made many friends by gaining a reputation for independent thought and objective judgment on issues that come before the United Nations.

At the recent session of the General Assembly we tried very hard to give constructive leadership. The Canadian initiative which attracted the most attention was our proposal, eventually co-sponsored by ten other powers and unanimously endorsed by the

Assembly membership, to encourage the world-wide collection and central collation of more accurate information on radiation. We took this initiative in the knowledge that even if nations agree to stop testing nuclear weapons, the problem of radiation will not vanish. It seems imperative that the substantial gaps which exist in our knowledge of this frightening phenomenon should be filled, and that research into the biological effects of radiation should be based upon the fullest and most reliable information possible. I was greatly heartened by the enthusiasm with which the Canadian people greeted this initiative and by the complete support it received in the United Nations.

In other and perhaps less spectacular matters the Canadian Delegation was also active. During the previous year Canada had been a member of the Outer Space Committee, and some useful work in the technical and legal spheres was accomplished. However, the Soviet Union declined to participate because of the make-up of the Committee. If the Committee was to succeed the Soviet Union must take part and accordingly some change in the composition of the Committee was necessary. The Canadian Delegation applied itself to this problem and, eventually a change was agreed upon which satisfied the West, the East, and the uncommitted countries--so there is now hope of worth-while results being achieved and Canada is a member of the new committee.

We also continued our humanitarian contributions to the several United Nations programmes for refugees and took a lead, which we hope other nations will follow, in marking World Refugee Year with a special Canadian project for the admission to Canada of 100 tuberculous refugees and their families. In this endeavour the Federal Government has had the welcome support of most provincial governments, not including British Columbia!

Towards United Nations efforts at peace-keeping and peace-supervision, Canada continues to make a contribution in which, I think, we all can take pride. Our support for the United Nations Emergency Force in the Middle East continues undiminished and I believe it is true to say that we have contributed more manpower to various United Nations observation groups--for example, in Palestine, Kashmir and Lebanon--than any other single nation. In consequence, we have developed in Canada a very large corps of both civil and military observers highly experienced in this specialized type of work. Although we do not believe that a standing United Nations force in being is a practicable possibility today, we do maintain in Canada a battalion earmarked for service with the United Nations should the necessity arise.

### Our Membership in the Commonwealth

Canada, of course, continues to play her full part in the Commonwealth of Nations. It is an association for which we have a deep sentimental attachment reinforced by the comradeship and common sacrifices made in two world wars. I, for one, never for a moment discount the value, in international affairs, of the very special fraternal quality that sets Commonwealth relations apart from the relationships with "foreign" countries, however close and friendly the ties with any such country may be.

But, of course, there is far more to this unique fraternity than mere sentiment. The Commonwealth is an entirely new conception, embracing the belief that sovereignty, limited by a voluntary association with other sovereignties for the preservation of common values, is an acceptable and civilized political order. It is, moreover, a dynamic conception, with members being constantly admitted as they emerge from colonial to independent status. In 1957 we welcomed into the Commonwealth the Federation of Malaya. This year will see Nigeria take her place in our family of nations, and in a few weeks Canada will be opening a diplomatic post in the capital, Lagos.

Shortly thereafter our island neighbours in the Caribbean--the West Indies Federation--will be joining the club, and it has been one of Canada's policies to extend substantial aid and assistance to his potential full Commonwealth member.

The fact that these new nations are voluntarily joining the Commonwealth graphically illustrates the kind of multi-racial community which is developing, bound together by common ideals and institutions, and exercising a profound influence for good throughout the world. I believe the Commonwealth offers a lesson for the world in that it points the way towards the only tolerable solution of the basic dilemma of our time--the problem of achieving order with freedom.

There are lessons, too, for others in the way in which there is mutual assistance within the Commonwealth for improving the lot of the less-developed members. The greater part of Canadian assistance has been carried out under the Colombo Plan, to which we have last year raised our contribution to \$50 million. The full title of this plan is "The Colombo Plan for Co-operative Economic Development in South and Southeast Asia", and the word "co-operative" has been consistently stressed in the 10 years of the Plan's operation. Working together there has been established a very fine relationship among the member countries of the Plan and the Plan lives up to its title.

Canada has found a large number of projects where Canadians and Asians have worked harmoniously together, have learned from each other and together have made an effective contribution to the development of a particular country. Canadian experts sent out to Asia and the Asian student trainees who have come to Canada in a two-way stream of traffic have enriched and broadened our understanding of one another.

### Relations with United States

We also derive considerable strength and influence in international affairs from our unique relationship with our large and friendly neighbour to the south, the United States. Both the Americans and ourselves tend to take for granted the deep understanding and friendship which permeates the daily relations of our two countries, but the fact is that there are few neighbouring states in the world between which ordinary day to day life is so intertwined.

Contacts at the citizen level are matched by a network of inter-governmental arrangements. In the realm of defence, we have the Permanent Joint Board, established in 1940, and, of course, NORAD, the jointly operated air defence command responsible for the air defence of the continent as a whole. For boundary questions, we have the International Joint Commission which, I believe, is an example to the world of how trans-boundary resources can be dealt with in a civilized and equitable way. At the ministerial level there are two standing committees, one on trade and economic matters and the other on defence. About six weeks ago, my colleagues the Ministers of Finance, Defence and Defence Production and I attended a meeting of the Canada-United States Defence Committee at Camp David at which we not only discussed frankly problems of bilateral defence concern, but also exchanged views on the broad range of international problems facing the world today. The essence of these contacts is that views are freely expressed by each side and are listened to by the other side with understanding and respect.

Now I am not going to pretend that we never have any differences of opinion with our southern neighbours; we do, and these differences invariably get free play in the press of both countries. It is inevitable that the impact of a large population such as that of the United States on her much less populated neighbour is profound, and we cannot afford to be complacent if we wish to preserve our separate identity as a nation. It is the Government's policy to speak up frankly when Canadian national interests are suffering as a consequence of United States policies. I would stress the word "frankly" but hasten to add that we get as good as we give. This is the way friends face and overcome their differences-- and I am sure you would have it no other way.



Canada and Latin America

Finally, as we survey Canada's rôle in world affairs, we should never neglect the close friendship we enjoy with the other nations of the Western Hemisphere--the 20 Latin American nations to our south. Like ourselves, they are determined to be independent and to reach their own decisions in international affairs. Several, like us, are middle powers, and, like us, are exerting growing influence in the councils of the world. I have found co-operation with Latin American countries such as Mexico, Brazil and Argentina--to name only a few--both natural and useful in the United Nations, and I look forward to an intensification of Canadian trade and political relations with all Latin American states. I believe that many of you here today, with your far-reaching business connections, have much to contribute towards this objective.

Now I come back to my text--that no nation faces a greater challenge in world affairs than Canada--and that no nation has a greater opportunity for leadership.

Perhaps Canada could play a decisive role in bringing about world peace.

In any event let us go into this new decade with the optimism and the courage and the strength of character of our forefathers. If we do, I believe that Canada will end the decade as one of the leading nations of the world.

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