



STATEMENTS AND SPEECHES

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THE ACHIEVEMENT OF HEMISPHERIC SOLIDARITY

An Address by the Minister of National Health and Welfare, Mr. Paul Martin to the Colgate University, Hamilton, N.Y., July 11, 1955

It is a pleasant and stimulating experience for a member of the Government of Canada to visit Colgate University and to have the opportunity of participating in these important discussions on foreign affairs. May I, first of all, commend Dr. Charles R. Wilson and his colleagues on the conception, establishment and carrying through of these annual conferences which are proving to be so highly successful in developing an informed public opinion on questions of international significance.

In this increasingly interdependent world, the foreign policy of any nation must be sensitive to changing conditions in many distant places. For this reason it is useful at a conference of this kind to hear viewpoints from representatives of other nations. I understand that, at last year's Conference, speakers from thirty-three foreign countries participated and that no less than ten Ambassadors -- including the Canadian Ambassador to Washington, the Hon. A.D.P. Heeney -- contributed personally to the success of this educational enterprise.

The broad theme of this year's conference is "Peace Through Strength" -- which, unhappily, must still be the watchword of Western diplomacy. Within this framework, tonight's session is devoted to a consideration of how we can achieve hemispheric solidarity. I am happy to be associated in these discussions with such distinguished speakers as His Excellency, Senor Dr. Jose A. Mora, Chairman of the Council of the Organization of American States; the Hon. Henry F. Holland, the United States Assistant Secretary of State for Inter-American Affairs; and the Hon. E.L. Bartlett, United States Congressman from Alaska.

Indeed, if any visible evidence of hemispheric solidarity were wanted, surely it is apparent in the presence on this platform and the participation in this discussion of representatives coming all the way from Alaska to Uruguay!

Let me begin by asking this basic question: Is it possible or desirable to achieve a real degree of hemispheric solidarity? To answer this question it is necessary to examine the meaning of the term. Just what do we mean by the phrase "hemispheric solidarity"?

Does hemispheric solidarity imply that North, South and Central America can be regarded -- geographically, politically, economically or culturally -- as one unit? Is it suggested that the countries of the Americas can form a self-sufficient means of defence against the perils of thermonuclear war? Does it envisage a system of security built up in isolation from the rest of the world? Is it the establishment of some kind of exclusive trade association for the benefit only of American nations? I am sure that the people and the governments of all American countries would reject any such narrow and confining concept of hemispheric solidarity.

Hemispheric solidarity in a practical and positive sense is the extension of the ideal expressed so memorably by the late President Roosevelt in his first inaugural address when he dedicated this nation to the policy of the good neighbour. Solidarity, as I see it, is not a dull and inflexible conformity but a constructive and dynamic unity in outlook and objectives -- a community of interests and ideals to which free nations may freely subscribe.

In the physical and chemical sciences, we think in contrasting terms of solids and fluids, but in the less precise science of politics it is perhaps possible and indeed desirable to have solidarity with a degree of fluidity.

I have spoken of the policy of the good neighbour. In a century of neighbourly visiting over the 4,000 miles of back fence that is our international boundary, Canadians have had an unique opportunity to assess the great benefits that flow from friendly relations with our powerful and peace-loving neighbour, the United States. And because our two peoples have followed the way of cooperation for so many years our good relations are frequently taken for granted. This, it seems to me, is an unwarranted assumption since friendly relations between countries, as between individuals, do not just happen; they must be built up and kept in good repair.

While we can take a degree of satisfaction from our success in building and maintaining this enduring friendship between the United States and Canada, we should not jump to the tempting conclusion that this continent has some kind of monopoly on human virtue. In truth, our successful relationship with one another stems in large measure from the simple fact that we have had the good fortune of starting afresh in North America, free from the legacies of centuries-old quarrels that have made the problems of Europe so complex and so difficult of solution.

There was a time, not so very long ago, when the vast oceans that flank this continent provided the United States and other American countries with comparative immunity from the troubles of the Europe its pioneer people left behind in search of freedom and opportunity in the New World. But just as the English Channel, which once protected Britain from the ills of continental Europe, has long since lost its protective power, so these sheltering ocean distances no longer isolate America from the dangers of this atomic and supersonic Twentieth Century.

An anxious and grateful world has watched with admiration as this great Republic has maturely accepted heavy global responsibilities in keeping with its present position of power and leadership. In recognition of its role of responsibility, the United States had undertaken far-reaching international obligations and commitments that are unprecedented in its history and that have been accepted for no other purpose than to safeguard freedom and to protect the peace of the world.

I took occasion last Fall in the Political Committee of the United Nations to make this very point when I said:

"As friends and neighbours, Canadians have long known that the United States is dedicated to peace, and that the true portrait of her motives and actions bears no resemblance to the shop-worn caricature."

I am sure that all the nations of the Americas recognize the role of the United States in the defensive alliance of the free world as a potent contribution to the security and solidarity we seek.

Canada, too, because of its unique position, is able and willing to make its own characteristic contribution to hemispheric solidarity. In addition to our close relations with the United States, Canada has deep cultural and political ties with the United Kingdom and France and, in peace and war, our nation has provided a "useful northern bridge across the Atlantic between the new world and the old." And because of the racial composition of our country I think it can be said that we have a certain spiritual affinity with the Latin peoples of America.

Geographically, of course, Canada is closer to Europe than to many of our Latin American friends but good neighbourliness has a way of overcoming the barriers of distance. As a result, our political and commercial relations with Latin-American countries, always cordial, have become much closer in recent years. As recently as 1939, Canada did not have a single diplomatic mission anywhere south of the Rio Grande. Today, there are Canadian diplomatic representatives in no less than eleven Latin American countries. Nothing could indicate more tellingly the increasing importance we attach to our relations with the republics of Latin America.

In addition, there has been a remarkable growth in our trade with one another, which has now reached a total annual volume of nearly \$500,000,000. Of course, the United States is still Canada's biggest market and Canada is still the best customer of the United States with the result that there now flows across our border a greater volume of trade than has ever before been established between any two nations.

Nevertheless, during the post-war years Canadian trade with Latin America has accounted for a much larger percentage of our total trade than in any previous period. Our continuing need for foodstuffs and other materials produced in Latin America together with the rapid industrial development of Latin America

itself and the resulting demand for Canadian products suggest that we can look forward to a vigorous and expanding two-way trade built upon a sound economic basis.

Canada has also an increasing share in the developing prosperity of the Latin-American countries through direct investment by Canadian corporations and individuals. Our private long-term assets in the Latin American republics are valued at approximately \$300,000,000. This represents about one-seventh of total private Canadian investment abroad, or about one-half of our foreign investment outside the United States.

Almost without exception, Canadian-supported enterprises have been devoted to projects that aid national development and that serve the needs of the people within the country concerned. The original appeal of Latin-American ventures to Canadian investors extends back even before the First World War when interest was aroused in utilities of various kinds and when Canadian banks and insurance companies first established branch offices in Latin America. Since then, Canadian enterprise has helped to stimulate the development of the credit facilities and the natural resources of Latin America in such a way as to assist Latin American countries in their own industrial development.

In addition to our increasingly close diplomatic relations and our growing commercial and economic contacts, Canada and the countries of Latin-America have come to know one another more intimately through working together in the United Nations on problems of peace and security that are of mutual concern to us all. As a result of this association, we recognize that we share with one another the same general aspirations for a world in which restrictions in the cultural, political and economic fields will become the exception rather than the rule.

More than ten years ago, our Prime Minister indicated in the Parliament of Canada that "the Government looks with favour upon the presence of Canadian officials and experts at technical and scientific conferences of a Pan American character". In accordance with this policy, Canada has participated in a number of inter-American conferences and at such conferences is frequently represented by "observers".

In these and in many other ways, such as the exchange of students, the establishment of air transport facilities and the visiting back and forth of tourists, we are constantly endeavouring to keep the climate fair for the flourishing of close and cordial relations between Canada and the countries of Latin America.

These relations were well described in the Canadian House of Commons by my Colleague, the Hon. L.B. Pearson, our Secretary of State for External Affairs, when he said:

"There has been a welcome growth in our knowledge of each other's affairs. Broadly speaking, we have found, as we have come to know each other better, that we have a similar point of view on most, if not all, important international questions and a common desire to promote the

security and welfare of our peoples..... The Government..... feel we should broaden and deepen our association with the Latin republics of this hemisphere and that such a process will be of great material advantage to our economic and political development."

It will, I think, be evident from what I have said that one of the important objectives of Canadian foreign policy is to strengthen and extend the bonds of friendship between our own country and other nations of the Western Hemisphere with whom we share so many mutual interests. This objective is constantly being pursued through normal diplomatic channels and by the establishment of sound and healthy economic and commercial relations.

But the hemispheric solidarity we all seek must be forged in realistic awareness of the knowledge that at any time, either through evil design or by miscalculation, the horrors of nuclear warfare may be unleashed upon mankind. Our best hope of preventing that fearful event is to keep the united strength of the free world so overwhelmingly powerful that no nation will dare risk the chance of retaliatory destruction which an attack against us would instantly bring. Thus, the only real defence of the Americas that can maintain the solidarity of which I have spoken, is an effective system of world security.

To this end, Canada is pursuing a two-fold policy:

- (1) We are contributing to the extent of our resources to the massive system of collective security which the free world is building in NATO;
- (2) In co-operation with the United States we are developing effective measures for continental defence.

Because of Canada's geographic location and its vast area, our defence preparations are of vital importance and concern to the United States and to the entire Western Hemisphere. The tradition of co-operation between the United States and Canada in matters of defence was established in the dark days of 1940 by President Roosevelt and Prime Minister King, when they met at Ogdensburg, New York, and agreed to set up a Permanent Joint Board on Defence. It is a tribute to the imagination and insight of these leaders of our respective countries that, fifteen years ago, they should have visualized this arrangement not merely as a temporary expedient but as a "permanent" instrument of co-operation, as its name implies.

From the beginning, the Permanent Joint Board on Defence has acted vigorously in recommending to the two governments joint projects which are of interest and importance to the defence of the Americas. The Alaska Highway and the Northwest Staging route were major wartime projects requiring much consideration by the Board as was the chain of airfields built in northwestern Canada to take care of the heavy wartime

air traffic to Europe. Following the War, the Board played an important part in the disposition of United States defence installations in Canada.

Because of the possibility of aggressive air attacks against America, the United States and Canada have considered it prudent to continue the cooperative arrangements worked out during the War. In 1947, the two countries agreed on a series of principles for defence co-operation of which the most important was the underlying principle that all cooperative arrangements would be carried out "without impairment of the control of either country over all activities in its territory". It was further agreed that neither country would take any action that would be inconsistent with the Charter of the United Nations which is the cornerstone of the foreign policy of each.

An outstanding illustration of effective co-operation in action was the construction of a large and costly radar network, known as the Pinetree Chain, to provide advance warning of enemy attack and to control fighter aircraft engaged in the task of interception. This system is jointly operated by personnel from the two countries. Long before the Pinetree project was completed military planners on both sides of the border were giving intensive study to the need for the establishment of a further radar system generally to the north of the settled parts of Canada.

As a result, Canada undertook, as a part of its contribution to the joint defence, responsibility for the financing, construction and operation of this second system which is generally referred to as the "Mid-Canada Line".

The construction of the Mid-Canada Line, which extends over thousands of miles of frontier country, has presented a challenge to the pioneering instincts of our people. Much of the ground is inaccessible except by tractor train or helicopter. In many areas, extreme temperatures and difficult conditions complicate the task. Many complex technical problems, including the interference of the auroral belt with electronic devices, have had to be overcome.

As the third element in a complete system for warning of the approach of hostile aircraft and for the control of interceptor forces, a Distant Early Warning Line is now being built across the most northerly practicable part of North America. Responsibility for the work of construction and installation of this project is vested in the United States. The establishment of these northern defence installations is a costly and difficult task, which has been undertaken because the security of America requires it and is being accomplished successfully because of the readiness of the people of the United States and Canada to work together in a common cause.

With the sometimes bewildering rapidity of developments in foreign affairs, the international climate frequently warms up or cools off with dramatic suddenness, and usually without benefit of a weatherman's forecast. For example, during the past few

months we have been faced with a series of developments -- culminating in the approaching meetings at the "summit" -- that would, on the surface at least, appear to suggest that the Soviet Union may be prepared to adopt a more constructive attitude towards the solution of some of the problems that now divide the world.

But no prudent man throws away his winter coat at the first sign of a moderation in the weather. Whatever encouragement can be taken from recent events -- and I think they are encouraging developments -- we cannot afford to grow complacent or to relax the arduous efforts we have been making to strengthen the defences of the Americas and to build through NATO an effective system of collective security for the free world.

Indeed, it may well be that the evident determination of the Western nations to build a sound defensive structure -- not as an instrument for war but as an effective deterrent to aggression -- is precisely the reason why increasing opportunities for negotiation on outstanding issues are now presenting themselves.

It would, of course, be foolhardy to expect that these high level talks between the leaders of the four major powers will bring an easy end to all our problems. At best, they can provide only an auspicious beginning for what may be a new and more constructive era in the history of our relations. On the other hand, it would be equally unfortunate if we approached these meetings in a spirit of undue cynicism which would only stand in the way of taking advantage of any genuine advances that might be put forward.

A distinguished world statesman recently put it this way:

"Meetings at the summit can be of great value, but our ultimate goal must be friendships and fellowship at the grass roots."

And that should be the aim of all who are working towards the achievement of hemispheric solidarity: to promote this feeling of fellowship and understanding at the grass roots of America, of all the Americas.

It is altogether unlikely that we will be able to afford in the foreseeable future to abandon our policy of making more secure the strength and unity of the free world on the assumption that the Communist nations are prepared to enter whole-heartedly into the peaceful and friendly family of nations. At the same time we must be ready to seize upon every genuine opportunity to relax international tension and to resolve the differences that have held the world in the icy grip of the cold war.

I believe that opportunities for negotiation will increase as the free world becomes stronger and more united. Under the leadership of the United States and with the whole-hearted cooperation of other free countries, we are building a better basis for security

and solidarity for this hemisphere and for the entire world. The road ahead will not be easy. We will require patience, wisdom, faith and courage. But in the theme of this Conference, which is PEACE THROUGH STRENGTH, I believe that we can become strong enough to prevent aggression and wise enough to use that strength only for peace.

Ultimate security and peace in the world can only be based on widespread understanding and good will among nations, on a feeling of community between all peoples. Collaboration is sometimes born of fear and crisis, but genuine international cooperation must spring from stronger and more vigorous roots. That is why it is so essential for the people of this hemisphere and of all freedom-loving parts of the world to dedicate their efforts towards the development of an enduring spirit of fellowship among men of good will everywhere. In this way we can achieve what Joseph Conrad described as:

"the invincible conviction of solidarity that knits together innumerable hearts."

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