

CANADA: A GROWING POWER IN A SHRINKING WORLD

Speech by the Canadian Ambassador to the United States, Mr. A.D.P. Heeney, to the Commonwealth Club of California, at San Francisco, March 19, 1954.

Unless I am mistaken, this is the first time that a Canadian Ambassador has paid an official visit to San Francisco. I am therefore particularly pleased to be in your city and to be appearing before this famous Club. Already I have been made to feel very much at home. But no Canadian could long feel a stranger in a city whose past is so dominated by great railroad builders and by hardy and lucky prospectors. Indeed, were it not for the difference in the climate, many of our new and rapidly growing frontier towns would not be wholly unlike what I imagine San Francisco to have been a hundred years ago.

I know that many of you are well acquainted with Canada. But it may be that, viewed from here in San Francisco, much of the country I represent seems to some of you almost as blank as the waste spaces on the old maps on which helpless cartographers could only write, "Here be bears!" If I may, I should like to try to fill in for you some of the blanks on the map of Canada, 1954.

All of us, I think, are prone to entertain stereotypes which do not always represent accurately the present reality. This is true of people; it is true of countries. Perhaps it would serve to shake the stereotypes some of you may have about Canada and help to present a more accurate picture if I were to mention a few completely unrelated things that Canadians are doing. My brief series of shots might begin with an out-of-the-way plant in northern Ontario. If you were to turn off the main road and were provided with the proper passes, after going a little way through the bush, you would be admitted to an atomic energy plant that contains one of the most advanced reactors in the world. This is the Canadian Government plant at Chalk River. It was designed and constructed, and is operated by Canadian scientists and technicians. The white-coated and rubber-gloved scientists who move as quietly and efficiently as surgeons around the great pile, are as typical of Canada today as the prospectors who are still making exciting new strikes of uranium in northern Saskatchewan or in the Northwest Territories. . . . . Farther afield, if you were visiting your own American troops in Korea, you would find that one of the regimental combat teams that make up the United Nations forces there is Canadian. It has been in Korea for over three years, sharing in the bitter fighting as well as in the present uncertainties of that new and strange peninsular war. . . . . If your interests are in the theatre, you will know that for six weeks last summer in Stratford, Ontario -- a town of not more than 16,000 people in the midst of quiet farming country -- a Shakespearean festival was staged which brought critics and other visitors from all over the United States, and which moved the New York Times to say of one of the productions, that it was "superb".

..... Or look 700 miles due north from here. Up the Pacific coast of Canada close to the Alaskan Panhandle one of the most remarkable engineering developments is going forward that has ever been attempted in Canada -- or, I believe, in any other country. High in the Rockies the flow of a whole river basin has been reversed to form a man-made lake 160 miles long. When the first stage of construction is completed this spring, water from this lake will be dropped through a ten-mile tunnel cut in the mountains in order to run hydro-electric works that eventually will generate a million and a half horsepower of electricity. From the new plant power lines will be strung to aluminum plants being built on the coast, about fifty miles away. When these are in full production, they will double Canada's output.

Do these random details begin to focus into any kind of a picture? Perhaps not. Perhaps, like shots taken by an unskillful photographer, they tend to merge into a meaningless blur. Then let me try to focus the image by some general observations about Canada as a whole.

It is perhaps safest to begin by reminding you that Canada is a fully independent and sovereign state. At one time it was thought that sovereignty should be decently veiled in mystery or even in divinity. That time is long gone by. But our friends may perhaps be forgiven for still finding some mystery in the way in which eight separate, but associated, sovereign states are united in the British Commonwealth. It would take me too far afield to try to uncover the mystery fully. It must be enough for me merely to remind you that Canada in all its internal and external affairs is as fully independent as the United States. We in Canada rejoice in having as our queen, Elizabeth II. But she was proclaimed in Ottawa as the Queen of Canada, and she unhesitatingly accepts advice, so far as her Canadian subjects are concerned, from her Canadian ministers, and, in particular, from the Prime Minister of Canada, Mr. Louis St. Laurent. As the Queen's personal representative in Canada, she has a Canadian, Mr. Vincent Massey, who -- not so long ago -- was my predecessor as the first Canadian plenipotentiary to the United States. Our Supreme Court, like yours, is the court of the last resort for Canadian causes and has the responsibility of interpreting our constitution.

All of these functions of government are concentrated in Ottawa, our capital city. Shortly after it was selected, a sarcastic Englishman described it as "a sub-arctic lumbering town transformed by a stroke of Queen Victoria's pen into a cockpit of malodorous politics". And to some in other countries, I suppose, Ottawa may still seem not much more than a negligible northern town known, if at all, because it lies on the outskirts of a well-known district of summer and winter sports. To us in Canada, however, it is the place where decisions are made which are of importance, not only for 15 million Canadians, but for other countries as well.

The next characteristic of my country to which I would draw your attention is that Canada, even more than the United States, is a unity that has been welded out of very different and easily distinguishable parts. To form some idea of our diversity, you might begin at Quebec -- the great rampart of rock on which the French governors had their citadel -- and look over the parish steeples of the old French seigneuries, faithful today as always to their traditions of race, of language, and of religion. You might then move eastward down to Halifax or Newfoundland, where fish is still the largest

trade, and where the Atlantic fog has left at least a little trace in English and Scots throats. Or you might move westward to the great industrial expansion in and about Toronto; or further west to the prairies; or to British Columbia, with which many of you, I imagine, are better acquainted. In these journeyings, you would always be aware of being in Canada, but you would also be aware of moving through very different regions in terms of race, geography and climate. To fuse these regions together into a strong and united country has required high qualities of statesmanship from Canadian political leaders.

Not that the work of the Fathers of our Confederation and their successors has always been to oppose the pull of natural forces. Indeed, the shape of Canada as a nation owes a great deal to the natural thrust into the heart of the continent of the St. Lawrence River system and to a transportation network which was based on that axis and which drove it further west. But the fact remains that many of the regions of Canada are geographical -- and economic -- projections of similar regions in the United States. These regions would not now form integral parts of a strong and separate Canada had it not been for the determination and courage of nation builders who were working to realize a conscious vision. Long ago a decision was taken in Canada that, in spite of our nearness and close friendship with the United States, we would be a separate country. It may be taken for granted that that decision will never be reversed.

While the strength and influence of the United States have been growing enormously, we Canadians have watched with admiration. And our admiration of your unrivalled progress has, I think, been untainted by either envy or misgiving. For we feel that we know you, as no other outsiders do; and we are convinced of the essential beneficence of your power and of the essential magnanimity of your objectives. But, at the same time, we have had a growing sense of our own identity as Canadians. A young man never fully knows who he is until he discovers what he can do. So it has been with Canada as a nation. Our sense of identity has been fostered by what seem to us to be not inconsiderable achievements. It may seem strange that a nation should owe much of its sense of itself to its efforts in war. But virtues and capacities do bud strangely from that terrible tree. And it is a fact that the growth of Canadian nationhood was accelerated by Canada's participation in two world wars. It was the Canadian Corps which broke through the German lines on the 8th of August, 1918, on what Ludendorf called "the black day" for the German Army. A generation later, on a much larger scale, Canadian troops contributed to the victories at Caen, Cassino, and Falaise; ships of the Royal Canadian Navy had a major share in keeping the sea lanes open across the Atlantic; and squadrons of the Royal Canadian Air Force fought, from the Battle of Britain on, in many of the major engagements of the Second World War. Our part in those dire events not only gave us a pride in what we could do; it also brought more closely together Canadians from all parts of the country.

Testimony to the value and importance of Canada's peacetime enterprise and success has been amply provided by the large sums which American investors have been prepared to send north across the border. Since the end of the war United States investment in Canada has amounted to more than \$3,000 million. This flow of United States capital has greatly quickened the pace of Canada's economic development.

The contributions that have been made to such expansion by United States interests have been important. But it is sometimes not fully realized that, on balance, the large expansion of our capital resources that is now taking place and is being paid for by Canadians themselves. This comes about because, since the end of the war, the total of Canadian investment abroad has just about equalled the total of foreign capital invested in Canada. For this reason there is justice in the satisfaction that Canadians feel in the opening up of the new economic frontiers of our land which has been so richly endowed by Providence. At the same time we gratefully acknowledge the assistance that has come from the United States.

The economic developments of which I have been speaking have so altered the scale of possibilities in Canada that projects which once seemed of overwhelming magnitude now take their place as almost routine undertakings well within the capacity of Canada's financial and human resources. For many years, for example, the construction of the St. Lawrence Seaway was talked about in Canada as a project of almost unparalleled scope and daring, for whose completion it would be necessary to have massive help from the United States. However, as year after year passed without your Congress taking action on the various agreements which were successively negotiated for the joint construction of the Seaway, it gradually dawned on the Canadian Government and people that we would be perfectly capable of financing and constructing the Seaway ourselves if the necessary legal permissions could be obtained in the United States. We are now hopeful that, at long last, Congress may at this session authorize United States participation. But, economically and financially at any rate, it has become a matter of comparative indifference to us whether the United States joins in helping to build the Seaway or we build it ourselves. This is perhaps as good an example as any of the way in which ideas have altered in Canada about what is within our means.

The progress made in the development of our resources, the strides taken by our science and technology, lead us to believe that we can, and should, have considerable contributions to make towards the welfare of other countries, even in fields involving refined and complex skills. When President Eisenhower, in his address before the United Nations on the 8th of December last, proposed that an international atomic energy agency should be established to which governments should make joint contributions from their stockpiles of natural uranium and fissionable materials, his proposal was welcomed in Canada. We welcomed it because it seemed to suggest a way for reducing tensions throughout the world by skirting, for the time being, the thorny controversy over the control of atomic energy and by concentrating on the use that might be made of it throughout the world for peaceful purposes. We welcomed it, too, because this seemed to be a project to which Canada could make a valuable contribution. Our interest was aroused by the prospect of co-operating with other nations to make available throughout the world for constructive, peaceful purposes fissionable materials to provide industrial power, and the techniques required to put this new and incalculably valuable resource to effective use.

The achievements I have been speaking of -- pretty immodestly I'm afraid; but you Californians will, I feel, condone a certain national enthusiasm -- these have all contributed to the growing sense of Canadian identity. This

sense of Canadianism, if you will, has also been fed by our changing relationships throughout the world. For, as with an individual, so a country's identity, I think, is also fostered and defined by its relationships.

Any account, however brief, of Canada's international relationships must begin with the simple fact that a great deal of cold weather has been coming from over the Pole. From time to time those cold winds are interspersed with milder zephyrs. But the only assumption we can safely make on this shrunken planet is that, for a very long time to come, the United States and Canada, and indeed, all the countries of the free world, must be prepared for the worst, although hoping and striving for a more rational comity among the nations.

One result of Soviet hostility and of the consequent danger of an attack on North America across the Arctic Circle has been to make relations between Canada and the United States even closer than they have ever been before.

In order to make preparations against the possibility of a crippling air attack, the governments of the United States and Canada have had to pay increasing attention to the problems of continental defence, since it has become clear that there must be some increase in the protection provided by early warning systems and by squadrons of interceptor aircraft. The technical military problems that are raised by the necessity of tightening and strengthening the defence of the continent are manifold. At what parallels of latitudes should radar nets be strung, and how close a mesh should they provide? Where should airfields be sited? What types of planes are likely to offer the most effective protection? All of these technical questions are difficult enough to answer.

The difficulty of the problem, however, is increased by the fact that a balance must be struck between what might be ideally desirable from the military point of view and what can be afforded over a long period of years after taking into account the defence requirements of other parts of the world and the necessity of maintaining healthy economic conditions in the United States and Canada. There is the further complication that, although our alliance is perhaps the most intimate and informal in history, this common problem of continental defence must be solved by two sovereign nations whose views and interests are not necessarily always identical.

Clearly, in this situation, forbearance and co-operation are required of both countries. We, in Canada, must recognize the peril in which the whole of North America may stand and the degree to which, in a moment of crisis, our safety might be dependent on the military power of the United States. You, in the United States, for your part, I would suggest, will do well to bear in mind that Canada's co-operation will be more whole-hearted and effective if sympathetic allowance is made for our national views and interests. It will take a good deal of patient work before all the questions which I have mentioned are fully resolved. But since coming to this country eight months ago as Ambassador of Canada, I have been much encouraged by the co-operative and friendly spirit that has been shown by your Government in discussing these questions with us and in taking our views into full account. In return, I believe that we in Canada have shown in these matters a desire to act as a responsible ally.

There are, of course, other theatres of possible trouble throughout the world in which Canada is allied with the United States and other countries for the defence of freedom. And it is important that the increased attention that must now be paid to the defence of North America should not have the result of distracting us from these other areas of the world which may prove equally important to the security of us both. So far it has been possible for us in Canada to shoulder our heavier responsibilities for continental defence without reducing the commitments we have made under the North Atlantic Treaty for the defence of Western Europe. At the present time we have stationed in Western Europe a division of jet fighters of the Royal Canadian Air Force and a brigade group of the Canadian Army. By sending them to Europe and by sending them on time we have fulfilled to the letter the commitments we made more than two years ago in the North Atlantic Council. It may be that, with the development of new weapons, some readjustment of the military dispositions and of the strategic planning of all the countries in the North Atlantic Alliance may become possible. We in Canada are convinced, however, that it would be a mistake of the gravest kind ever to permit changes to be made in our dispositions which would lead countries of Western Europe to the belief that they were being abandoned. Apart from the solemn obligations which bind us to our friends there, the strategic importance of Western Europe to North America and to the whole free world is so great that it must not be allowed to fall into enemy hands. And the power and the willingness of those countries to help effectively in their own defence would be fatally undermined if they came to believe that we North Americans were flirting with the idea of withdrawing from Europe. If we show by our decisions that we believe that Europe can and will be defended, our European allies will be much more able to play the crucial and difficult part that has been assigned to them in the North Atlantic Alliance.

What Canada has been able to do in helping to build up an effective deterrent force in Western Europe has been made easier because of our close historical ties with countries in that part of the world. The two main racial strains in our population are Anglo-Saxon and French. And, notwithstanding our complete independence, we have maintained relations of exceptional closeness both with the United Kingdom and with France. London and Paris remain capitals of special significance to Canadians.

Our interest in Asia and our concern for Asian affairs have been of more recent growth. Indeed, it is not many years ago that the countries of Asia seemed to most Canadians to be vague and shadowy areas of no great relevance to our country's fate and fortunes. All that has now greatly changed. And the rapidity of the change is in marked contrast to the deep roots of your American interest in the Far East. After the Revolution when the portcullis of the English mercantile system was rung down against American trade, the merchants of Gloucester and Salem and Boston found new outlets for their commerce in Far Eastern ports which lay outside European control. The voyages which their ships made in great parabolas to Canton and Calcutta meant that from a very early date Americans living on the eastern seaboard, as well as Americans on this coast, felt that their interests were affected by events in Asia. It is true that our Canadian ports on the Pacific have for many years conducted a vigorous trade with Asia. But there has been no comparable tradition

to give the people of other parts of Canada a sense of proximity to Asian developments.

The change which has come with such suddenness in Canada's outlook towards Asia has been produced first of all by our realization that an act of aggression anywhere in the world may be a menace to freedom everywhere. It has been borne in upon us that this principle applies with full force to events in Asia as well as to events in other continents. It was because that principle was recognized by our people that the Canadian Government was able to move quickly to send troops to Korea when the Communists attacked in the spring of 1950.

Clearly the countries of the free world must be prepared, if need be, to meet force with force in Asia as well as elsewhere. But it has become equally clear that, if the West is to be successful in preventing the Asian countries which are still free from falling prey to Soviet imperialism, force will not be enough. We must try to understand the great changes that are taking place in the East and then express our understanding in practical terms. Throughout Asia there is a growing determination not only to win complete independence but also to break the shackles of poverty and disease and of the hopelessness which they breed. The thirst for a better life cannot be slaked by military alliances, necessary as those may be in particular situations. It can be satisfied only if Western countries co-operate in helping the governments of the free countries of Asia to bring to their peoples some of the advantages that we of the West enjoy because of the rich resources with which we have been blessed and because of our scientific discoveries and technical advances. The task of raising the standards of living of the masses of the East is immense. It cannot be accomplished overnight. But that is no reason for apathy or delay. We in North America boast of our competitive system. Let us make no mistake. In the East we are engaged in a competitive race of extreme importance. If the countries of Asia which have fallen under Communist domination can make more impressive material progress than their neighbours who are receiving help from the West, the balance of power throughout that whole area may be tilted even more dangerously against us.

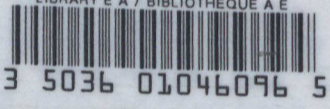
Apart from the efforts of Asians themselves, the most important factor in this struggle is the aid that is being provided by the United States. But we in Canada are also prepared to shoulder our share of the responsibility. During the past three years the Canadian Parliament has appropriated some \$80 million for economic development in South and Southeast Asia under what is known as the Colombo Plan. This scheme, initiated under Commonwealth auspices now comprehends most of the countries in the area and is already beginning to bear fruit. In our opinion it is an enterprise of the highest importance and one which must not be allowed to fail.

It is almost inevitable that in these remarks I should have stressed -- perhaps over-stressed -- Canada's growing self-confidence and strength and, in particular, the contributions we are making to the cause of freedom. To restore a sense of proportion, let me make it clear that we Canadians know quite well that our country is far from being a great power; and we have no aspirations to such stature. Let me also make it clear how fully we realize what all the world owes to the United States. Never in history has a nation been called so quickly to take up the crushing responsibilities

of world leadership. Never has that summons met with a more splendid response. We thank Heaven that you have moved with such generosity to help countries devastated by war and other countries struggling with the age-old problems of grinding poverty. We take reassurance from the determination you have shown that the free world shall not be thrown to the wolves of totalitarian aggression. Above all we are grateful that so mighty a country, in which so many of the peaceful hopes of mankind must centre, is also one of the classic homes of freedom. When from time to time the changing surface of your national life is criss-crossed by currents that may not be entirely to our liking, we may give way to momentary worries -- and expressions of worry. From time to time, too, although agreeing with you on the objectives of policy, we may differ somewhat on how best these objectives can be achieved. But we in Canada have abiding confidence in the serenity of your strength and in the tenacity of your devotion to freedom. As I have travelled across your country, I have been reminded that never more marvellously than here has been enacted the supreme miracle of free men moving in space. The space in which we all must now work out our destinies is less than it was. The problems of making freedom operative are more difficult than before. But the spirit with which men in your country and mine have responded to the challenge to enterprise and adventure, is unchanged and unchangeable. If I have spoken at length about my own country, it has been with the purpose to make you feel that, through whatever anxieties and trials may lie ahead, you have in Canada a strong and faithful ally.

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