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Supplementary Paper

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PARTNERS IN UNITY

An address by the Minister of National Health and Welfare,
Mr. Paul Martin, to the 39th Annual Convention of
Kiwanis International, at Miami, Florida, May 10, 1954.

Kiwanis International

I was highly honoured by the invitation to address this great gathering of Kiwanis International and I welcome the opportunity thus provided me of extending from Canada the most cordial greetings to a good friend and close neighbour. Just last month, I was privileged to meet the President of Kiwanis International, Mr. Donald Forsythe, and your Secretary, Mr. O.E. Peterson, during their recent trip to Canada. For this reason, my return visit takes on added pleasure.

This is the thirty-ninth Annual Convention of Kiwanis International. From the 3,750 individual Clubs in the United States, Canada, Alaska and Hawaii that comprise this vast organization, some 11,000 Kiwanians are gathered here to dedicate themselves anew to the Kiwanis ideals of service. These delegates represent the 225,000 business and professional leaders in communities throughout America who have this year taken as the central theme of their activities the advancement of the aim: "Build by Faith, Loyalty and Service".

It seems to me that nothing is needed more at this critical stage in human history than for men of goodwill everywhere to translate into effective reality the principles and objectives that, for two decades, have motivated the activities of Kiwanis.

By its emphasis on the primacy of spiritual values and its respect for the integrity and freedom of the individual human being, Kiwanis finds its inspiration in those very qualities that are the foundations of our democratic society.

I have read with much interest a recent report of Kiwanis activities during the past year, which indicates that your members have participated actively in a number of fields of public service coming within my particular area of responsibility as Minister of National Health and Welfare for Canada. To mention only one, no less than 43,682 Kiwanians are now engaged in civil defence work -- a vital responsibility of citizenship which has taken on added urgency in both our countries in the light of recent developments in the field of thermonuclear weapons.

United States - Canadian Relations

In a century and a third of neighbourly visiting over the 4,000 miles of back fence that is our international boundary, Canada and the United States have developed a relationship that is unique in human history.

And I need not remind you that Kiwanis International has contributed significantly towards maintaining and strengthening the close ties of friendship that exist between our two countries.

Our border is crossed by more trade, more travel -- and more television -- than any boundary line has ever been. Certainly it is crossed by more after-dinner speakers! We are much the same kind of people; we share the same good instincts and the same bad habits. While we acknowledge that our country is a good deal emptier than yours, I must say that we sometimes find it disconcerting to have to remind you that Canadians do not all wear beaver caps or the scarlet tunics of our Royal Canadian Mounted Police!

It may perhaps surprise you to learn that, since the end of the war, Canada's population has increased by nearly one-fifth and is continuing to grow at the rate of two and one-half per cent a year. During this same period, our country has experienced the greatest industrial and economic expansion in all its history. In human terms, this has meant a significant rise in our average standard of living and a substantial improvement in the well-being of all our people. Since 1945 Canada has

-- doubled its national production for an increase in real terms of 24 per cent;

-- set new records in external trade to become the third trading nation in the world;

-- experienced the greatest investment activity in its history -- totalling some \$30 billions;

(For this year we forecast a capital expenditure programme of \$5.8 billions -- roughly 3 per cent above the previous record achieved last year.)

-- undertaken a \$5 billion defence programme and more than doubled its social security expenditures while, at the same time, consistently balancing its budgets;

-- provided its people with the highest real incomes in their history.

The people of the United States have watched with interest our recent development and many of you have a very real and personal stake in it. We feel that Canada is no longer an "unknown country" to those American businessmen who are now sending in our direction one dollar out of every three U.S. dollars invested abroad. And here I might just note, in passing, that while Canada welcomes your investments and the confidence in our future they signify, since the war, outside investment in Canada has been matched almost dollar for dollar by Canadian investment abroad.

Nor is our country unknown to those of your people who sold the more than \$3 billions of goods bought by Canadians in the U.S. last year. We now hope that we can become better known to those of you who might be in a position to purchase a similar volume of goods from us.

In Canada, as in the United States, we are convinced of the wisdom of giving full play to individual initiative. Thus, in matters of trade, we have always felt that government interference should be kept to a minimum. For this reason, we are naturally disturbed when those we do business with raise tariff barriers, impose import quotas or subsidize domestic industries for the purpose of keeping competitive products out of the country.

We hope that the new Joint United States - Canadian Committee on Trade and Economic Affairs, which held its first meeting a short time ago in Washington, will be able to iron out any difficulties in our economic relations and will further encourage the flow of trade between our two countries. We recognize, of course, that the principles which apply to trade between Canada and the United States have equal application to the economic relations between our two countries and the other nations with which we trade.

Many illustrations could be given of similarities -- and differences -- between the United States and Canada, but the important thing is that we have an understanding of one another's purposes and an appreciation of the fundamental values which are the lasting basis of our common civilization. As President Eisenhower said in Canada's Parliament last November: "Informed and intelligent co-operation is for us the only source of enduring accomplishment".

True, we have had our differences but we have settled them in a mature and sensible fashion. Sometimes we have had to talk pretty frankly to one another but surely frankness is one of the essentials of friendship. We may not always agree on details, but our fundamental aims are essentially the same. This is all the more remarkable when one considers that, less than a hundred years ago, fear of the United States was one of the compelling factors leading to the confederation of our provinces into a single nation.

The Role of Leadership of the United States

Our enduring friendship is based on a great deal more than the fact that we share a rich continent whose resources have been developed by enterprising and unregimented people. It finds its inspiration in our mutual respect for freedom and our belief in the dignity and worth of the individual human being. It is buttressed by our determination to safeguard the welfare and security of our people and to maintain and defend the essential values of our society.

As a member of a great Commonwealth of Nations, Canada is linked to other peoples in other continents by a common history and a common love of freedom. The United States, for its part, has accepted heavy global responsibilities, consistent with its material and moral strength, and is giving leadership and encouragement to the entire free world.

During his recent world tour, our Prime Minister acknowledged this leadership before the national parliament of more free men than any other parliament of the world,

that of our great Asian friend, India. This is what Mr. St. Laurent said in India where it is so important that the objectives of American policy should not be misunderstood:

"As we see it, in the light of all the circumstances of the post-war period, the readiness of the United States to assume the responsibilities of a major power has been of very great benefit to the free world. ...

"Whatever those of us who do not bear the arduous responsibility of this role may think from time to time of particular proposals, we Canadians are thankful that, both through experience and by instinct, the United States and its people are devoted to peace and freedom for themselves and for all others. As their close neighbours, we have special reason to know and appreciate the qualities of the American people, which have been reflected in the fundamental outlook of their Government over the years." ...

This same thought was echoed by Sir Winston Churchill the other day when he pointed out that, without the exertions and sacrifices of the United States, chaos or subjugation might overwhelm us all. At the Geneva Conference just last week, my colleague, Canada's Secretary of State for External Affairs, Mr. L.B. Pearson, asserted with a conviction based on our national experience that the people of the United States are "neither aggressive nor imperialist". He said:

"If indeed the United States did not respect the rights and interests of others, Canada would not today be an independent power, but merely a satellite of her great neighbour."

National Unity as a Key to Progress

In the United States and Canada, our unexampled political, social and economic progress, particularly during this century, is the result of many things -- technological discoveries, resources development, the increase in our population and the initiative and hard work of our people. But I would suggest that one of the most important factors in our growth -- and one that is frequently overlooked -- is the high degree of national unity which has gradually been achieved in each of our countries.

In my country, as in yours, we have created with conviction and with pride a national pattern, compounded of diverse racial and cultural elements, of old and new immigrations, all unified by a common devotion to the democratic tradition. We have proved that national unity can be a living thing, for we have built a working partnership of peoples from many lands -- peoples who have learned to appreciate the worth of their fellows and the distinctive contribution that can be made by each to the total strength and diversity of the nation.

National unity is more than skin deep. It is not just a matter of physical bonds, of the economics of running half a continent, or of the shape and structure of our political institutions. The lasting basis of unity lies in the mind and the spirit. The freedoms we have inherited, and the responsibilities which go with them, are its central elements. The essence of the democratic process is found in the deep understanding which must exist on all sides that the unity of the state rests on faith and mutual confidence; and on a tacit agreement that decisions shall be freely reached and not by force but by consent.

Record of the United Nations

On this continent, we have shown a capacity for achieving national unity and for harmonizing the aspirations of many peoples. We have demonstrated that a nation like Canada can live alongside a great and powerful neighbour, not in fear but in friendship. But for all the nations of the world, common understanding and calm discussion of mutual problems are as important as they are for us. Can our relationship, which has become so much a part of the North American pattern of progress, hold a lesson for the world?

I think it can. In the United Nations, which is the most far-reaching instrument for international co-operation ever conceived, our two countries are working together patiently with other like-minded nations to help further the objectives of peaceful progress. But we cannot expect miracles. In the short space of eight and a half years, the United Nations could hardly solve all the complex problems that now confront the world. And yet, when history looks back on this period, I believe it will be recognized as a turning point in human affairs. What sort of world would we have had today if we had not developed this agency for collective action, imperfect though it was bound to be?

The record is clear. Because of the existence of the United Nations, some outbreaks of violence have been avoided altogether; others have been brought to a speedy end; still others have been kept from growing into wider conflicts. Because of the impelling moral force this organization has mobilized, almost every dangerous situation over the past eight and a half years has been presented sooner or later to the United Nations.

It was the United Nations that brought an end to large-scale hostilities in Palestine. It was the United Nations that effected a cease-fire in Kashmir and brought the dispute between India and Pakistan within a framework of negotiation. It was the United Nations that created the independent state of Indonesia and, in so doing, not only halted a serious war but assisted a rich and ancient civilization in taking its place in the family of nations. It was the United Nations that took successful emergency action for the relief of refugees and the rehabilitation of many war-torn countries. Above all, it was the United Nations that achieved an armistice in Korea.

While great uncertainties still surround the political future of that unhappy peninsula, the significance of Korea is clear. The United Nations met its responsibility promptly and squarely when unprovoked aggression broke out in Korea. In so doing, it demonstrated

that collective security can work to halt aggression but, like any effort to stop wrong-doing, its costs may be high.

United Efforts for Collective Security

It was, of course, because the Soviet Union had time after time deliberately prevented the United Nations collective security machinery from working, had maintained a preponderance of armed strength after the war and had sabotaged every effort at peaceful reconstruction and political co-operation in Europe that the countries of the Atlantic community, feeling themselves in peril of aggression, took special collective measures under the United Nations Charter to maintain peace. In April 1949, the North Atlantic Treaty Organization was created.

Our Prime Minister was one of the first to foresee this development. In September 1947, he said before the United Nations General Assembly that nations might be forced to seek greater safety "in an association of democratic, peace-loving states willing to accept more specific international obligations in return for a greater measure of national security". Not only is the North Atlantic Treaty consistent with the United Nations Charter; it also supplements the Charter's general obligations in the security field with additional mutual obligations. The Treaty re-affirms the faith of its signatories in the purposes and principles of the Charter and specifically binds each NATO country to come to the defence of any other that is attacked.

NATO and the U.N. are thus complementary means towards our common goal of enduring peace and world-wide security. NATO is more than a military alliance. It is a partnership of like-minded nations sharing common traditions and a common devotion to the ideals of individual freedom and justice. Our NATO policy is insurance against the destruction of all we hold dear. The premium costs may seem high, but they are little in relation to the risk and the ultimate beneficiaries are all mankind.

The pooling of defence resources that the NATO countries have undertaken is unprecedented in peacetime. The progress made in the last five years is a truly remarkable achievement in international co-operation of which we can all be justly proud. The NATO forces are now strong enough to make an aggressor think twice about taking them on. Of course the resulting relaxation of international tension has itself been a danger to maintaining the necessary defence preparations.

We must realize that we cannot afford, either financially or psychologically, to turn our defence programmes on and off in response to Soviet moves. Steady effort, constant vigilance, and a tireless endeavour to negotiate with the Soviet Union on outstanding differences whenever possible must be our watchwords.

Continental Defence

At this point I would remind you that an important part of the defence of the North Atlantic region is the defence of North America. The primary aim of Canada and the United States, as for all nations, must be to protect

ourselves from direct attack. Commonsense and geography have led us to undertake this task as a joint endeavour.

The tradition of co-operation in matters of continental 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 to "consider in the broad sense, the defence of the north half of the Western Hemisphere". The Permanent Joint Board on Defence is still in existence and continues to render invaluable service to the common cause of joint defence.

It is obvious that the most likely and effective means of attack against North America is by air and that the shortest and most direct air routes from prospective enemy bases to North American targets traverse the Arctic and Sub-Arctic regions. The armed forces of our two countries are working in close co-operation to meet the possibility of such attack.

For the past four years work has been going on at high priority on the construction of a large and costly radar chain which is required not only to detect enemy bombers but also to control fighter aircraft engaged in the task of interception. Co-operation between the United States and Canadian air defence commanders is close and unidentified aircraft are investigated by the most immediately available interceptor forces, whether Canadian or American.

Recently our two Governments came to the conclusion that additional early warning of possible attack should be provided by the establishment of a further radar system generally to the north of the settled territory in Canada. As soon as this decision was reached the necessary surveys were initiated and are already well advanced.

In addition to improving the continental early-warning system, both countries are working continuously to improve the air defence installations in the vicinity of the major target areas. Here, too, co-operation between the United States and Canadian air defence forces is close.

Canada and the United States must continue to carry out these co-operative measures with energy and vigilance. Only thus can we assure our chance of survival. As President Eisenhower has said:

"You of Canada and we of the United States can and will devise ways to protect our North America from any surprise attack by air and we shall achieve the defence of our continent without whittling our pledges to Western Europe or forgetting our friends in the Pacific."

North America Looks to the East

While we are fulfilling our obligations as partners in the formidable fellowship of NATO, our preoccupation must not be with defence alone or with the problems of Western Europe and the North Atlantic community. We must look, too, to the East -- to the needs and

aspirations of our friends and neighbours half a world away. Today, in the great lands of Asia strong tides of nationalism are at the flood. Great and vital forces have been liberated in these places -- once far away but now close as a Korean hillside -- with incalculable consequences for the future.

To understand the complexity of establishing cooperative and friendly relations with Asian countries, we must free ourselves from our absorption in the present moment of time and range backward in history. The civilizations of the East have a long and illustrious past of which Asian peoples are justifiably proud. Their civilizations have been like sleeping giants, lying in caves and surrounded by treasures which are the memorials of their past greatness. These nations are now stirring from their long sleep. They are stretching and asking for room in which to exercise and develop themselves.

I am convinced that if these re-awakened Oriental civilizations, so different from our own, can be saved from being engulfed in the destructive tide of Communism, they will contribute greatly to the enrichment of the whole human race. But the process of mutual enhancement and mutual understanding cannot occur overnight.

The establishment of fruitful relations with the peoples of Asia will be a long and difficult process and will call for patience, sympathy and a realistic understanding of the social, economic and political forces now at work. But it will be well worth the effort for there is much that we ourselves can learn from the ancient wisdom of the East.

Canada and the United States together have only six and one-half per cent of the world population, but one-quarter of all the world's peoples live in the Indian sub-continent. It is an area rich in natural resources, yet, because of illiteracy and economic under-development, human poverty is almost universal. Health standards are distressingly low and life expectancy short. Surely, in determining the future course of human progress, these millions -- who know little or nothing of Communism or of democracy, but who know a great deal about hunger and privation and poverty -- will have something to say.

If we want to enlist their support for the kind of peaceful world we are seeking to achieve, we must demonstrate our friendship by helping them in their great undertaking to help themselves. The first essential is to provide food, clothing and shelter to meet their minimum basic needs, for the advantages of democracy mean little to men and women who are always hungry.

By helping the peoples of Asia to meet these physical needs through such far-reaching measures as the U.N. Technical Assistance Programme, the Commonwealth Colombo Plan and the Point Four Programme, we can give them encouragement and support. But we must consider, too, their deep spiritual hungers. The lands of Asia have their own national and cultural birthrights which they cannot be expected to barter away for any amount of assistance from the West.

We could not contemplate imposing our ideas by force; nor should we expect to succeed in buying favour in Asia with our dollars or technical aid. These peoples have fought hard for racial equality and for freedom from the domination of the West. Those same aspirations that created our own nations a century and more ago -- freedom from outside control, economic opportunity for all and respect for the dignity and worth of the individual -- are now in ferment in the developing democracies of the East.

It is essential that now, and for years to come, we should use every practical means to convince those Asian nations that stand outside Soviet control of our concern for their welfare and of our resolve to help them maintain and strengthen their independence in all spheres. I believe this is necessary for our own ultimate security. It is also necessary if we are to be true to our own democratic tradition.

Even in these times, we must not lose sight of the vision of all men bound together by ties of sympathy and co-operation. The radiance of that vision has been partially eclipsed; but by unremitting effort we must strive -- as I am sure all members of your great fraternal organization would agree -- to bring about a genuine recognition of the common human brotherhood among all the peoples of this earth.

The great adventure of this century, the supreme challenge to world statesmanship, is to open to men and women everywhere the opportunity for a more abundant life. It was the quest for a short route to the East that first led to the discovery and development of North America. And now, 450 years later, the Passage to India can at least be opened up by demonstrating to the peoples of Asia our deep faith in those ideals that are the abiding basis of the democratic tradition. The call of the frontier which once stirred the pioneers of this continent is now echoing across the vast reaches of the Pacific and beckoning our people to a new and difficult task. Inspired by the same instincts of decency and hard work and the dream of liberty and independence for men and nations, we must join the larger struggle to maintain and to extend the frontiers of freedom.



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