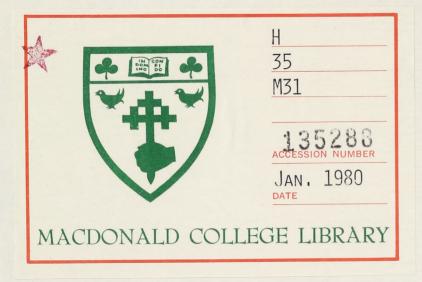


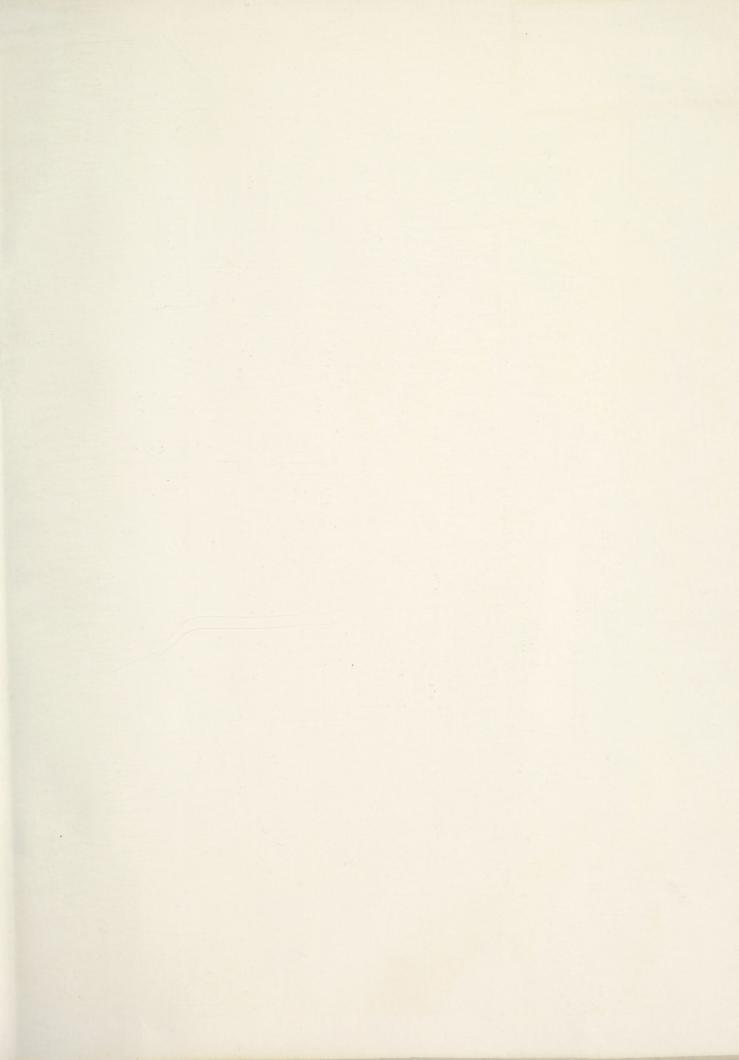
McGill University Libraries

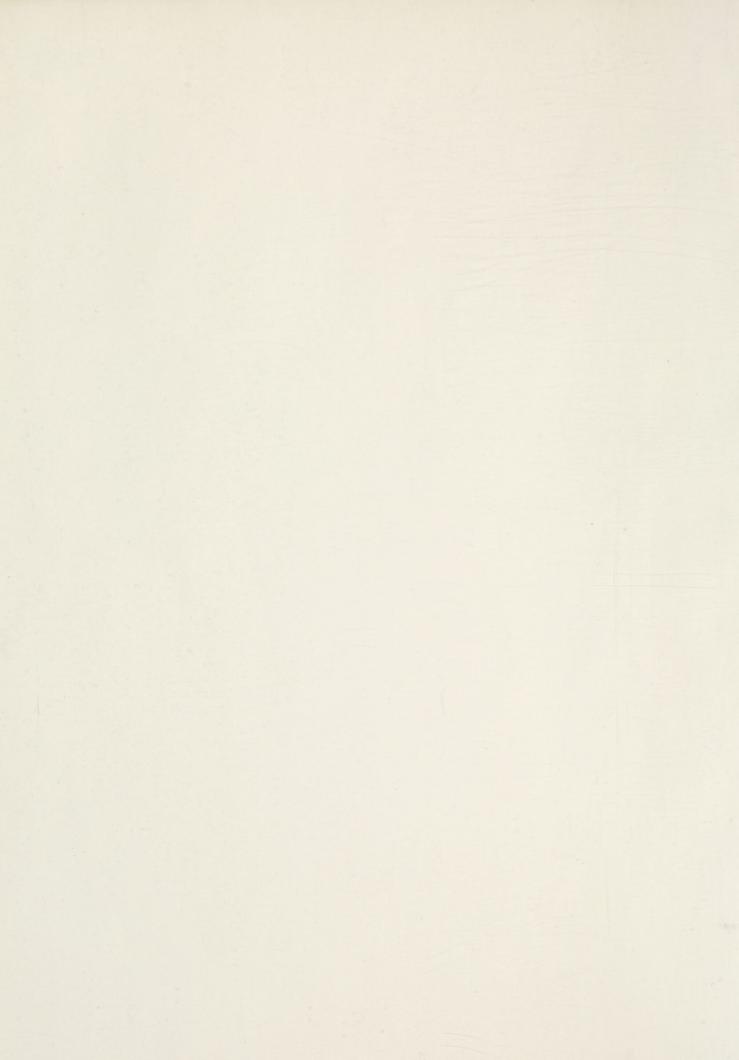
A31

rial assembly addresses, 1947–19

3 000 893 001 L







Macdonald College

War Memorial Assembly Addresses

1947 - 1974

Macdonald College Mar Memorial Assembly Addresses 1947 - 1974

- The Right Honourable Vincent Massey, P.C., C.H., LL.D., February 26, 1947
 Topic: "Foreign Policy Begins At Home"
- 2. His Excellency, Field Marshal, The Right Honourable The Viscount Alexander of Tunis, G.C.B., K.G., Governor-General of Canada February 26, 1948 Topic: "How The Principles of War Can Be Applied To Peace"
- 3. Leonard W. Brockington, C.M.G., K.C., LL.D., D.C.L., President, The March 9, 1949 Odeon Theatres (Canada) Limited Topic: "Building A Nation"
- 4. Field Marshal The Right Honourable Earl Wavell, G.C.B., G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., C.M.G., M.C. November 23, 1949
 Topic: "Leadership in Democracy"
- 5. General The Honourable A.G.L. McNaughton November 9, 1950 Topic: "The Evolving Policy of The United Nations"
- 6. The Right Honourable Louis S. St-Laurent, K.C., Prime Minister of Canada
 November 9, 1951
 Topic: "The Kind of Nation Canada Is" (English & French)
- 7. Ralph J. Bunche, M.A., Ph.D. (Harvard), Director of The Trusteeship of The United Nations
 November 10, 1952
 Topic: (copy not available)
- 8. Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt
 November 6, 1953
 Topic: (copy not available)
- 9. Lieutenant-General Sir Archibald Nye, G.C.S.I., G.C.M.G., G.C.I.E., K.C.B., K.B.E., M.C., United Kingdom High Commissioner in Canada November 25, 1954

 Topic: (copy not available)
- 10. The Very Reverend John Ogle Anderson, M.C., B.A., L.Th., B.D., D.D., Dean of Ottawa and President of The Canadian Legion November 14, 1955
 Topic: Address on file but is untitled
- 11. The Right Reverend James S. Thomson, M.A., D.D., LL.D., F.R.S.C.,
 Moderator of The United Church of Canada
 November 9, 1956
 Topic: (copy not available)

- 12. Gerald W. Johnson, B.A., Litt.D., LL.D., D.C.L., Journalist,
 Essayist, Biographer
 March 18, 1958
 Topic: Address on file but is untitled
- 13. B.C. Gardner, M.C., D.C.L., LL.D., Chancellor of McGill University 1952-1957 November 11, 1958 Topic: "Canada Should Be Catalyst"
- 14. Lieutenant-General G.G. Simonds, C.B., C.B.E., D.S.O., C.D., Chief of The General Staff Canadian Army 1951 1955

 March 4, 1960

 Topic: "The Challenge of The Post War Years" (copy not available)
- 15. E.W.R. Steacie, O.B.E., M.Sc., Ph.D., D.Sc., LL.D., D. de l'U., F.R.S.C., F.R.S., President of The National Research Council of Canada November 4, 1960
 Topic: "Science and International Affairs"
- 16. Mr. R.G. Cavell, Former Administrator of The Colombo Plan and High Commissioner for Canada to Ceylon January 26, 1962 Topic: "Asia Resurgent And The Free World"
- 17. The Right Honourable Philip J. Noel-Baker, P.C., M.P. November 19, 1962

 Topic: "Disarmament 1962"
- 18. Sir Fitzroy MacLean, C.B.E., M.P. January 13, 1964
 Topic:
- 19. The Right Honourable Paul Martin, P.C., Q.C., M.P., M.A., LL.D., Secretary of State for External Affairs
 February 9, 1965
 Topic: "Principles and Purposes of Foreign Aid" (English & French)
- 20. Dr. Linus Pauling, Nobel Prize in Chemistry, 1954; Nobel Peace Prize, 1963; Research Professor of Physical and Biological Sciences, Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions, Santa Barbara, California October 17, 1966 Topic: "Science and International Relations" (copy not available)
- 21. Chester A. Ronning
 November 27, 1967
 Topic: "Can The West Exist With China" (program only)
- 22. Norman Z. Alcock, B.Sc., M.S., Ph.D., Director of The Canadian

 Peace Research Institute
 October 29, 1968
 Topic: "Peace and Related Causes of War"

 (copy not available) (program only

- 23. Robert B. McClure, M.D., F.R.C.S., F.I.C.S., D.D., Moderator,
 United Church
 November 11, 1969
 Topic: "Canada and World Hunger" (copy not available) (program Only)
- 24. W. David Hopper, B.Sc. (Agr.), Ph.D., President, International Development Research Center, Ottawa January 27, 1972 Topic: "Toward the well-being of rural peoples" (program only)
- 25. Ken Dryden, B.A. (Cornell)

 March 19, 1973

 Topic: "Sport a personal view" (program only)
- 26. Judy LaMarsh, Q.C.
 Law Faculty, York University
 March 26, 1974
 Topic:

(copy not available)

McGILL UNIVERSITY

MACDONALD COLLEGE

FIRST ANNUAL WAR MEMORIAL ASSEMBLY

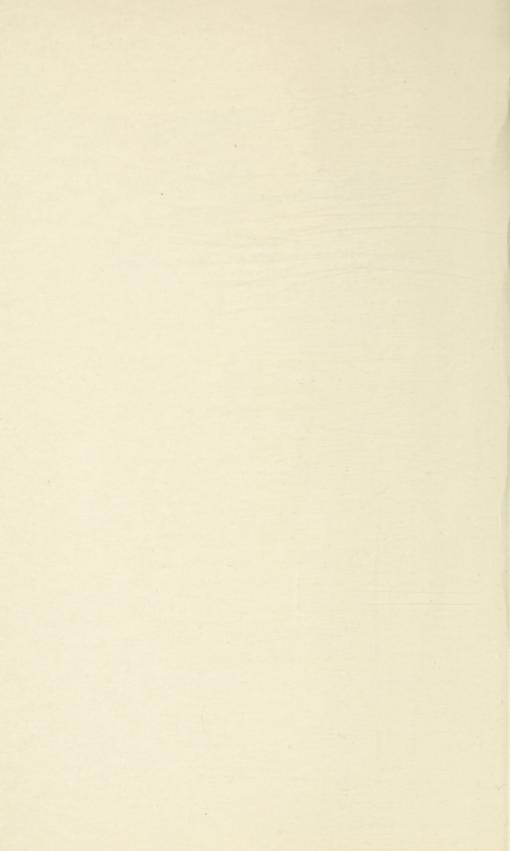


ADDRESS

BY

THE RIGHT HON. VINCENT MASSEY, C.H., LL.D.

FEBRUARY 26th, 1947





The Macdonald College War Memorial commemorates the many Macdonald men and women who served in two World Wars and the seventy-four who gave their lives. It consists of a series of annual Addresses, of which this is the first, and a Memorial Entrance to the Library. The express purpose of the addresses is to promote an understanding of national and world affairs, and to inspire future Macdonald men and women to do their part toward the maintenance of freedom, tolerance and the improvement of human relationships.

These Gave Their Lives

1914 - 18

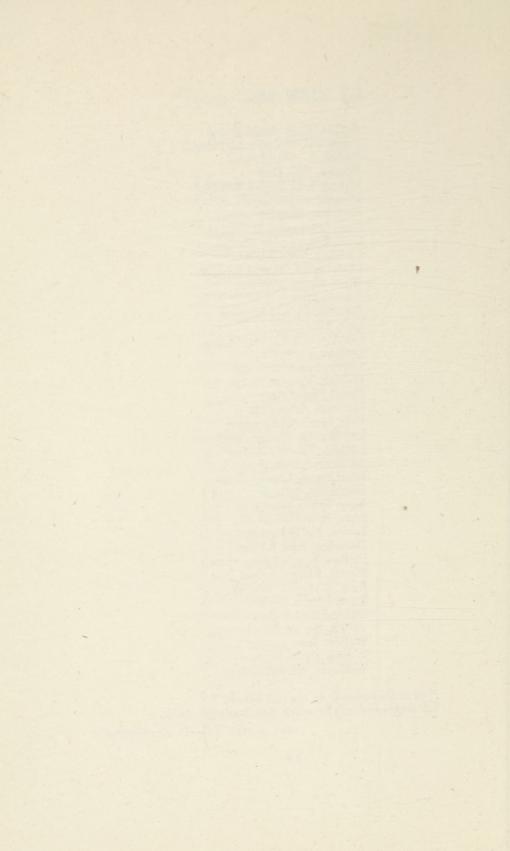
Bailey, Hugh Courtney Bailey, Hugh Reginald Dowson Chatfield, Percy Charles Collingwood, Gordon Francis Dashwood, John Lovell Dean, George Frederick Dyer, Charles Edward Ford, William Dalgleish Gilson, Gordon Wyman Hacker, James MacMillan Hackshaw, Cecil Hamilton, Robert H. Harvey, William Lamb, William Sterling Levin, Morris T. Longworth, Frederick John McCormick, James Hugh McDiarmid, Duncan David MacFarlane, John Reid McLagan, Patrick Douglas McLaren, Quentin MacRae, Douglas Muldrew, W. Harold Murphy, Allan I. Portelance, Joseph Reid, Benjamin Trenholme Richardson, Julius Jeffrey Gordon Robertson, Harry Sansom, George Shearer, William Dumaresq Turner, William Henry Upton, Lionel Viane, Edgar Williamson, John

1939 - 45

Archer, Philip Leslie Irving Archibald, Clarence McDougall Bachelder, Allen Leland Barclay, John Duff Birkett, John Evelyn Wreford Brissenden, Joseph Cameron, Donald Cameron, George Everett Campbell, Gordon Dunlap Candlish, John Muir Chamberlain, Harold Arthur Clark, Garfield William Colley, John Eastman, Donald Mervyn Gale, Edward B. Goodenough, Carlton Stokes Gorham, James Rist Griffin, Frederick Philip Hillrich, Vincent Philip Horn, John d'Arcy Houston, Allan Dale Kerr, Louis Noel Lyndon Lewthwaite, George Alexander Longley, Harold Graham McDonald, Donald MacLennan, Charles Grant Matthews, George May, David Merriman Ness, Alvin James Pascoe, Philip Jocelyn Patterson, John Richard Phillips, Neil Seymour Hunter Porritt, Robert Arthur Ross, Alexander Bentick Scott, Eugene Claude Smith, Kenneth Hew Taylor, Harold Alvan Watson, John James Wilson, Denys Leslie Woolaver, Allison Stewart

And us they trusted, we the task inherit, The unfinished task for which their lives were spent.

-C. A. Alington.



FOREIGN POLICY BEGINS AT HOME

The Right Honourable Vincent Massey, C.H., LL.D.

I feel much honoured in being invited to speak here tonight. The honour is the greater because the Foundation under which these addresses are to be delivered has been established in memory of the members of this College who gave their lives in the cause of freedom. This lectureship and the visible memorial commemorate their service. War memorials, of course, perform two functions. Their establishment is a tribute to the dead; they also stand to remind us perpetually of what they did. So let there be no forgetting. Do you know these simple lines written as coming from those who did not return?

"Went the day well? We died and never knew; But well or ill, Freedom, we died for you."

That is but a statement of the truth. If we are able this evening to meet in this room as free men and women, we can humbly thank, above all others, those who gave all they had to give in the years of war.

The addresses, of which this is the first, are, if I may quote from the announcement, intended "to promote an understanding of world affairs by young Canadians." I have an idea that young Canadians are more likely to gain such a comprehension than old Canadians. A good many of them not long ago played a very responsible part in world affairs (no course in international relations could be

more practical), and they are entitled and qualified to discuss them. They could not fail to return home from their wartime service without a deepened sense of the reality of these things. But today could anybody be so foolish as to underrate the importance of the subject? We Canadians, new in the international field, were perhaps a little slow to realize the relation of world events to our own domestic affairs, but we have moved a long way from the point of view expressed by a representative at Geneva who was moved to say that we lived "in a fireproof house far from inflammable materials." There is no dearth of combustible matter about, and our structure will catch fire as quickly as anyone else's. It is not only the advent of nuclear fission which has made us, in common with other peoples, feel that all immunity and remoteness have gone. The world, as we know, has been shrinking steadily. The late war forced this fact upon us and as the world has grown smaller Canada has, in effect, grown larger; larger and more exposed to what goes on beyond her borders.

So foreign affairs are no longer a highbrow subject for the expert. They are brought home as a practical business to the ordinary citizen. In discussing the subject, however, it is important not to isolate it. Foreign affairs and domestic affairs, with us as with other countries, are closely interwoven. They cannot be separated from each other, put into watertight compartments. Sometimes students, with the zeal that comes from working in a new and unfamiliar field, talk about a foreign policy for Canada as if it were something to be made to order like a suit of clothes. But foreign policies, like poets, are born-not made. They come from within. National security and welfare must of course be their aim. Those are fixed objectives. But national character shows itself in the way such objects are pursued. As a nation thinks, so will it act. A country's foreign policy is therefore, in a sense, the projection of its personality. One of the greatest of the "makers of Canada" once said: "You have sent your young men to guard your frontier; you want a principle to guard your young men; thus only can you guard your frontier." He was talking of defence, but we must look to foreign policy too for the expression of principles. Foreign policy begins at home.

Mr. Harold Nicolson some years before the late war defined the traditional principles underlying British foreign policy as: peace; the balance of power on the Continent; the maintenance of communications with India and the Empire; free trade; humanitarianism. Events have strangely altered this list but peace and humanitarianism still stand as of first importance. The American tradition has changed as sharply under the impact of war. The Monroe Doctrine remains its corner-stone but happily the companion principle of isolation has been formally abandoned. Like Great Britain the United States is now dedicated to the search for peace. So are we in our more limited sphere. This is the supreme objective of all three nations. But each must speak in its own vernacular.

If we look for the principles which underlie a Canadian foreign policy we will find them interwoven with our history when we did not talk or even think about foreign policy at all. We have there a firm substance for a national point of view—one which we can express with confidence.

Our background presents a complicated pattern. We have a variegated history and we are a diverse community, but for nearly two hundred years there have been some consistent ideas running through our story. We may have been a handful of people dropped—almost lost, as it has seemed sometimes—in half a continent, but Canada has always been more than a geographical expression. Ours is a stirring tale, but most of us of my generation at least, cannot, I fear, look back on our classes in Canadian history at school as moments of palpitating excitement in the routine of the week. Why did they seem so boring? You may say, of course, that once you get past the capture of Quebecthat mountain peak in the romance of our annals-you descend to a dull plain of constitutional problems and economic issues; and that parliamentary debates and trade statistics are just not exciting. At least, they do not naturally seem exciting to the pupil not yet emerged from that period of simple adolescent emotions when the stuff of history, to command his interest, must be concerned with fighting. Did the difficulty lie in the material or in its presentation? I think it lay in the latter, and we should be grateful to the present generation of historians who are re-telling our story in such a way as to bring out the fact that arguments across a table can have plenty of romance when the issues are great and far-reaching, and the personalities richly-endowed characters. In my view, those bewhiskered, frock-coated Victorian politicians in the familiar print of the Fathers of Confederation, were actors in a drama just as romantic as any linked in our minds with jerkins and rapiers. Theirs was a victory of imagination over geography.

The Founders had that rarest of gifts—political vision—and their grand design in nation-building took concrete form sooner than they thought. They little dreamed that within fifty years of the Act which gave us our foundation we would take a nation's part in a European war. The duties of nationhood with us thus preceded its privileges. The war, of course, quickened the pace. After 1914 there followed swiftly seven events, some of them little noted, all significant. It is worth while reminding ourselves of what they were.

- 1. Within three years Canada, and her sister British states, were declared to be nations of an Imperial Commonwealth with the right to a voice in foreign policy.
- 2. Two years later, Canada in her own right signed the great peace treaty and entered the League of Nations as one of its founders.
- 3. In 1922, the Government's decision at the time of the crisis at Chanak in Asia Minor, established the principle that even when automatically at war, Canada was free to take no active part.
- 4. Next year a treaty with a foreign power was signed for the first time by a Canadian representative alone.

- 5. In 1926 the Imperial Conference of that year, as everyone knows, declared Great Britain and the Dominions to be equal partners under the Crown.
- 6. In the following year Canada set up her first diplomatic mission.
- 7. In 1931 the Statute of Westminster, in "tidying up", as it were, the status already acquired by the British Dominions, gave Canada the power to make laws with force beyond her borders, and provided that her legislation in the future could not be held invalid on the ground that it conflicted with British law.

Those seventeen years complete the journey. Nothing further was needed to give us the freedom and rights of a sovereign state. But an international status which is not used is like a well-found ship kept in the harbour. In the inter-war years the good ship "status" received many coats of paint but never ventured far out to sea. Mr. Shaw once said-perhaps not very charitably-of an English writer, that he was "a tragic example of the combination of imposing powers of expression with nothing important to express." It would not be fair to apply such a mot to Canada during these years, but although we sent good delegations to Geneva and played no inactive part, was it a very constructive one? We were useful on the administrative side but on the larger issues our attitude seemed too often negative. It is true, of course, that between 1919 and 1939 the world was living in an age of illusions and we cannot be blamed for sharing them, but I fear we made our own contribution to the fantasies of that period, when so many at Geneva found abiding comfort in the moral authority of the League. The idea that its moral authority needed force behind it was regarded by that school of thought-those days seem very distant now—as a dangerous notion. The Covenant of the League, of course, had its weapons for the punishment of evil-doers but we helped to blunt them. Indeed, we began our career at Geneva with a determined effort to whittle down that article in the League's charter which guaranteed states against aggression, and all through the twenty years we consistently opposed any measure which would have led to the employment of force. That can, of course, be defended as representing a considered point of view. We preferred to regard the League as a humanitarian institution and an instrument of conciliation. It could not, however, have given much comfort to those living under the menace of invasion to hear a Canadian delegate make such a pronouncement as, "We hope to get nothing ourselves out of the League. We are willing to be of any assistance we can. We believe in the principles of co-operation rather than conflict."

We were, as I have said, by no means alone in our interpretation of the Covenant, but sometimes we added a touch of smugness. Canadian delegates at Geneva seemed to reflect the view that the Americas possessed superior virtue, and that Europe, "a continent that cannot run itself" as we said, could learn from us if only she would. We talked to the Europeans about the virtues of our undefended frontier and advised them to make their frontiers as peaceful. This much publicized boundary of ours was the subject of so much oratory from Canadians at the League that the patience of the assembly must have been sorely tried.

When the Japanese crisis darkened the horizon in the early 'thirties and the League met its first great test, Canada took evasive action. Her representative, apparently in the absence of instructions from home, spoke, as one astonished reporter put it, "strongly on both sides". Our policy in relation to this episode was apparently to keep out of trouble. There was a trenchant comment from an able critic two years later when he said: "Until this country is ready to take the whole consequence of membership in the League and take its whole part in the enforcement of its Covenants, we have no right to rejoice in membership at all."

An examination of what was said and done at Geneva is, however, rather a morbid undertaking, except to learn the lessons it conveys. Indeed, most member states of the League would like to forget those years. It was a time when

the world as a whole suffered from spiritual bankruptcy. Our faults, as we see them now, did not seem faults to us then. The fact is, as the author of a recent history of Canada has well said, "until the second world war became imminent, the vital aspect of external relations was not foreign policy, but the extension and completion of Canadian autonomy." Public opinion had not come to take foreign policy as a serious business. Our attitude, or lack of it, was based on the lazy assumption that peace had come to stay. How many of us demurred to this view—at least in the earlier years? And among those, how many took trouble to make known their dissent?

During this time, whatever one may think about how we employed it, our machinery in the international sphere grew steadily. If you like the "log-cabin-to-White-House" type of statistics, we have an interesting story to tell. Until twenty years ago, no country had exchanged diplomatic missions with Canada. In Ottawa today there are twenty-six representatives of foreign states and the nations of the Commonwealth. The formalities of our international position have rapidly taken shape. The war of 1939 clothed them with reality. When we come to the last seven years, we find that the statistics of our growth have deep significance. We are still perhaps too close to events to realize how much more important a country Canada is today than she was in 1939. Only the passage of time will bring this home to us. In Lord Balfour's famous Declaration you will remember there is drawn a very proper distinction between status and stature: "The principle of equality and similarity" (so the passage runs) "appropriate to status, does not universally extend to function." Our free and independent status is fixed and final and should be taken for granted, but our functions are steadily widening and the recognition of that fact has been altering our position in the world. Thus during the war Canada became a partner of Great Britain and the United States as a member of the great organizations concerned with industrial production and raw materials and food. The British Commonwealth Air-Training Plan has passed into history but the great part we played in it should remain alive in our minds. The end of the war did not interrupt the story of our growth. It was not accidental that the headquarters of such bodies as the International Labour Office and the one which deals with International Civil Aviation were established in a Canadian city, or that the first conference of the organization of the United Nations concerned with agriculture and food should meet in Canada under Canadian chairmanship. Canada made the largest contribution in supplies to UNRRA and was the third largest contributor in money. Atomic energy has made us a partner with Great Britain and the United States in that fateful field.

So much for some of the facts. They tell their own story. Our relation to the drama of world events in the last thirty years can perhaps be divided into three phases. Before the first World War we sat in the gallery and looked on as a spectator. Between the wars we moved down to the stage and became a member of the cast. But we watched the action for the most part from the wings. Now we are on the stage, not far from the centre, with an acting part of our own.

The drama itself is a confused and complicated one. It is hard to discover its leit-motiv. Sometimes I think it is good for us to turn off the daily flood of news and in such a rare and blessed interval of quiet try to make up our minds what is really happening in the world about us. I would suggest that there are two major themes in the drama, with inter-play between them. One of these is, of course, the great experiment through which we hope to keep the peace. It was launched, not as was the League of Nations in the belief that the millennium had come; its authors faced facts with a sense of realism. They were under no illusions. The United Nations recognizes—as the League did not-that power and responsibility must be closely related. If the great nations cannot agree, no system will work. Hence that rule of the Security Council, not very happily referred to as "the veto", which in votes on important matters calls for the concurrence of all five of the permanent members. The making and keeping of peace rests primarily on three nations. Two of these—the two great continental empires, the United States and Russia, both of them neighbours of Canada—have been left by the war with extended influence and increasing power. The third—Great Britain—in the war from the beginning, standing firm and almost alone over a desperate period when her resistance was vital, has been gravely weakened. Her moral stature is greater than ever and her spirit is undimmed, but today she is suffering from those hardships and retrenchments which are associated with defeat rather than with victory. Wise men the world over will pray for her full recovery, not only for her own sake but in the interest of all.

The test of the co-operation of these three nations will be the settlement of Germany, but this and all other such problems must be studied in terms of the other drama which holds the world's stage: the argument between two different ways of life—democracy and totalitarianism; between western civilization as we know it and the system of Marx and Lenin. They can live alongside each other with mutual forbearance, but there can be no compromise between these two philosophies. They are irreconcilable because the difference between them turns on our conception of human liberty. This ideological theme is the fundamental one today. We see it reflected in every international gathering. It influences a current issue in which we Canadians have a special interest — the position in international affairs of powers like ourselves of middle rank.

It is one of the plain realities of life that the influence of a nation in diplomacy is related to the force it can muster. It was therefore a revolutionary step, one of several at the time, when the authors of the League Covenant called all the small nations irrespective of their size and strength to the councils of mankind. The assembly of the United Nations also incorporates this principle. The League, of course, had gone too far. Small countries which can make little or no contribution to security must not be clothed

with disproportionate authority. There was an air of unreality in the debates of the League assembly when some little state, without the capacity or perhaps even the will to contribute a single gun to the necessary force, urged the League to undertake some dubious adventure, on the regrettable principle, "Here am I, Lord, send him!" The United Nations has gone some distance towards a solution of the problem in distinguishing between the great powers and the others, but we have still to find the right place in the scheme of things for states of middle rank. Our experience in the Commonwealth should help us to understand this question, for we recognize the difference between "status" and "function". It is always the British way to seek workmanlike solutions with little concern with mere Thus there is no place where the problem of the smaller countries is better understood than in London with its long experience and accumulated wisdom. But from what we read in the press, their aspirations receive little sympathy in Moscow. The totalitarian is primarily concerned with power. Just as he has no interest in the freedom of the individual in relation to the "almighty state", he does not view with favour the demands of lesser countries that they should be allowed to play their part. His is a big-power world.

The question is now being debated in terms of the settlement of Germany. Canada, with dignity and firmness, has stated her views. Having made a distinguished contribution to the defeat of Germany, she rightly asks for a voice in the plans for her future, and she speaks for other middle powers as well. Our moral position is strong. It would, I think, be stronger if, like other smaller countries, we had continued to play even a modest part in the forces which at present police the German Reich. Our withdrawal at so early a date did nothing to enhance our prestige or give evidence of our readiness to assume responsibilities in peace as we had so willingly done in war. It is not likely, however, that the presence of Canadian soldiers or airmen in Germany would have influenced the

decision as to our part in the peace-making. That question will be settled on other grounds.

Canada is a good spokesman for the middle powers. She has no enemies. She nurses no ambitions which can conflict with those of others. She has already a reputation for objectivity and fairness. She encounters genuine good will. It is often accompanied by a friendly desire to know more about this relatively new member of world councils. Certainly knowledge of our life and institutions might well be extended. Far too little is known about us even yet. I remember when I was travelling in Eastern Europe between the wars, I was shocked to find that Canadian goods were being sold as American, because too many purchasers had never heard of Canada. I hope we have emerged from that obscurity. But there is still much ignorance of us. It is even true of our neighbours in the United States. Our American friends knows us as individuals; they know us as a friendly community on their borders; they are familiar with Canada as the objective of a holiday, but for the most part they know little of how we run our affairs, our form of government, our relations to the British Commonwealth. When our new Citizenship Act was proclaimed, the comments in American papers were revealing. One headline read: "Canadians end status as British subjects". Another ran: "Canada breaks all ties". In one editorial comment, as reported, we were told that as the result of the Citizenship Act, "Canada now joins two other independent members of the Commonwealth-Eire and South Africa". Another article talked about the "weakened" position of the British Empire.

When the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council in London gave its recent decision on the subject of appeals from Canada, this was referred to in American papers as leading to the "abolition of one of the strongest ties Canada still has with Britain." One writer said that with appropriate legislation "the old dependence upon London will be ended", and amiably suggested that Canadian nationality should be "developed and perfected" through the adoption

of a constitution modelled upon that of the United States. These are not the views of well-informed Americans, but there are many of their fellow-citizens who apparently find little strange in such observations. One can never expect an immense country to know as much about a smaller one on its borders as the latter does of its large neighbour, but we could have done much more in the past than we did to promote a better knowledge of Canada in the United States. When in conversation with an American newspaper proprietor not long ago I commented on the dearth of Canadian news in American papers, I was told that Canada was deficient in "news value". One must define the phrase. If it means sensational occurrences, then the remark was complimentary, and I think my friend meant it as such. The happiest nations, it has been said, are those which have no history. One might substitute "news value" for history. At all events, we should do what we can to avoid misinterpretation abroad of what we do at home. The Citizenship Act was a timely measure, much needed, indeed overdue, but as we know, it made no revolutionary break with the past. We were in effect Canadian citizens before the Act permitted us to say so. Also, we remain as it rightly declares, British subjects The Act makes us more consciously Canadian and we therefore acclaim it with fitting warmth, but it also preserves the continuity with the past and reminds us of our allegiance to the Crown as individuals, and our membership of the Commonwealth. Perhaps in our celebrations we have neglected this aspect of the matter and unconsciously invited misunderstanding beyond our borders.

As far as the Privy Council's decision is concerned, it should surely be approached and judged as a legal and constitutional matter. I feel it can be misleading to discuss the appeal in terms of sentiment. It can indeed be argued that at times, far from strengthening our relations with Great Britain, it has been actually unhelpful. The Privy Council is a great court. There is none with a higher tradition, but if it should be decided to abolish or limit our appeal—and there are strong arguments on both sides

of the question—our links with the Throne will not be affected, for our judges at Ottawa are the King's judges no less than are those in the Privy Council.

These are complicated problems. When we find ourselves confused about them it is not unnatural that others should be even more so. But it underlines the importance of making our national institutions better known abroad. In the first place it is essential that we should be understood to be what we are and have been for many years—a free and sovereign state. Secondly, it would be a service to the much abused British Commonwealth to which we Canadians belong and in which we believe, if the world could be brought to realize that our freedom has been fully achieved within its wide and generous bounds.

Publicity is a normal function of the modern state. Such activities can, of course, assume disquieting forms. The Soviet Ministry of Information is, I believe, officially styled the Department of Propaganda and Agitation. Its methods are not ours. But it is a privilege, and indeed a duty of a modern state to give to other peoples some knowledge of its institutions and affairs, and to maintain the machinery necessary to this end.

We belong to the international organization with a formidable title just established to deal with such matters. UNESCO, to use the alphabetical name it has assumed in accordance with the current (and, I hope, passing) fashion, was formed, as you will recall, especially to encourage interchanges between nations in the field of culture as a means of their mutual understanding. It has recently met in Paris and Canada was there. I was interested in a comment which a shrewd Frenchwoman made in a private letter in referring to this meeting of UNESCO: "If régne encore un certain désordre avec beaucoup de bonne volonté". We can forgive the initial disorder if the good will remains. UNESCO is a gallant effort; we should wish it well. But I have no intention of discussing it tonight, except to suggest that it has a special importance to us because it will encourage us-indeed it will impel usto promise a greater knowledge of Canada abroad. No one can now say that an effort to make the world aware of our activities in the fields of science and literature and the arts is not a normal and seemly undertaking which can offend nobody. Canada still lags behind most countries in this sphere in which we must conform, as we have done in others, to the practice of modern states.

The machinery we require must be set up not only in the sphere of government, where indeed the foundations have already been laid, but in the non-governmental sphere. British experience will help us solve this problem. Many of you no doubt know of the body which exists to tell the world about the British way of life—a welcome and important undertaking when the air is so full of Communist propaganda; welcome and much needed. The world knows far too little of British achievement. Publicity does not come easily to a country given to understatement. For instance, how much knowledge is there of the vital contribution which the scientists of Britain made to victory? Those of you who worked with them will know. The British Council, which exists to tell the story of Britain, although it derives its funds from the public exchequer, is free from departmental control. Its budget is large and its prestige high. We need some such body here, and urgently.

Such efforts will not only help to show other nations what manner of folk we are, which they cannot learn simply from the exports of grain and pulp and metals. They will do something more. They will help us understand ourselves. There is I believe a sound pedagogical principle to the effect that you can learn a thing best by teaching it. As we tell the story of our own national life, its rich and varied texture will become plainer to ourselves. This is a good moment for self-examination. We have concluded a great effort which drew on all our resources to the fullest extent. We now ask ourselves what lies ahead of us. What is the next chapter to be? It is fitting that such a spate of books should be appearing today

with the object of appraising Canada. The psychiatrists of course always warn people against introspection. But the theologian, on the other hand, encourages a searching of soul. I have no wish to enter on the slippery ground of this controversy, but you will agree, I hope, that national soul-searching is no bad thing. Self-consciousness is to be avoided by individuals. But with a national community it is different, for without consciousness of itself it would cease to exist. So let us ask ourselves what we are, and why. The results will be usefully reflected in the conduct of our affairs abroad.

We can never afford to neglect the past. Joseph Howe told us only four years after Confederation was achieved that "a wise nation. . .fosters national pride and love of country by perpetual reference to the sacrifices and glories of the past." We can derive comfort and assurance from those Canadians of an earlier age who had faith in their future; a faith that has been justified. You can catch the glow of their vision even through the musty pages of Hansard. We can also find deep satisfaction in the speeches of their opponents—the men of little faith—in seeing how wrong they were. In the debates on Confederation there were many derisive references by persons who no doubt called themselves practical men, to the idea that Canada could ever become a nation. "Our new nationality", said one of them with scorn, "would be nothing but a name". Goldwin Smith was the prophet of the pessimists of a later period. His name may now be almost forgotten, for men of negative mind, however able, do not easily hold a place in the scroll of history. Smith, who could see no future for Canada as an individual country, took refuge, like so many of his cast of mind, in continentalism, the barren view that Canada's survival was a vain hope even if she had traditions that were worth preserving, and that absorption in the United States was foreordained. The building of the C.P.R.—an enterprise which we regard as a great expression of our faith in our own future-aroused Goldwin Smith's derision. As one historian says, "He believed that the taking into Confederation of the great distant stretches of western prairie and of the still more distant province of British Columbia had produced a geographical structure in which no real unity was possible, and that the attempt to bind these vast territories together by the C.P.R. would bankrupt the country."

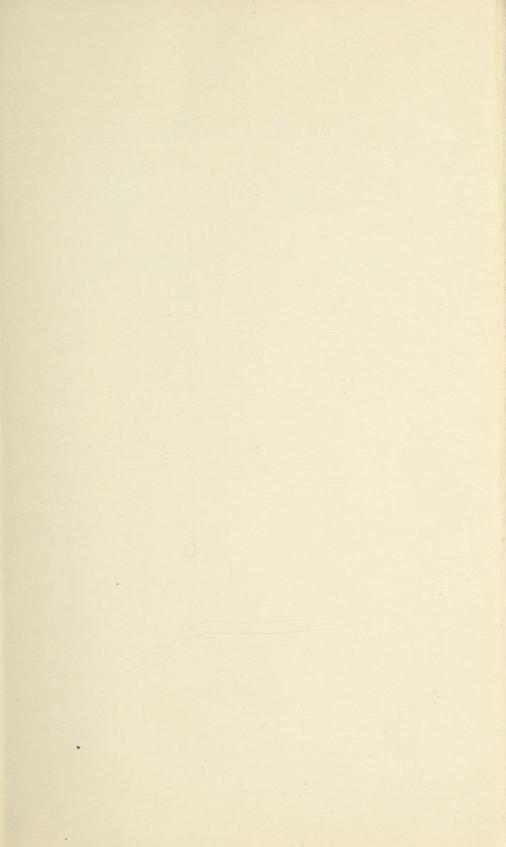
So much for one Cassandra. But the faint-hearted and short-sighted were many. Lord Dufferin, who was here as Governor-General in the 70's felt moved to say: "It may be doubted whether the inhabitants of the Dominion are themselves yet fully awake to the magnificent destiny in store for them." Perhaps this was from one of Dufferin's speeches which Goldwin Smith politely described as "elegant flummery". But by the time the century closed, men saw the fulfilment of D'Arcy McGee's prophecy when he said: "I see in the not remote distance one great nationality, bound like the shield of Achilles, by the blue rim of ocean". We can accept the rhetorical language of that day when it expressed conviction and above all came true.

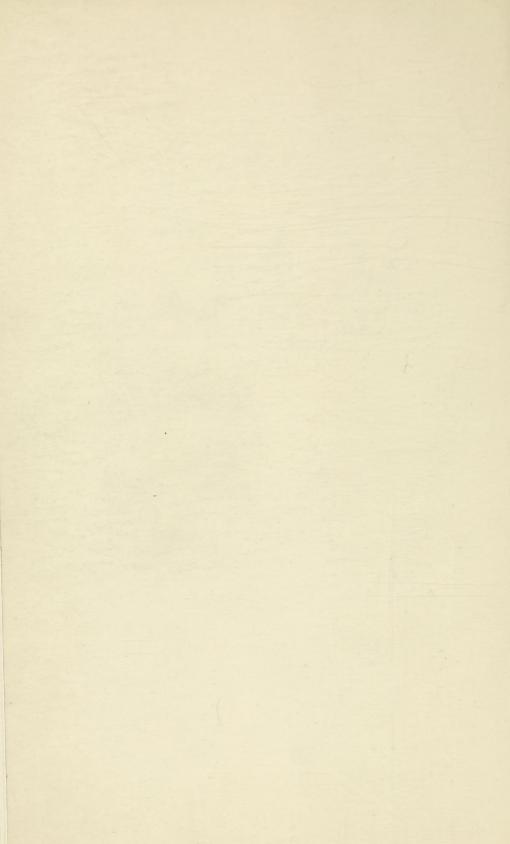
The vision which called forth so much scorn is now a matter of orthodox faith. We believe in Canada as a matter of course. It is well to remember, however, that a religion is always in danger when it is automatically taken for granted. So it is with political faith. While it has not to contend with foes from without, it may suffer from inertia within. McGee was bold enough to say in 1862may I quote him once more?—"When I hear our young men say as proudly, 'Our Federation', 'Our Country' or 'Our Kingdom' as the young men of other countries do, speaking of their own, then I shall have less apprehensions for the result of whatever trials the future may have in store for us". What are the tests of McGee's formula? I should be sorry if the celebration of our national festival was one of them. Why does the first of July seem to mean so much less to us than the fourth of July to the Americans or the fourteenth of July to the French? Was the event commemorated less dramatic? Are our people less given to demonstration? Have we a less active historical sense? Perhaps that is the reason. If we abandon the old name, "Dominion Day" for some new and meaningless phrase will it be because we have forgotten the significance of that day in 1867 when we took that first great step towards full nationhood? In effect, we have of course long since outgrown the original meaning of the word 'Dominion', but why should we not duly honour the anniversary of the occasion when we became one—not necessarily with firecrackers but certainly with conviction? It can help us to understand our foundations and the influences which have given us shape.

The makers of Confederation were well aware of those influences—of our dual parentage, heredity and environ-Most countries are of course the offspring of a union between history and geography, but history plays a larger part with us than with many. Heredity in Canada modifies the effect of physical environment. It is a basic fact that we have two cultures-English and Frenchbut it is also true that we have one political traditionand that comes from Great Britain. Whatever language we speak, we are the heirs of that legacy. The two streams of influence which shape our thinking are very different not only in their origin but in their character. We are a North American nation and we derive many advantages from that fact. The fact itself is immutable and nothing can change it. We will always be a neighbour of the United States, living in the same physical climate and subject to the forces which belong to our neighbourhood. the other hand, the heritage we have received from Great Britain is only ours so long as we cherish it, and in this respect the facts of geography are always against us. It is a truism to say that Canada is vitally concerned with the relations between the United States and Britain. We have indeed a vested interest in Anglo-American friendship. It is natural that the role of interpreter between the two which we are called upon to play should have been the subject of much oratory over the years. But there is more in it than rhetoric. We know both better than either knows the other. But the fact is that we have less firsthand knowledge of Britain than we have of the United States. It is therefore harder to be her interpreter than to be that of our neighbour. Yet if in a modest way we are to keep open a bridge between these two great countries we must concern ourselves with what goes on at both ends of the bridge, and Great Britain, let us remember, is at one of them.

But it is less important to interpret the views of other countries than to state our own, and to have views to state. If we keep alive in our minds the traditions we have from Britain, it will not only keep us a balanced interpreter, but it will help us to make our own natural and unique contribution as a national community. 'Traditions' is a a vague word. I am not referring only to those concrete institutions, parliamentary and judicial that we have inherited, which are lasting things, but to those more intangible ways of thinking that we also have from Great Britain, which will evaporate if we do not remain aware of them. M. Andre Siegfried in his book on Canada published just before the war, asked a very searching question: "With an American culture whose centre of gravity lies outside Canada's frontiers, is it possible to found a lasting Canadian nation?" My answer to that query is a confident 'Yes' but endless volumes could be written on the subject. How are we to preserve those subtle but very real differences which distinguish us from the United States and give us our own significance here in North America? How can we prevent an erosion of our Canadianism? Only by reason of constant and unremitting effort, and back of this effort must be the awareness of the differences. The lightest straw can show us the direction of the wind, as we can learn from certain recent incidents. In two places in Canada Negro citizens of this country have recently suffered from disabilities purely as a result of their racial origin. Not long ago the appeal judges in two Canadian murder cases made grave comments on the practices of the police in extracting statements from the accused which played an important part in both convictions. This is disquieting. There are many things we can learn from the United States, but race discrimination and certain police methods are not on the list. There is a serious warning in these incidents for Canada and Canadians. It is wise to borrow ideas from the United States when they fit into our own pattern. It is foolish to imitate practices across the border or anywhere else without discrimination. Wise Americans—and I remember their advice when I lived in Washington—tell us to be ourselves; to carry on our own national experiment here in North America, from which they are kind enough to say they can learn, as we know we can learn from them. The advice of Polonius applies to nations as well as persons: "To thine own self be true".

Our attitude to affairs abroad will be firm and constructive in proportion to the interest which the average man and woman takes in the subject. In both wars our national sense of responsibility rose fully and splendidly to the challenge. But between the wars when danger seemed remote again, we reverted to our old easy-going habits. If our approach to world problems was generally negative and often fumbling, was it because we as a people had accepted only in theory the importance of these things to our daily lives? If we now want Canada to play a responsible part in the world at large, it is for us to play a responsible part as individuals at home. Many references have been made of late to the meagre time devoted in our parliament to consideration of foreign affairs-often little more than a hasty debate in the expiring hours of a long session. But we live in a democracy and if we deem these things important, that will be reflected in the parliament which represents us, not only through the men we send there, but also through the direct expression of our views as well. Thus also the quality of our thinking will be reflected—provided we think. The links between the individual and the community are very close, so is the parallel between them. Self-respect lies behind any person's influence in society. So it is with nations. The greater our pride and belief in this country, the greater the part we can play. And in thinking about Canada let me say again, we should not forget the background. There lies our inspiration. We cannot build our future without knowing and respecting the past. You remember what Antonio said in "The Tempest": "What's past is prologue". Prologue to what? you may ask as Canadians. I can only say this to the members of this college: We look to you and to those of your generation throughout this country to give us the answer.





McGILL UNIVERSITY

MACDONALD COLLEGE

SECOND ANNUAL WAR MEMORIAL ASSEMBLY

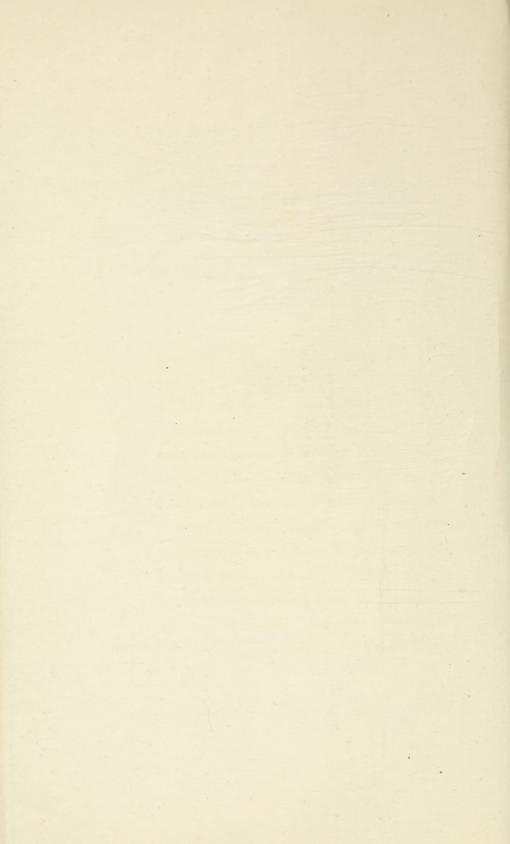


ADDRESS BY THE VISITOR

FIELD MARSHAL THE RIGHT HONOURABLE VISCOUNT ALEXANDER OF TUNIS, K.G.

GOVERNOR-GENERAL OF CANADA

FEBRUARY 26th, 1948





The Macdonald College War Memorial commemorates the many Macdonald men and women who served in two World Wars and the seventy-four who gave their lives. It consists of a series of annual Addresses, of which this is the second, and a Memorial Entrance to the Library. The express purpose of the addresses is to promote an understanding of national and world affairs, and to inspire future Macdonald men and women to do their part toward the maintenance of freedom, tolerance and the improvement of human relationships.

These Gave Their Lives

1914 - 18

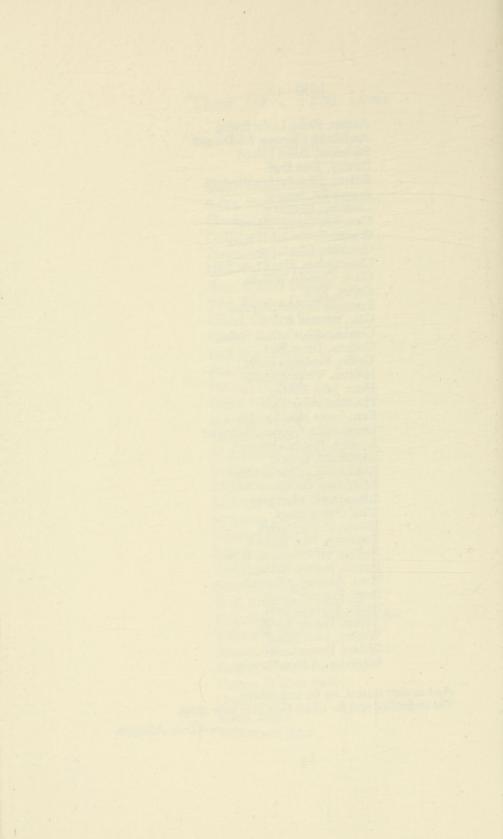
Bailey, Hugh Courtney Bailey, Hugh Reginald Dowson Chatfield, Percy Charles Collingwood, Gordon Francis Dashwood, John Lovell Dean, George Frederick Dyer, Charles Edward Ford, William Dalgleish Gilson, Gordon Wyman Hacker, James MacMillan Hackshaw, Cecil Hamilton, Robert H. Harvey, William Lamb, William Sterling Levin, Morris T. Longworth, Frederick John McCormick, James Hugh McDiarmid, Duncan David MacFarlane, John Reid McLagan, Patrick Douglas McLaren, Quentin MacRae, Douglas Muldrew, W. Harold Murphy, Allan I. Portelance, Joseph Reid, Benjamin Trenholme Richardson, Julius Jeffrey Gordon Robertson, Harry Sansom, George Shearer, William Dumaresq Turner, William Henry Upton, Lionel Viane, Edgar Williamson, John

1939 - 45

Archer, Philip Leslie Irving Archibald, Clarence McDougall Bachelder, Allen Leland Barclay, John Duff Birkett, John Evelyn Wreford Brissenden, Joseph Cameron, Donald Cameron, George Everett Campbell, Gordon Dunlap Candlish, John Muir Chamberlain, Harold Arthur Clark, Garfield William Colley, John Eastman, Donald Mervyn Gale, Edward B. Goodenough, Carlton Stokes Gorham, James Rist Griffin, Frederick Philip Hillrich, Vincent Philip Horn, John d'Arcy Houston, Allan Dale Kerr, Louis Noel Lyndon Lewthwaite, George Alexander Longley, Harold Graham McDonald, Donald MacLennan, Charles Grant Matthews, George May, David Merriman Ness, Alvin James Pascoe, Philip Jocelyn Patterson, John Richard Phillips, Neil Seymour Hunter Porritt, Robert Arthur Ross, Alexander Bentick Scott, Eugene Claude Smith, Kenneth Hew Taylor, Harold Alvan Watson, John James Wilson, Denys Leslie Woolaver, Allison Stewart

And us they trusted, we the task inherit, The unfinished task for which their lives were spent.

-C. A. Alington.



HOW THE PRINCIPLES OF WAR CAN BE APPLIED TO PEACE

Field Marshal The Right Honourable Viscount Alexander of Tunis, K.G.

On this historic occasion when we are gathered here to commemorate the many men and women of Macdonald College who served in the two World Wars, and to honour the memory of the seventy-four who gave their lives, I feel deeply honoured for the privilege of addressing you tonight.

Those names which are inscribed in the Book of Remembrance, which has just been unveiled, were those of great Canadians. They were citizens who were willing to give all they had for their country. We honour them, and I need not say that this generation and those who come after us will ever remember them and their deeds.

During the recent World War, I had the good fortune to command Canadian soldiers in battle. And amongst all the many fighting men of the different nations which composed my Army Group, none played a more gallant and distinguished part in our victory than Canada's own sons—your countrymen. Those days now belong to the past, and glorious as they were they will only be lived again when old warriors get together to exchange their reminiscences or be brought to life once more in the pages of history books, Therefore, tonight we will say "farewell to the past" and direct our thoughts to the problems of the present and the future.

In choosing a title for my address to you this evening, I have been to some extent influenced by the occasion which brings us together on this Second Annual War Memorial Assembly, but perhaps even more so by my experiences as a soldier over the past thirty-seven years. I hope, therefore, that some of my observations, based on that background, may prove of some value to you in helping find a solution to the manifold problems which face us today.

Most people of this generation have a very sincere dread and hatred of war. The word "war" scares them. Now, I think it very important that we are quite clear in our minds what this word, war, means. It is not a curious phenomenon which arrives suddenly by itself and strikes us down like a thunderbolt. War is no more peculiar than peace — they are both conditions. War is simply the extension, by other means, of the ends which a nation hopes to gain by peaceful means. Clausevitz said "War is the continuation of policy by other means". The sharp cleavage, therefore, which many envisage existing between war and peace is not so sharply defined after all. It is a transition only, whereby the methods change but the objects remain the same.

I would ask you to dwell on this point, and in your study of past history and of day to day events, maintain a proper perspective because it is greatly influenced by this fact which I have just mentioned. No doubt some of you have read the memoirs of the statesmen who held high office before World War II, and you will see from their observations that so called peaceful events foreshadowed those darker ones to come. Since the beginning of time, the conduct of war has been governed by certain principles and strangely enough these principles have remained immutable despite the advance of science and the change

of methods in warfare down through the ages. Tonight I am going to enumerate these principles of war and suggest to you how they can be applied to the rules of peace.

A principle may be defined as a fundamental truth which will serve as a basis for reasoning and which, in turn, will result in the evolution of a general law guiding subsequent action. Now the first and paramount principle of war is the selection and maintenance of the objective—or aim. This must be regarded as the master principle to which all others must be subservient. It is, therefore, essential in the conduct of war as a whole, and in every operation of war, to select and clearly define the aim. Each phase and each separate operation must be directed towards the achievement of this supreme aim. Naturally each operation will have its own limited objective, but taken as a sum, all operations are designed to gain the desired goal. Operations which do not enhance the achievement of the ultimate goal are worse than useless.

On the 10th August, 1943, Mr. Winston Churchill handed me a directive written in his own hand which read as follows: 1. "Your prime and main duty will be to take or destroy, at the earliest opportunity, the German-Italian Army commanded by Field Marshal Rommel, together with all its supplies and establishments in Egypt and Libya. 2. "You will discharge or cause to be discharged such other duties as pertain to your Command without prejudice to the task in paragraph (1) which must be considered paramount in His Majesty's interests." There is no mistaking what was wanted here. You will note that the first paragraph defined beyond any shadow of doubt what the "aim" was. And the second paragraph ensured

that the maintenance of the aim was not to be prejudiced under any circumstances.

Many of you here tonight may think that the selection and maintenance of an aim is much easier in war than it is in peace. Whether that be so or not is beside the point. Let us for argument's sake assume that the selection of an aim in peace time is difficult—that is no reason why it should be avoided. The hard fact remains that he who chooses an aim and sticks to it will make his way in lifeand he who does not will drift aimlessly like a ship without a rudder. Of course, I cannot venture to suggest towards what specific goal you should direct yourselves—that is a matter for each individual to decide for himself. That free choice of action is one of the great blessings of our way of life in Canada and one of our most cherished possessions. But I can say this: If every individual has a clear purpose in life and is prepared to work for it, he will not only benefit himself, but achieve the great aim of making his country happier, stronger and more prosperous. In concluding my remarks on this principle of war, and of peace, I suggest you ask yourselves: "Have I selected my aim, and if so, am I maintaining my course towards it?" If the answer is "no"—then reassess your position and correct your course.

Another principle of war which has its counterpart in peace is—"the maintenance of morale". History affords endless examples that success in war depends more on moral attributes than on material possessions. I do not want you to misunderstand that statement because numbers, armament and resources are essential ingredients of victory, but alone they cannot compensate for lack of courage, energy, determination, skill and the bold offensive

spirit which springs from pride of race and a national determination to conquer.

Today we are faced with problems at home and abroad, the solution of which will demand every bit as much courage, energy and determination as were required to win the war. If we display less of these qualities, we will drift and gradually sink downwards and others will rise above us. It is only human nature to feel sometimes depressed and discouraged when we gaze out on the world today. But when you feel like that, just think of the difficulties which your forbears overcame to make Canada the country you enjoy in 1948. It was only their high morale that made this great achievement possible, for certainly those early pioneers were not blessed with many of the worldly goods such as: tools, instruments, railways and power installations which we all take for granted today. The principle or morale, therefore, is just as important in peace as it is in war and takes a fitting place beside the first principle I gave you.

And now for the third principle: "offensive action". This is the necessary forerunner of victory; it may be delayed, but until the initiative is seized and the offensive taken, victory is impossible. No fight was ever won by sitting down. It is the same in civil life. Success can only come to individuals and to nations if they are prepared to take the offensive against those conditions and circumstances which bar the way to progress. Unless we, as individuals and as a nation, are willing to accept the challenge which confronts us, we are doomed; we either beat the challenge or we succumb to it.

Our next principle is—"security". A sufficient degree of security is essential in order to obtain freedom of action

to launch a bold offensive in pursuit of the selected aim. This entails adequate defence of vulnerable bases and other interests which are vital to the nation or the armed forces. Security does not imply undue caution and avoidance of all risks. On the contrary, once we have established a firm base, developments are unlikely to interfere seriously with the pursuit of a vigorous offensive. Now, how do we interpret this in civil life? I think it means simply that as we go along we should build on a firm foundation. It means also that each invidivual must, so far as he is able, be a self-reliant and self-sustaining member of the community. He must not expect someone else to look after him if, by his own efforts, he is capable of looking after himself. And nationally, I think it means the broadening of this same individual philosophy. We must ensure that our home base is secure against threats from within as well as from without. I do not propose to dwell on the need of armed forces in time of peace, for I think it requires no emphasis on my part to stress that we must be secure in the broadest national sense if we are to be sure that our own way of life will not again be threatened.

"Surprise" is yet another principle which has a most effective and powerful influence in war, and its moral effect is very great. Every endeavour must be made to surprise the enemy whilst guarding against being surprised oneself. By the use of surprise, results out of all proportion to the effort expended can be obtained, and in some operations when other factors are unfavourable, surprise may be essential to success. Surprise can be achieved strategically, tactically, or by exploiting new weapons or material. The elements of surprise are—secrecy, concealment, deception, originality, audacity and rapidity. We, in Canada, have no desire to surprise with an ulterior motive, any

nation. We do not, on the other hand, wish to be surprised ourselves either at home or abroad by some act or political movement which is detrimental to our well-being as a nation. To guard against this, we must keep forever alert so that we may not be caught napping. As you are well aware, in many countries abroad subversive action has been carried on under cover and to such an extent that when disclosed it was already too late to do much about it. We do not want that to happen here. Therefore, we must guard against being surprised.

To achieve success in war, it is essential to concentrate superior force, moral and material, to that of the enemy at the decisive time and place. This is known as the principle of "concentration of force". Concentration does not necessarily imply a massing of forces, but rather having them so disposed as to be able to unite them rapidly to deliver a decisive blow when and where required or to counter the enemy's threat.

If we look on the enemy in peacetime as any or all of the problems which require solution for the advancement of our people and the betterment of our country, this principle simply means that we should select first things first and concentrate our efforts in that direction—rather than disperse our energy by riding off in all directions at once. For example, in your case as individuals, I would say that while you are within these walls your primary objective is to obtain your degree and to that end you will no doubt require to concentrate your forces against that well known enemy, the final examinations.

In larger fields we see may good examples of this principle. Take, for instance, the Community Chests throughout

Canada. Here we see many charitable organizations which were previously working independently and appealing for funds at various times and for various purposes, now concentrated against the enemy, Poverty. And in a wider field still, we find the United Nations knit together with the aim and with the hope that by concentration of effort they may achieve a lasting peace.

This brings us logically to the principle of "economy of effort." In war a commander rarely has men or material to spare for all he would wish to do. Consequently, he must use for any one task only the requisite force capable of dealing with the situation. There are many applications of this principle. But one is that we should not squander our natural resources in order to obtain a result that could be equally well attained by better methods and with less waste. This is a principle which applies to most phases of our life and is just as important to success in peace as it is in war.

And then there is "administration", if we can call it a principle. Good administration in war makes it possible for the commander to have the maximum freedom of action in carrying out his plan and of applying the other principles which I have enumerated. Bad administration will cripple the best laid plans and the results will be ruinous rather than successful. I need not stress what an important role good administration, both economic and political, plays in the affairs of the individual, the nation, and indeed the whole world. We are witnessing today a global order whose administration has been so disrupted by war, that even plans based on the highest humanitarian motives are almost impotent because the administrative machinery

for carrying them out is broken down and rusty. Efforts are being made by UNESCO, the Marshall Plan and other measures to restore this machinery so that the world's administration may be restored and the world's troubles thereby alleviated.

The last but one of our principles is the "principle of flexibility". Modern war demands a high degree of flexibility to enable prearranged plans to be altered to meet changing situations and unexpected developments. This entails good training, organization, discipline and staff work and, above all, that flexibility of mind which gives rapidity of decision on the part of both the commander and his subordinates, which, in turn, ensures that time is never lost. It calls also for physical mobility of a high order, both strategically and tactically, so that forces can be concentrated rapidly and economically at the decisive time and place. We must be prepared to alter our plans quickly once it becomes evident that circumstances demand it. How often do we find in every day life that the course which seemed best, when it was originally set, is no longer the best. It is then that we must be prepared to alter it to meet new factors, which changing economic conditions at home or abroad have produced. Once the necessity for change becomes evident, it is worse than useless to bemoan what might have been. Let us rather grasp the new opportunity offered us and act with prompt decision.

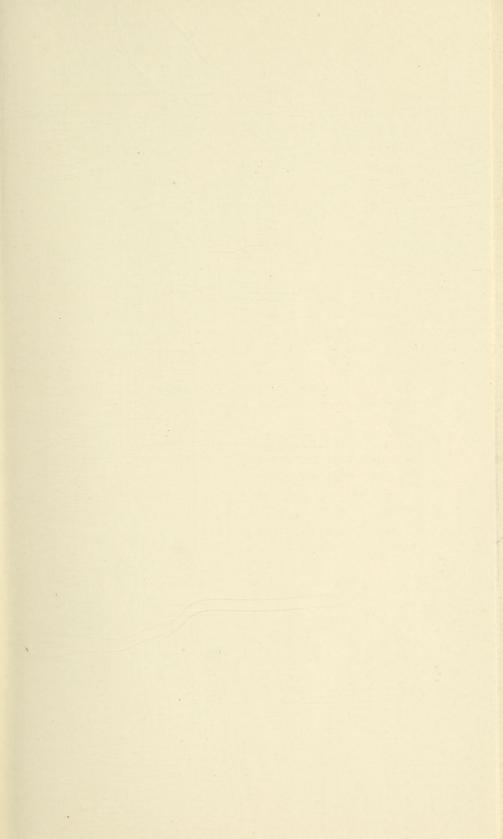
Finally, we come to the last principle of all, but one of extreme importance, "the principle of co-operation". In the Services, co-operation is based on team spirit and entails co-ordination of all units so as to achieve the maximum combined effort from the whole. Above all, goodwill and the desire to co-operate are essential at all levels.

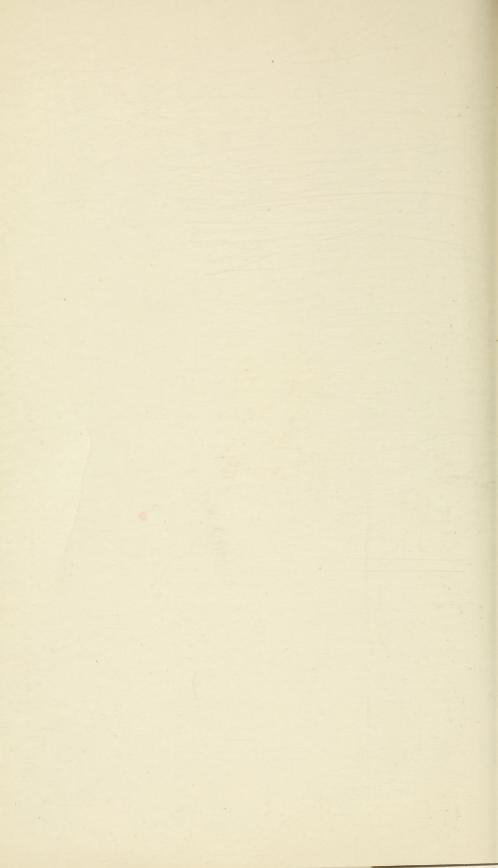
The increased interdependence of the services on one another and on the civilian war effort at home, has made co-operation a matter of vital importance in modern war. This is one of the great principles which applies, without modification, just as much to peace as it does to war. The greatest world organization for peace will stand or fail on that principle. Unless the spirit of co-operation can be nurtured and grow within the Assembly of the United Nations, the maximum combined effort for peace cannot be attained.

Closer home, we see a spirit of co-operation which is an example to the whole world. Never before have the nations of the Commonwealth stood more staunchly by each other than during the recent world war, whilst today, Canada bridges the Old World and the New, bringing two great peace-loving and democratic racial groups into close contact with each other.

We must see that this great spirit of co-operation is never impaired or weakened, but rather that it be steadily strengthened and improved. And let us never forget that co-operation at home here in Canada is equally important if Canada is to grow and develop into a major power, as I believe to be her destiny.

We who are here tonight have the means and the responsibility to contribute our share to the destiny of Canada and to the peace of the world. If we do our duty, we will at least have discharged our responsibility to those countrymen of ours whose names are forever honoured in that Book of Memory.





McGILL UNIVERSITY

MACDONALD COLLEGE

THIRD ANNUAL WAR MEMORIAL ASSEMBLY

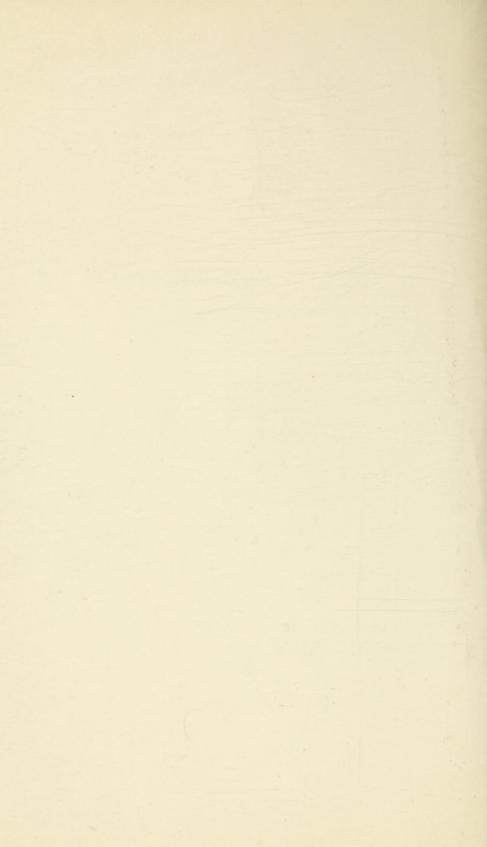


ADDRESS

BY

LEONARD W. BROCKINGTON

MARCH 9th, 1949





The Macdonald College War Memorial commemorates the many Macdonald men and women who served in two World Wars and the seventy-four who gave their lives. It consists of a series of annual Addresses, of which this is the third, and a Memorial Entrance to the Library. The express purpose of the addresses is to promote an understanding of national and world affairs, and to inspire future Macdonald men and women to do their part toward the maintenance of freedom, tolerance and the improvement of human relationships.

These Gave Their Lives

1914-1918

Bailey, Hugh Courtney Bailey, Hugh Reginald Dowson Chatfield, Percy Charles Collingwood, Gordon Francis Dashwood, John Lovell Dean, George Frederick Dyer, Charles Edward Ford, William Dalgleish Gilson, Gordon Wyman Hacker, James MacMillan Hackshaw, Cecil Hamilton, Robert H. Harvey, William Lamb, William Sterling Levin, Morris T. Longworth, Frederick John McCormick, James Hugh McDiarmid, Duncan David MacFarlane, John Reid McLagan, Patrick Douglas McLaren, Quentin MacRae, Douglas Muldrew, W. Harold Murphy, Allan I. Portelance, Joseph Reid, Benjamin Trenholme Richardson, Julius Jeffrey Gordon Robertson, Harry Sansom, George Shearer, William Dumaresq Turner, William Henry Upton, Lionel Viane, Edgar Williamson, John

1939-1945

Archer, Philip Leslie Irving Archibald, Clarence McDougall Bachelder, Allen Leland Barclay, John Duff Birkett, John Evelyn Wreford Brissenden, Joseph Cameron, Donald Cameron, George Everett Campbell, Gordon Dunlap Candlish, John Muir Chamberlain, Harold Arthur Clark, Garfield William Colley, John Eastman, Donald Mervyn Gale, Edward B. Goodenough, Carlton Stokes Gorham, James Rist Griffin, Frederick Philip Hillrich, Vincent Philip Horn, John d'Arcy Houston, Allan Dale Kerr, Louis Noel Lyndon Lewthwaite, George Alexander Longley, Harold Graham McDonald, Donald MacLennan, Charles Grant Matthews, George May, David Merriman Ness, Alvin James Pascoe, Philip Jocelyn Patterson, John Richard Phillips, Neil Seymour Hunter Porritt, Robert Arthur Ross, Alexander Bentick Scott, Eugene Claude Smith, Kenneth Hew Taylor, Harold Alvan Watson, John James Wilson, Denys Leslie Woolaver, Allison Stewart

And us they trusted, we the task inherit, The unfinished task for which their lives were spent.

-C. A. Alington.

BUILDING A NATION

Leonard W. Brockington

Mr. Chancellor, Mr. Principal, Ladies and Gentlemen:

I thank you for the honour of your invitation and the courtesy of your welcome. No man like myself could speak in this hall at this time in this cause without a sense of unworthiness and the humility that is and should be its companion.

Here famous men have spoken before me. As the years pass many famous men will speak after me. I hope it is not unfitting that the great succession should be interrupted by a citizen whose only claim to be allowed to talk to you is that he shares with you a love for the land whose bravest sons are honoured by this foundation.

Throughout the ages men have made memorials for those who died in battle. Sometimes these memorials have been deathless epitaphs commemorating those who clad themselves in the dust of darkness that their Country might live. This for example, on the men who fell at Thermopylae.

"Oh passer-by, tell the men of Sparta that here we lie—obeying their orders".

Great funeral orations have sounded in noble accents on the lips of famous men.

Triumphal arches, and lonely cairns, altars, and funeral monuments have been built in many historic lands to honour the unfading memory of great heroes.

And in these days of our own generations, darkened by the shadows of two great wars, there have been raised the Tombs of the Unknown Soldiers in London, Paris, and Washington, the Cenotaph in London, the Peace Tower in Ottawa, the little clock tower at Wainright in Alberta, fashioned of the coloured stones gathered by the returning soldiers from the homesteads of those who sleep far from their beloved plains, the majestic Menin Gate where a great army stood and where through the ages the bugle call will sound Reveille in the sunrise and "The Last Post" in the sunset, those sacred acres of French soil on the ridge of Vimy which are forever Canada, and the noble war Memorial carved from the rock of the castle of Edinburgh where the pride and sorrow of Scotland for her sons and daughters blossom in the everlasting flowers of her eternal granite.

Have you noticed that the great War Memorials of our day, just as the celebrations of this day, are really temples not of the remembered great but of the unforgotten humble? Our own memorials hold particular remembrance of the Unknown Soldier, the warrior who has no known burying place; the man of the tattered battalion who fought till he died; the airman from the little street where the nobodies live; the Canadian sailor from the western homestead who ploughed furrows of which he never dreamed when he watched the wandering gulls wheeling over the waves of the broken prairie.

Amongst the ways which men have taken to hold in remembrance those who gave their lives for their country, the memorial which you have chosen deserves men's praise. For I would ever think it a good way that leads men and women to talk and think of their motherland, of the great things that join them together in loyalty and devotion, of their duties towards their neighbours and to all the children of men.

Wise and good men have often said that the true immortality of the hero is not in stone or bronze however

imperishable it may be. It is in the hearts of men for heroes are not dead when they live in our memory and are visited by our proud thoughts.

No phrase is more often spoken, when the men who died to save us are praised, than the thanksgiving that the agonies of heroes built our nation. I know of no words where that truth was proclaimed with more noble eloquence than those of our great poet, Duncan Campbell Scott, whose verses are things of Canadian beauty and Canadian joy forever.

O noble youth that held our honour in keeping, And bore it sacred through the battle flame, How shall we give full measure of acclaim To thy sharp labour, thy immortal reaping? For though we sowed with doubtful hands, half sleeping, Thou in thy vivid pride hast reaped a nation, And brought it in with shouts and exaltation, With drums and trumpets, with flags flashing and leaping.

Because he wrote those words, because many men think those things and believe them, I have chosen tonight to scatter a few random thoughts in a few unworthy sentences on the subject of this Canadian nation whose strongest foundations are the sacrifices of men who did not fear to enter the darkness "because they walked by a light within themselves". It was my honour during the war to see and talk with many of them in distant places. Before their eyes was always a vision of the lakes and prairies, the rivers and mountains of Canada; on their lips in many accents the magic of her name; in their hearts a dreaming of little things at home. And as I speak to you I hope you will always remember how much nobler are the things which those men did than any words which any man can speak.

On the 7th day of April, 1868, on a corner of the street in Ottawa where I have my office, a man was murdered. Those who killed him carried in their hearts the hates of

an ancient feud. He who was murdered died a martyr to reconciliation, unity and mercy. Often when I pass the spot where he fell I recall him and some of the sentences which he spoke. To have heard him must have been an exaltation. For he was one of the fathers of our country, the most eloquent of those who gazed with prophetic vision into her future, a man whose grave, like so many graves, is a pulpit from which noble words will sound in this land forever. His name of course was Thomas D'Arcy McGee. I am going to read to you, if you will allow me, three passages from his speeches. The first perhaps may sound a little ornate and familiar because the mintage of its gold has been debased by many lesser and more flamboyant men on less worthy occasions than the time which he chose for its utterance.

"I look to the future of my adopted country with hope though not without anxiety; I see in the not remote distance one great nationality bound, like the shield of Achilles, by the blue rim of ocean-I see it quartered into many communities—each disposing of its internal affairs—but all bound together by free institutions, free intercourse, and free commerce; I see within the round of that shield, the peaks of the western mountains and the crests of the eastern waves—the winding Assiniboine, the five-fold lakes, the St. Lawrence, the Ottawa, the Saguenay, the St. John and the basin of Minas-by all these flowing waters in all the valleys they fertilize, in all the cities they visit in their courses, I see a generation of industrious, contented, moral men, free in name and in fact-men capable of maintaining, in peace and in war, a constitution worthy of such a country."

The second is the most eloquent plea for equal citizenship, the most kindly welcome to the stranger, and the most trenchant implied condemnation of racialism that any Canadian has ever made. I repeat it whenever I can and make no apology for recalling it to the hearts and minds of the descendants of many races who are joined in the brotherhood and the sisterhood of this great university.

"Dear, most justly dear to every land beneath the sun, are the children born in her bosom and nursed upon her breast; but when the man of another country, wherever born, speaking whatever speech, holding whatever creed, seeks out a country to serve and honour and cleave to, in weal or in woe-when he heaves up the anchor of his heart from its old moorings, and lays at the feet of the mistress of his choice, his new country, all the hopes of his ripe manhood, he establishes by such devotion a claim to consideration not second even to that of the children of the soil. He is their brother delivered by a new birth from the dark-wombed Atlantic ship that ushers him into existence in the new world; he stands by his own election among the children of the household; and narrow and unwise is that species of public spirit which, in the perverted name of patriotism, would refuse him all he asks-'a fair field and no favour' ".

And this the last, is the advocacy of one of the best forms of nationalism of which I know. An appeal made over eighty years ago, an appeal that needs repeating in this year 1949. It asks for a recognition and encouragement of all the artistry of words and music and painting and sculpture which together contribute to an interpretation of our country, to the understanding and enjoyment of its beauties and to our gifts to the heritage of all mankind.

"All we have to do is, each for himself, to keep down dissensions which can only weaken, impoverish and keep back the country; each for himself do all he can to increase its wealth, its strength and its reputation; each for himself—you and you, gentlemen, and all of us—to welcome every talent, to hail every invention, to cherish every gem of art, to foster every natural gift, to lift ourselves to the level of our destinies, to rise above all low limitations and narrow circumscriptions, to cultivate that true catholicity of spirit which embraces all creeds, all classes and all races, in order to make of our boundless land, so rich in known and unknown resources, a great new Northern nation".

I suppose no nation started with greater difficulties than ours. The things that make for dissidences and differences were all there as a confusion to progress and an obstacle to unity. The differences of race, of religion, of language, of economic interests, of life and living in a continental land widely spread, acutely separated, hard to unite, hard to govern, a problem for the law giver and the law enforcer. For ours was a country of tempestuous and heroic youth. The English poet, Rupert Brooke, said of our lonely and distant places that the air was almost unbreathed and that a man walked into them as though he were the first explorer. Here we still remain people of the frontier with all the neighbourliness of men and women whom the accident of adventure has brought together in one brave company, and many of the dangers and difficulties that belong in the war against the wild

places of the earth.

What more varied and colourful procession throughout the ages has there been than the panorama of Canada? Let us recall that procession that flows from Canada's first building, Jacques Cartier's wooden cross in Gaspe, to the uranium plant at Chalk River, from the cutting of the little lazy Rideau Canal built in far-away days as the great defence work against invasion from the United States to the chain of northern airfields and radar stations, alert against any winged Cossacks who may dream of casting their red shadows on the Arctic snows that shine at our gates. I like sometimes to summon up the proud procession of Canada. May I do it in your presence? Her mariners, French and English, her first settlers in New France, her Holy and humble men of heart who brought the bread of heaven and the cross of Joan of Arc, the devoted women who carried with them compassion and mercy, the busy merchant, the explorer who first heard God's whisper beyond the hills, the tough fur trader, the Highland soldier bringing with him the wisdom of the Western Seas, the Hanoverian, the Loyalist who lost an Empire and found a Commonwealth, your great grandfathers and great grandmothers who braved everything for our sakes, the policeman of the plains who determined that wherever the King's Writ ran, it should run through paths of peace and highways of order, the cowboy, the remittance man who went home in August, 1914, because as my old friend Bob Edwards, Editor of the Calgary Eye Opener once wrote, "He may have been green but by God he wasn't yellow"; the great army of those who tilled our soil that was often kindly, sometimes harsh and cruel, and thousands of men and women of every race laying their little gifts upon our country's altar, men and women with many pasts, the pasts of Europe and one future, the future of Canada, and in the war, magnificently justifying the writing of their names in our national family bible because in many far places a sorrowing nation wrote the epitaphs of their sons.

Of that pattern, of that fibre, a nation has been fashioned. Or has it? Some years ago I read a book which set out to analyze what makes a nation and to discuss the conflict between nationalism and internationalism. I hope I may be forgiven if my recollections of that book provide too much of the shape and colour of what follows.

Is a nation a matter of geography? I suppose it helps to be a little land like Holland or Denmark or Scotland. And I remember some orator on St. Andrew's night who said that it is fine to belong to a little nation because it can nestle so snugly in your heart.

And certainly national unity at first sight seems easier if the boundaries of its flowering and its harvests are small and self-contained. But whatever may have been the case in the ancient days, the annihilation of time and space has changed many things. Russia and the United States are not disunited by distance and some little lands are not united by proximity. And whatever may have been the ancient remoteness of Halifax and Victoria from Ottawa and each other, Canada has found a coherence from sea to sea. Perhaps it all depends on the energy and the skill with which great spaces have been tamed for the use of

mankind. Perhaps it depends on the dominion of the law and how the King's Writ runs or the authority of the state is enforced in distant places. But surely no people in the history of the world has ever tamed great spaces and subdued a continent to the discipline of order and justice as Canada has done. Perhaps we lost something of colour and romance because we had no professional bad men in Moosejaw; no bandits in Calgary before oil was discovered, and only a few dangerous Dan McGrews in what is now the quiet little cathedral town of Dawson City whence Robert Service has departed and where only the regular Sunday services remain.

Did you ever read a report once made by a Northwest Mounted Policeman after a little spot of bother in the Canadian West? It is one of my favourite pieces of genuine Canadian folklore. It is entitled "A Model Report": "On the 17th instant, I, Corporal Hogg, was called to the hotel to quiet a disturbance. I found the room full of cowboys and one, Monaghan, or 'Cowboy Jack,' was carrying a gun and pointed it at me, against section 105 and 109 of the Criminal Code. We struggled. Finally I got him handcuffed behind and put him inside. head being in bad shape, I had to engage the services of a doctor, who dressed his wound and pronounced it as nothing serious. To the doctor Monaghan said that if I hadn't grabbed his gun there would have been another death in Canadian history. All of which I have the honour (S.) C. Hogg, Corporal." to report.

Well, to be as serious as Corporal Hogg was. Shall we say that although dividing seas may have made national unity difficult but have not prevented the union of men's hearts and minds in a commonwealth of brotherhood, yet vigour and law, justice, courage, and neighbourly kindness have overcome the obstacles of great continental distances and Canada is the shining example of their conquest.

I remember that our author posed this question. Is an identity of economic interest necessary to make a nation?

I suppose that anything which makes for unity of interest and purpose helps. But remembering that there never can be an accountancy of blood and sweat, or a bookkeeping of tears which are all so much greater things than money, I am one of those men lamentably ignorant perhaps, who yet believes that the power of sentiment is great and that the most momentous fact is often insignificant without it. And so whatever may be or might have been the varying economic interests of any section of Canada they were not powerful enough to prevent our unity and can never be strong enough to break it. I remember when I was a boy in Britain that Liverpool always voted for protection while Manchester at the other end of the smoky Ship Canal always voted for free trade. But both those famous cities have always been part of the phalanx which is the indomitable land of Britain. In Canada I have heard rumblings from the land of Evangeline murmuring words which I hope that debonair lady never knew. There are no doubt, also men in Vancouver who bless the mountains for separating them from the rest of us and curse them for increasing the freight rates. I have lived long enough too, in the west, to hear Toronto assailed in terms that would have made Sodom and Gomorrah set fire to themselves. But those things are only little rifts in the lute-however you may spell it.

There are great and sometimes dividing things that remain—religion and language and race. If unity in the forms and ceremonies of religion were a condition of nation-hood, then the unity of Canada might well be only the unsubstantial dream of a poet. But if with diversity there go tolerance and the same fundamental conceptions of what we call morality and a pervading belief in the fatherhood of God and in the essential brotherhood of mankind beneath its sheltering wings there should be in religious differences no barrier to a unity of national feeling. It is an historic fact that the schisms between Moslems and the Christians in the old Turkish Empire made the growth of national sentiment amongst those communities

practically impossible; although I remember long ago reading in the London Times a speech made by a Mohammedan prince when he opened a Salvation Army shelter in the east end of London. "You may wonder" he said, "why I, a Mohammedan, should be opening this Christian retreat in the capital of England. My friends, truth is like a precious jewel—it has many facets". That too is wisdom.

Ladies and gentlemen—Canada began with a fine tolerance—that tolerance without which true freedom can never be won.

I always like to recall three episodes in our history whenever I speak to young men and women like you. Perhaps you will allow me to recall them today. When the first Legislature was elected in Lower Canada it had I believe as its members, nineteen French speaking Catholics and eight English speaking Protestants. It was moved as a courtesy by the French speaking Catholic leader that prayers be said every day in English. That motion was lost. It was then moved by the Protestant English speaking leader that prayers should be said alternately in English and in French as the probability was that the Good Lord understood both languages. And so say all of us.

When the Province of Upper Canada was established it was provided that Catholics should have the same rights and suffer the same disabilities as they then did in Great Britain. Although at that time Catholics suffered many disabilities in Great Britain and no Catholic was allowed to hold public office, none of the disabilities against Catholics was in fact ever enforced in the Province of Upper Canada. In 1837 a Jew, one Israel Hart, was elected for Three Rivers to the Legislature of Lower Canada. He was not allowed to take his oath and his seat, as Jews were then barred from membership in the Legislative Assembly. A new election was then held in Three Rivers and Mr. Israel Hart was duly re-elected by the faithful burgesses of that Quebec city. I believe that the same thing happened again. In 1838 or 39—I forget which—the Legislature of

Quebec then led by Louis Joseph Papineau, passed a law enfranchising Jews and removing their Parliamentary disqualifications. That statute became law over thirty years before a similar law was passed in Great Britain.

I mention these things as part of the glory of Canada hoping that we shall always remember never to be less tolerant and less brotherly than our founding fathers saw fit to be in times which we often think were less tolerant than ours. The answer is then that as long as religious beliefs are not so widely dissimilar as to make mutual understanding impossible and friendly cooperation between men too difficult, a nation may grow to its fullness even though man may justify himself to God and God to man in many ways that wander from one another. It is enough if at the end they meet in humility and penitence and faith.

I suppose that anyone discussing the elements that help to unite a nation and the elements that tend to distract it must consider the place of a common language. Unity of language certainly makes national unity easier. common language means a common literature, a common inspiration of great ideas, a common heritage of songs and folk tales enshrining what people have thought and sung and endured through successive generations. All difficulties vanish when the conquered teach the conqueror to speak their language as the people of England borrowing many words from France taught the Norman invaders the English tongue. Difficulties disappear too, if one language is more flexible and virile than another or if a tongue falls into disuse like the ancient Celtic speech of the men of Cornwall. But it is another thing if two languages of equal strength and power and expression are spoken in the same streets and habitations of men.

The old Roman poet Ennius wrote in one of his fragments which I recall from the days when I was an undergraduate that a man who has two languages has two souls. Perhaps that is true of a nation also I have felt that Canada will find her national soul in the fullness of its splendour

on that day when both English speaking Canadians and French speaking Canadians take a full pride in each other and this nation realizes that in her inheritance of two languages and two cultures there is strength and not weakness. One thing is sure—that the marriage of the true minds of English speaking Canadians and of French speaking Canadians is indissoluble and perpetual. I myself was born in a land where an ancient speech has fought for centuries for its continued vitality and existence. When my mother was a girl she spoke Welsh and no English. And who would not honour the men and women of Quebec when they say proudly and simply "We bore overseas our prayers and our songs. All we brought with us, our faith, our tongue, our virtues and our very weaknesses are henceforth hallowed things which no hand may touch, which shall endure to the end." Unity of language will not make a nation. But I think that we, like Wales, Scotland, Ireland, Belgium, India and many countries new and old have proved that diversity of tongues will not prevent the birth and the maturity of a nation.

In the new world in which Canada is playing her national part we have not yet begun to realize what a strength our country has in the council of the nations and in many proud and sensitive lands because we are the only country in the world where the so-called Anglo-Saxon and Latin live side by side in equal citizenship together. We can discount perhaps some of the enthusiasm which our own journalists and broadcasters feel about Canadian contributions to many world conferences. But I know that in South American lands and in many others our common citizenship, our two languages, our two cultures if you will, are a strong bridge to international understanding.

I remember once during the war dining with the British Minister of Information and some of his American friends. At that time I voiced the opinion that our traditional and proverbial function as an interpreter between Britain and the United States was overemphasized and out of date. After all, we have become Canadians in our own right and

are no longer if we ever were, Frenchmen, or Englishmen or Scotchmen or Irishmen or Welshmen speaking with an American accent, or Americans wedded to French and British customs. I offered the suggestion that our great strength in a turmoiled world lay in our Canadian ability to help to build the bridges between the English speaking and the French and Spanish speaking peoples. An American who was present said "I would like to tell you what happened the other day in North Africa. I was in Algiers. The French in that part of the world were hostile to the British and unfriendly to the Americans. Everything was chaos and illwill. There suddenly came on the scene a great Canadian gentleman, General George Vanier who understood the French, the English and the Americans. The peace and order and harmony that followed his coming were so miraculous that I shall never forget it". And so I leave that lesson for you to ponder over because I believe that you will agree with me that any man be he French speaking or English speaking who sows discord between us because of our differences of speech or religion or culture is an enemy of his country.

Many people will think that the last of the difficult questions to which I shall refer presents the greatest problems of all. The problem of race. But it is always to be remembered that a nation is not a state nor a race but something higher and nobler than either. In any event nearly all the great nations of the world are a mixture of many races. I have always laughed at the idea that boatloads of tall, blue-eyed, fair-haired Saxons landed in Britain and that all the Celts Romanized or otherwise disappeared with their woad into the blue bearing their mistletoe, their chariots and their druids into the fastnesses of Wales, Scotland and Ireland. At least the Celtic ladies were too lovely for that. The British people of course are a mixture of many races. And so are the Americans and the Russians. And no country draws more strength for its fibre or colour for its tapestry from more nations than does Canada.

I read you what must seem a long time ago, that fine passage about common citizenship once spoken by D'Arcy McGee. There is only one race which the Canadian people will exalt beyond any other and that is the human race. For we too have learned I believe, the truth of the saying of the French philosopher that the Good Lord has written one sentence of his thought on the cradle of every race. And who remembering the men we are honouring today will forget the contribution to victory of Canadians, of Anglo-Saxons and Anglo-Celtic parentage, of French descent, of Dutch and German and Scandinavian and Polish origin? About a year ago I remember speaking over the British Broadcasting Corporation and telling the people of my native land that my grandson was a typical Canadian because he was part English, part Welsh, part Scots, part Irish, part French and part Dutch. We are most of us a mingling of races. The only difficulty of a mingling of races is not if there are many but if one race believes that it is superior to another. For the doctrine of racialism and of the inherent superiority of one race to another is the very antithesis of true nationalism.

Now ladies and gentlemen, I have mentioned some of the difficulties that our people have overcome in the welding of a nation. The positive things remain.

What has made the Canadian nation and will prosper its voyaging through the oceans of time is first because we wished to be a nation, drawing our strength from many strains but with a character and a savour and a salt of our own. We have felt ourselves to be naturally linked together by affinities so strong and real that we can live happily together, would be dissatisfied if we were dis-united and could not tolerate subjection to rulers or peoples who do not share our hopes and our memories. We are a nation and will remain a nation because we believe in the rule of law. We believe that no man whether he be a king or a president, is above the law, that every man whatever his condition is subject to it, that government should exist to enlarge and secure rights and not to take them away, that the only way

of settling differences is by the will of the majority expressed in open debate living by the force of law and not by the law of force, that law is the language of liberty and equality and that the only surrender of rights should be for the common good under the sanction of laws created by the common consent of those who must obey them. We have become a nation and will continue a nation because we know the feel of the Canadian earth and love it. Because so many of those from whom we spring have "set their signatures with the plough" on the soil of Canada—that soil of which the poet who perhaps inspired Mr. Churchill on a memorable occasion, wrote when he sang of "this dear soil rich with his blood and sweat and tears, warm with his love, quick with his toil".

We are a nation because we are ever mindful of the men and women of our land who utterly patient, wended their way from the sowing to the reaping, learnt the wisdom of our fields, and clung with the tenacity of the ages to their little piece of Canadian earth and laboured to raise a home in the wilderness. We are a nation because we have each one of us that intimate feeling for Canada, that sense of Canadian earth which has done so much to fix the pattern of so many men and made us in very truth sons of one motherhood. It has been observed that the strongest of all the forces that mould a nation is the possession of a common tradition, a memory of sufferings endured and victories won in common, expressed in song and legend. It has its being in the dear names of great personalities that seem to embody in themselves the character and ideals of a nation, in the names of sacred places wherein the national memory is enshrined. For Canada is the faith of Cartier and the chivalry of Champlain, the piety of Laval, the martyrdom of Brebeuf, the eloquence of McGee, the humanity of MacDonald, the vision and courtesy of Laurier, the resilient teaching of Osler, the music of Lampman and Scott, the magic brush of Tom Thomson, the persevering skill of Saunders, the dogged and inspired persistence of Banting. Above all, in the words of the philosopher, "Heroic achievements, agonies heroically endured, these are the sublime future by which the spirit of nationhood is nourished. From these are born the sacred and imperishable traditions that make the mould of nations. In contrast with them, mere wealth, numbers or territory seem but vulgar things".

My friends, I am afraid that without much logic and arrangement I have wandered along many byways of undistinguished thought and casual expression. I have come back however, to the deeds of the men whom in our heart of hearts we honour tonight. Whether the difficulties which I have mentioned will be solved, whether the differences between the men of our land will be bridged, will be for you to determine. I can only leave with you the wish that ends a great Canadian book "Here's to the proud, outworn, old hearts who founded this nation, and here's to the gay, fun-loving young hearts who have it in their keeping".

May I end by telling you what I once saw in old newspaper. Some time ago I read a copy of the Montreal Gazette dated the 2nd of July, 1867, the day after Confederation. It was full of stories of merry making and bell ringing and the marching of men, of sports, of speeches, of fire works and of all the noise and bustle of a people's happiness. In a little corner of the paper there was an account of a meeting held at eight o'clock in the morning on the first day of July, 1867 in Knox Church in the City of Montreal. There the worshipers gathered for prayer, the singing of hymns and of "God Save the Queen". Those who were present, says the account, congratulated each other on the profitable hour which they had spent together on such an auspicious occasion. The Minister read to them the 60th Chapter of Isaiah expounding to them some of the verses as he went along and applying their meaning to the great and happy day on which he spoke. I leave them with you as an invocation of the spirit of our country and as my last words of tribute to the men who lived and died to make her great.

Arise, shine, for thy light is come, And the glory of the Lord is risen upon thee.

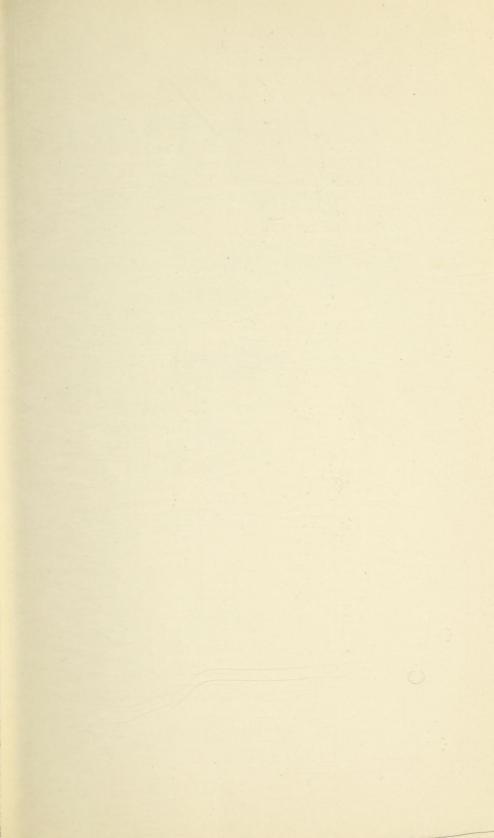
Lift up thine eyes round about, and see; All they gather themselves together, they come to thee; Thy sons shall come from far And thy daughters shall be raised at thy side.

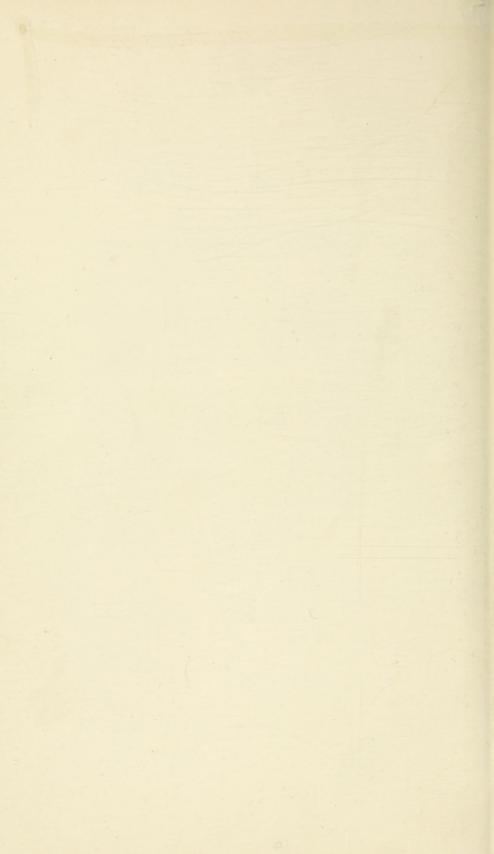
Violence shall no more be heard in thy land, Wasting nor destruction within thy borders; But thou shall call thy walls Salvation And thy gates Praise.

Thy sun shall no more go down Neither shall thy moon withdraw itself; For the Lord shall be thine everlasting light And the days of thy mourning shall be ended.

Thy people also shall be all righteous: They shall inherit the land forever, The branch of my planting, the work of my hands, That I may be glorified.

A little one shall become a thousand, And a small one a strong nation: I, the Lord, will hasten it in his time.





McGILL UNIVERSITY

MACDONALD COLLEGE

FOURTH ANNUAL WAR MEMORIAL ASSEMBLY

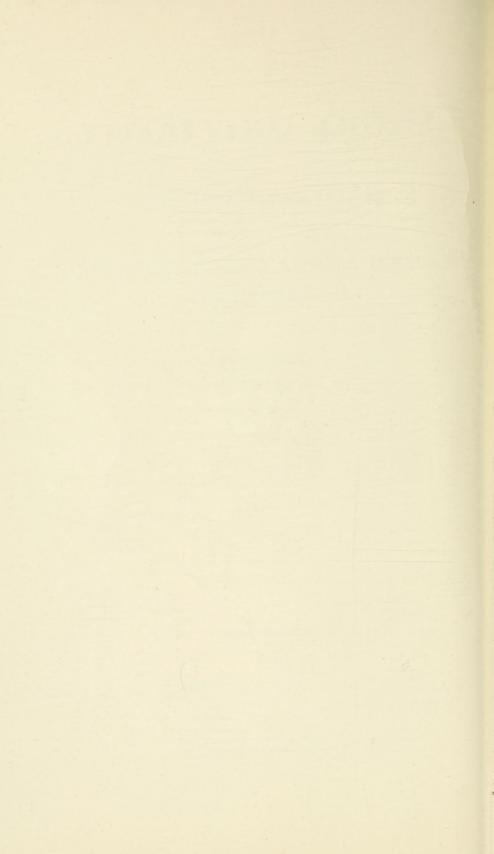


ADDRESS

BY

FIELD MARSHAL THE RIGHT HONOURABLE EARL WAVELL, G.C.B., G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E.

NOVEMBER 23rd, 1949





The Macdonald College War Memorial commemorates the many Macdonald men and women who served in two World Wars and the seventy four who gave their lives. It consists of a series of annual Addresses, of which this is the fourth, and a Memorial Entrance to the Library. The express purpose of the addresses is to promote an understanding of national and world affairs, and to inspire future Macdonald men and women to do their part toward the maintenance of freedom, tolerance and the improvement of human relationships.

These Gave Their Lives

1914-1918

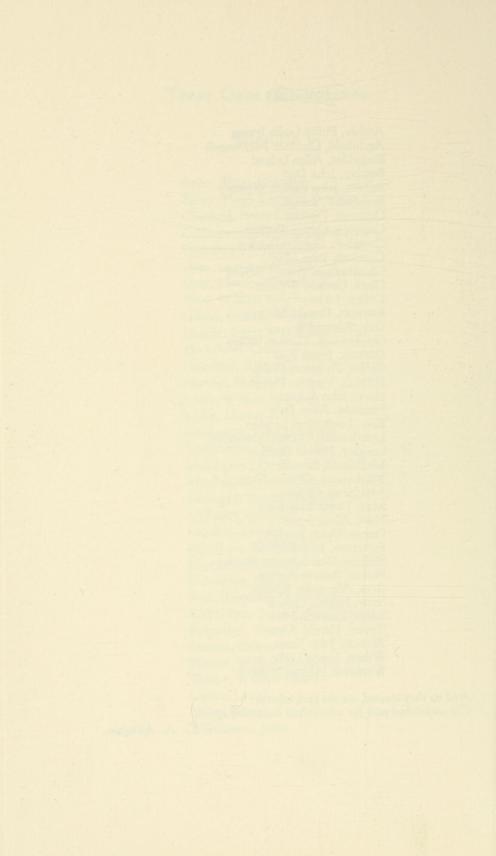
Bailey, Hugh Courtney Bailey, Hugh Reginald Dowson Chatfield, Percy Charles Collingwood, Gordon Francis Dashwood, John Lovell Dean, George Frederick Dyer, Charles Edward Ford, William Dalgleish Gilson, Gordon Wyman Hacker, James MacMillan Hackshaw, Cecil Hamilton, Robert H. Harvey, William Lamb, William Sterling Levin, Morris T. Longworth, Frederick John McCormick, James Hugh McDiarmid, Duncan David MacFarlane, John Reid McLagan, Patrick Douglas McLaren, Quentin MacRae, Douglas Muldrew, W. Harold Murphy, Allan I. Portelance, Joseph Reid, Benjamin Trenholme Richardson, Julius Jeffrey Gordon Robertson, Harry Sansom, George Shearer, William Dumaresq Turner, William Henry Upton, Lionel Viane, Edgar Williamson, John

1939-1945

Archer, Philip Leslie Irving Archibald, Clarence McDougall Bachelder, Allen Leland Barclay, John Duff Birkett, John Evelyn Wreford Brissenden, Joseph Cameron, Donald Cameron, George Everett Campbell, Gordon Dunlap Candlish, John Muir Chamberlain, Harold Arthur Clark, Garfield William Colley, John Eastman, Donald Mervyn Gale, Edward B. Goodenough, Carlton Stokes Gorham, James Rist Griffin, Frederick Philip Hillrich, Vincent Philip Horn, John d'Arcy Houston, Allan Dale Kerr, Louis Noel Lyndon Lewthwaite, George Alexander Longley, Harold Graham McDonald, Donald MacLennan, Charles Grant Matthews, George May, David Merriman Ness, Alvin James Pascoe, Philip Jocelyn Patterson, John Richard Phillips, Neil Seymour Hunter Porritt, Robert Arthur Ross, Alexander Bentick Scott, Eugene Claude Smith, Kenneth Hew Taylor, Harold Alvan Watson, John James Wilson, Denys Leslie Woolaver, Allison Stewart

And us they trusted, we the task inherit, The unfinished task for which their lives were spent.

-C. A. Alington.



LEADERSHIP IN DEMOCRACY

Field Marshal The Right Honourable Earl Wavell, G.C.B., G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E.

"Without courage there cannot be truth; and without truth there can be no other virtue". I give you those words, written by a great man, Sir Walter Scott, who was at his greatest in adversity, as the text of my address to you today.

Courage and truth. I have no doubt that those are the two outstanding qualities of any leader, military or civil, who is to lead his troops or his people as a leader should do. Not always to victory or to success; some of the greatest leaders have had to acknowledge defeat in the end: Hannibal in his struggle against Rome, Robert E. Lee in the American Civil War, Gladstone in his struggle for Irish Home Rule. The battle is not always to the brave, but the memory of their courage and truth lives always to inspire those who come after.

This address is to commemorate those from this College who fell in the two Great Wars; and to help you, who inherit the memory of their sacrifice and the peace and opportunities which that sacrifice brought, to understand what is required of you, their successors, if that peace and those opportunities are to be fully used for the advancement of your nation and of world civilization.

I am sure that the distracted and unstable state of the world at the present day is due more than anything else to the loss of leaders who fell in the two wars and especially in the First World War. We—I am thinking especially of my own Country of Great Britain—lost the greater part of a generation of our finest young men, a loss from which we have not yet fully recovered. Such loss of leaders falls most heavily, of course, on nations with a system of voluntary military service. The best of the nation come forward at once to serve in the front line, while the less worthy elements hang back. We used our finest manpower wastefully in that First War, so that we lacked the leadership that might have prevented the Second. Today again our chief need is brave and wise leadership, so that democracy may survive and that we may not be forced to defend it in a Third World War.

I propose, therefore, to offer you a few thoughts on leadership in democracy. You will not all be leaders, but some of you will be, and it is necessary that all of you should understand the qualities of a leader and the difficulties that stand in his way, so that you may help to choose your leaders wisely; that is the essence of democracy, not that the people should do as they will, but that they should choose the rulers whom they will follow, trust, and obey. A nation without discipline cannot be led.

When I was a boy, my father told me a story which has always stayed in my mind. It was of an excitable, uncontrolled mob during a revolution in Paris who were rushing down a street into obvious danger and disaster; a little behind them came a less excited and more responsible looking man. A bystander stopped him and asked, "Why are you following that crowd, can't you see they are only taking you into trouble"? "Mais il faut que je les suive" was the answer, "je suis leur chef". That, of course, is not leadership, but it is what may happen if leaders have not the courage to tell their followers the truth, and if the people have not discipline.

Now leadership of a democracy is very difficult, much more difficult than military leadership. A military leader

has unquestioned authority over his soldiers, who must accept his orders; and he has no obligation to persuade his subordinate commanders of the rightness of the strategy he proposes to adopt, although if he is wise he will take them into his confidence and win their trust. A political leader in a democracy has to persuade, not merely to direct, his colleagues; he has to pass his measures through Parliament or Congress, and he has to keep his eyes and ears fixed on his rank and file, the electorate, an uncertain and often unstable element. Political dictatorship, of the type of Hitler or Stalin, is, of course, the easiest, though probably the most dangerous, form of leadership. But it is not a form to which a free nation will submit.

The ancient Romans, who were a democracy and a very sensible people politically, had a practice of appointing a dictator for a limited period in times of emergency. You may have read in Macaulay's Lays of Ancient Rome:

In seasons of great peril 'Tis good that one bear sway, Then choose we a dictator Whom all men shall obey.

And let him be dictator For six months and no more, And have a Master of the Knights And Axes twenty-four.

Democracies are willing to submit to something approaching a dictatorship in time of war; but must be careful to get rid of the checks on their proper liberty, as soon as the emergency is over.

I want to examine with you the problems not of dictatorship but of the leadership of a democratic nation in peace; to compare present day conditions with those of former times; and to consider whether they have so far changed as to demand a new type of leadership and a new leader.

I take it that we can agree on the general elements of leadership and that they are constant. Anyone who

aspires to leadership must have the essential elements of courage, truth and faith. He must have a personality which will impress itself on those he wishes to lead. He must know quite definitely where he intends to lead them and what he intends to accomplish; and he must have absolute faith in the rightness of his aim and its practicability—though it may, in fact, be neither right nor practicable.

A political leader has, I hold, three main groups or bodies which he has to take into account in all his plans and actions. I will call this the Triangle of Forces; and the three sides of my triangle are Aristocrats, Priests and People. I must explain what I mean by those terms.

The word aristocrat suggests nowadays the calling up of a tumbril, or its modern equivalent of raising the scale of super-tax. I mean to use it in its original sense of "the best people", those who are "strong in excellence", as the Greek words of derivation mean; those, in fact, from whom leaders are normally drawn, not necessarily men of wealth or birth, but men of education and experience of affairs. I want you to forget, for the period of this address, the word's later connotation of social distinction. Carlyle in his work "On Heroes" laid down that "the nation must be ruled by its best elements or perish". The first task of the leader is, therefore, to enlist the Aristocrats, the best men, to assist him in his task. In other words, he must be able to pick the right men. But he has also, sometimes, to regard them in the light of rivals or opponents.

The next element, whom I have called the Priests, are those who exercise or claim spiritual influence, who sway the crowd by appeal to their minds, by the power of words, spoken or written. I have termed them Priests, but I include in the term, not only preachers in pulpits, but writers, in the Press or elsewhere, and orators, on the radio or platform. Such men are not usually themselves leaders, but they are a powerful factor with which the leader has to deal, owing to the influence they can exert on the masses.

Finally, there are the People, the rank and file, the led, the citizen who is neither leader nor Priest, though he may, of course, become either.

Any successful leader of a democracy must know how best to direct and use those three elements of the Triangle of Forces—Aristocrats, Priests, People.

These three classes—Aristocrats, Priests and People—have usually throughout history had conflicting claims and interests; and their respective power has varied.

Until comparatively recent times, the People were the weakest element in the Triangle. The King and the Knights and Bishops counted for more than the pawns when the game of chess was evolved; and they continued to do so for many centuries. The leader, if he could secure the support of the Aristocrats and Priests, could usually afford to disregard the People. Now for a few examples from history to illustrate my theme.

Moses is one of the few instances of a successful leader of a nation who belonged to the Priestly order. His problem was to control a sullen, rather poor-spirited people, and to put heart and toughness into them. It was this softness of the People that made his task difficult rather than any aristocratic rivalry, though he had, on one occasion, a spot of trouble with three would-be strike leaders—Korah, Dathan and Abiram. Moses is an outstanding example of the qualities of courage and faith in a leader.

Saul, the first King of Israel, a great leader in battle, fell foul of the Priests represented by Samuel, who set up a rival Aristocrat in David. In one of the world's great dramas of leadership, the strong but simple-minded Saul, beset by the revengeful jealous old Samuel on the one side, and the subtle ambitious young David on the other, loses his nerve and control, seeks comfort in spiritualism at Endor, finds none and falls in battle, after the People have lost trust in his leadership, and gone over to his rival David.

Saul's successor, David, keeps on the right side of the Priests, submitting even to their rebuke of his sins, but has trouble with the Aristocrats, of whom one, his son Absalom, attemps to sway the People to his side. David, who loses his nerve, is saved by the support, somewhat contemptuous, of another Aristocrat, his Commander in Chief Joab, on whom he took, on his death-bed, one of the meanest revenges in history. I have never felt that David was a worthy leader of a people; he had neither the real courage nor the truth.

In Athens, the first example of a democracy, though a very limited one, there was a great leader, Pericles, who ruled Athens for thirty years, in peace and war, and brought her to her height of power and of beauty. He was an aristocrat by birth and wealth as well as by his abilities, with natural dignity but with no pomposity, which would never have been tolerated in Athens. His eloquence has been handed down to us in a series of famous speeches. His courage and his love of truth were unquestioned. He was extraordinarily calm and tolerant under criticism. There is a story told of him, how an opponent, who had heckled him in the Assembly, but had failed to disturb his equanimity, followed him home, abusing him violently. When Pericles reached his house, he bade his servant take a torch and light his opponent home, since it was now dark. And yet the people of Athens by their vote deprived this great leader of power, at a time when his services were still sorely needed. We have seen something similar happen in our own times.

The Priests of themselves do not seem to have had much influence in Athens, but religious superstition played an important part in its history on more than one occasion. Thus one great leader, Themistocles, made use of an oracle from Delphi to sway the multitude to his policy at a crisis of Athenian history; and a religious desecration, the mutilation of the statues of Hermes on the eve of the ill-fated expedition to Syracuse, was used by his enemies to

bring about the downfall of Alcibiades, which led ultimately to the downfall of Athens.

In ancient Rome again the Priests played little part. The aristocrats ruled Rome, though the story of Coriolanus, as told by Shakespeare, shows the growing influence of the People. Then comes the change to autocracy in the time of the Caesars; and the appeasement of the People ("panem et circenses", the equivalent of cigarettes and cinemas) became a feature of Imperial policy. Then with the rise of Christianity, under the leadership of Paul, a man in whom courage and truth were certainly predominant, the influence of religion and Priests again becomes a factor in politics.

I have no time to trace the constantly changing balance of power in the Triangle of Forces between Aristocrats, Priests and People in the course of history, but I recommend it to you as a fascinating study. I must come to modern times. But I should first like to bring to your notice another great leader, Abraham Lincoln, in whom courage and truth prevailed. Lincoln worked under very different conditions from Pericles, the great leader of Athens. Unlike Pericles he came of poor and undistinguished parents and had to struggle to make his way; but he too had a natural dignity and eloquence, though his was simple and homely compared with that of Pericles.

I will give you some fine lines which were written of Lincoln by an American poet:

"The colour of the ground was in him, the red earth, The smack and tang of elemental things. Sprung from the West, He drank the valourous faith of a new world, The strength of virgin forests braced his mind, The hush of spacious prairies stilled his soul. His words were oaks in acorns; And his thoughts

Were roots that firmly gripped the granite truth."

Pericles and Lincoln were two great leaders of democracy. But in what different conditions they worked. Pericles enjoyed a great deal of leisure and had time to devote himself to the arts and to make Athens magnificent. Lincoln, in the stress of Civil War, was always cumbered with affairs of state, overworked and overdriven. Pericles, in a small city state, could address himself to practically the whole population in his charge. Lincoln had a far wider area and larger population with which to deal and had not the modern resources of Press and radio with which to reach them. Both men, and this is important, thought beyond their Party, for the nation at large. Pericles dreamed of a united Greece; Lincoln was resolute to maintain the Union, but did his utmost to reconcile North and South; and had he lived the defeated South would have had a fairer deal.

You have had great leaders of your own in Canada to whom you owe your present greatness. You will find in their history the same qualities of Courage, Truth, and Vision which Pericles and Lincoln had.

Now let us consider briefly modern conditions and the present shape of the Triangle. There is in many countries a dangerous weakening of the force exerted by the Aristocrats; and let me remind you once again that in this address the term has nothing to do with birth or wealth, but means those with qualities of leadership by virtue of their education, experience and character. Without these best men to lead them, the power of the People is only dangerous to them.

Now in some countries today a large proportion of the natural Aristocrats stand aloof from politics; and have turned their energies to money making or into other channels, either because the prizes are higher or because the atmosphere of politics has become distasteful. To some extent their place has been taken by the professional politician. This is not a healthy development, and its ill effects can be seen in many countries. In Great Britain, and

I believe also here in Canada, our rulers are still, on the whole, an aristocracy of talents, though there are, I think, some disquieting tendencies at home. There are, for instance, too many theorists without practical experience amongst our present-day politicians: men to whom the words "well spoken" are addressed more often than "well done", and are possibly more acceptable.

Taking the world as a whole, the power of the Aristocrat, the natural leader by character and brains, has diminished. There is a new class of Aristocrats, who might play an important part in politics, but have so far played little, and such part as they have played has sometimes been mischievous. These are the scientists. In earlier times they had no influence and were sternly suppressed by the Priests. Nowadays their inventions have an incalculable effect on politics. In a well-ordered state I think there should be a proportion of scientists amongst the rulers. With practical experience the ideas of some of them might not be so wrong-headed.

While the power of religion in politics has declined in most countries, the power of the Press, whom I include under the term Priests, has certainly increased, and no ruler can afford to disregard it. With this change has disappeared what used to be a powerful weapon in the hands of the ruler—the use of mystery and awe. The modern democratic leader has to live in the full limelight of the Press, and to show off or show up in it.

The power and privileges of the third side of my Triangle, the People, have, of course, grown immensely; and in most countries there has been brought in an entirely new element, the Women. Any modern leader has to reckon first of all with the People, of whom he is the elected representative. I am sure, therefore, that the most important thing today is that the education of the People should keep pace with their power. The ideal is that the People shall have reached such a standard of education that it will be useless and unprofitable to lie to them at elections. We have still a long

way to go to reach this ideal. Three most important factors in the education of the People today are the daily Press, the Radio and the Cinema. Are we using those to the best advantage? I must leave the answer to you.

So much for the shape of the Triangle of Forces with which the modern democratic leader has to deal. Let us now consider the conditions in which he works, and how they differ from those of the past. He is usually hampered from the start by the promises he, or his Party, have made to the electors, so that his hands are never quite free. The demands on his time are so much more exacting, the daily routine is so heavy, that he has little leisure to think. His decisions must inevitably often be opportunist. He may have a goal in view, but he is driven at a run and has little chance to pick the best road to it. He may be forced into some very dangerous paths which could have been avoided had he more time to study the way or freedom to choose it. He has to live in the full limelight of publicity; but has at his disposal means of publicity, the Radio, Press and Cinema, unknown to leaders of former times. Instead of credulous uneducated people, he has to deal with a People who live mainly in the towns and are mainly literate. They have sharper wits but less discipline than of old so that the leader must be more persuasive and can be less dominant than before. He has to consider the opinions, and votes, of women as well as men.

Are the essential qualities of a leader—courage, sincerity and decision—circumscribed and lessened by the conditions in which he has to work? My answer is that no one can long maintain his position as leader of a Party or a State without those qualities, but that it is undoubtedly much harder to exercise them in modern conditions. It requires more courage to tell a whole nation unpleasant truths and to take unpopular measures, when a leader, or rather his Party, is dependent on the votes of the People. The ultimate test of a political leader's courage and wisdom is to be able to place the interests of the nation, as a whole, above those of his Party, as both Pericles and Lincoln did. As

someone once wrote: "to be a reliable political leader, your anchors must hold fast where other men's drag".

My final conclusion on this Triangle of Forces on which I have set some ideas before you is this: a democracy will only survive when the People are led by their Aristocrats—that is, their best men, quite irrespective of class or birth or wealth; and that this combination of Aristocrats and People must control their Priests and not be controlled by them, while recognizing and using their value to guide and stimulate thought.

I give you here some words written of a great political leader in circumstances of danger and trouble, William the Silent of Holland, as an example of the relations between a leader and the People:

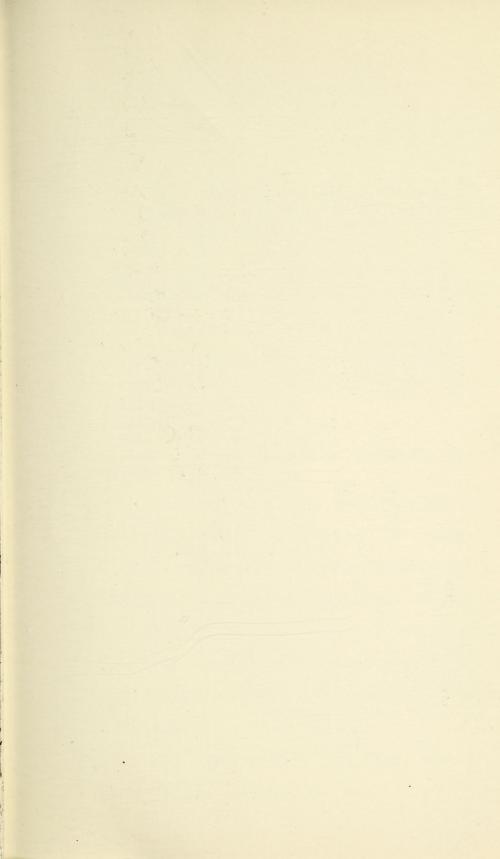
"Few statesmen in any period, none in his own, cared so deeply for the ordinary comfort and the trivial happiness of the thousands of individuals who are the People! He neither idealized them nor overestimated them and he knew that they were often wrong, for what political education had they yet had? But he believed in them, not merely as a theoretical concept, but as individuals, as men. Therein lay the secret of the profound and enduring love between him and them".

The leaders, the best men, must have courage and truth, and must also be given time for vision, for looking ahead. Some means must be found for relieving the leader of everyday routine. Too much centralization, too much bureaucracy, is a danger to modern democracy against which it is necessary to guard. It threatens to destroy individuality and independence, and to reduce all men to a common level. That is not the way to produce leaders, or to help them.

You here in Canada stand on the threshold of a great future. You have chosen your leaders wisely in the past, you have welded your diverse peoples, your immense territories, into a powerful, enterprising, independent, nation. If you continue to choose your leaders wisely and

follow them loyally, you will not only be one of the great nations, but you will make a great contribution to the peace of the world and the advancement of civilization. It is on you young men and women, who have the advantages of education and training in the Universities of Canada, that much will depend. Remember that there is leadership in every walk of life, not only in military affairs and politics. There is leadership in medicine, in science, in law, in commercial enterprise, in agriculture, in any branch of affairs in which man is engaged; and it is on courageous and truthful leadership that advance in any direction depends.

I have a great belief in the future of Canada and her ability to produce leaders. I wish all of you here success in whatever profession you undertake; and your Country prosperity and a great place amongst Nations.



CHECK AGAINST DELIVERY

FITH WAR MEMORIAL ADDRESS
MACDONALD COLLEGE, McGILL UNIVERSITY
Thursday 9 November 1950

" THE EVOLVING POLICY OF THE UNITED NATIONS "

Ву

GENERAL A. G. L. McNAUGHTON

Mr. Vice Chancellor, Mr. Vice Principal, Mr. Vice Principal,

Members of Convocation and of Macdonald College, Ladies and Gentlemen,

I count it a very special privilege to have this opportunity to give the Fifth of the Series of War Memorial Addresses at Macdonald College, which have been founded as a continuing memorial to the members of this College who gave their lives in the service of Canada, and our Allies in the World Wars of 1914-18 and 1939-45, "for the maintenance of freedom, of tolerance, and the improvement of human relationships".

My first word to you is in tribute to the memory of these former students and members of the staff for their

devotion to the just cause for which we fought - of praise for the gallant manner in which they carried forward the task which they had voluntarily assumed - of very great regret indeed that the sacrifice of their lives was required of them - and of deep sympathy to their families and comrades and other friends in their bereavement.

I think that in an address which is dedicated to maintaining the memory of devotion to duty and of sacrifice in its performance it is of the first importance to select a subject which is in harmony with the ideals and purposes which inspired those to whose services we bear tribute; and for this reason I have chosen to speak to you tonight about the United Nations, and particularly about the new hope which comes to people of goodwill by reason of the progress now being made at Lake Success in removing obstacles to collective action and by establishing principles and procedures which give renewed confidence that violators of the Charter daring to attempt the use of forc will in fact be met promptly and restrained by collective force if necessary.

This resurgence of useful, purposeful development

at the United Nations has come as a result of the recent aggression in Korea and like so many other difficult matters in which progress is at last achieved after long periods of doubt and delay, it is out of adversity that good comes, provided only that the guiding purpose continues to be held with patience and with perseverance.

My subject is "The Evolving Policy of the United Nations" and I propose to refer not only to the negative or preventative aspects of the work of the Security Council and the General Assembly whose first task is of course to protect the security of complying states against aggression, but also I will refer to some phases of the more positive work which the United Nations has in hand through its many special agencies. It is these aspects of the role of the United Nations which I believe in the long term view will prove to be the more important.

I should like to make it clear that with the completion of Canada's membership on the Security Council at the beginning of this year, my own particular duties at Lake Success came to an end, and I have therefore no longer any administrative responsibilities in our Canadian policy or action in the United Nations.

In consequence, I speak to you tonight not from any official point of view, but as an individual Canadian who is convinced that the United Nations presents the only possible way to an abiding peace, and I speak to you as other Canadians, who I am sure, are equally concerned in regard to the dangerous repercussions of these international controversies on Canada.

For the years 1948 and 1949 it was my privilege to be the Representative of Canada on the Security Council, of the United Nations. For those two years also, and for the preceding years of 1946 and 1947. I served as the Canadian Representative on the United Nations Atomic Energy Commission. It was in this Commission that a very serious effort, long and patiently continued, has been made to establish a system of international control of the dread forces which may be released by the breakup of the nucleus of the uranium atom under certain conditions. It has been said before, and I make no apology for saying it again, that these devastating forces literally threaten the possibility of survival of civilization unless an effective system of control, with adequate and proper safeguards to protect complying states, can be arrived at by international agreement. The

recent proposal by the President of the United States to combine the UN Atomic Energy Commission and the Conventional Armaments Commission is a further step in a well thought out progressive plan developed by the supporters of the UN proposal for effective international control. It is particularly satisfactory that these proposals have again been re-affirmed by the General Assembly and by a majority even larger than that obtained at each of the two preceding sessions.

In the Atomic Energy Commission, in the Security Council, and in the sessions of the General Assembly in New York in 1947, in Paris in 1948, and again in New York last year, it has been my fortune to be in a position from which I have been able to watch the evolving world situation at close range, and I have had the privilege of seeing something of the efforts - and I assure you the genuine, honest, purposeful efforts - which have been made by the democratic countries to induce those other states whose policy now falls under Soviet dictation, to join with us in seeking the peaceful solution of every one of the controversies between nations which now bedevil the international scene.

It is from this background that I should like to

speak to you tonight. And in particular I should like to direct your attention to the part which has been played by the United Nations in dealing with the unprovoked Communist aggression in Korea, and to speak about the plans which are at this very time being brought to a conclusion at Lake Success to equip the United Nations to meet lawless aggression with lawful force where peaceful methods of settling international disputes may have filed to check the destructive and expansionist designs of those who do not have a genuine will for peace.

The first point I would like to make is that the world today has become a very small place. New means of communication, new ways of travel, new facilities for direct contact between national leaders by reason of meetings under the auspices of the United Nations and in other conferences, international and national, have literally annihilated distance and compressed time in the conduct of international affairs. In consequence, events in far places can no longer be safely ignored - no longer is it permissible or even possible to adopt the role of a spectator in the play of the vast forces, for good or for evil, which are loose in the world today. As the late Mr. Mackenzie King put it on more

than one occasion - we are today all a part, the one of another, and what concerns one nation, however distant, concerns us also.

And so it is not enough , I am sure you will agree, that we should merely be aware of the fact that we have witnessed aggression in Korea. It has, of course, been necessary for us to seize on this fact, to gather real information about it, to analyze that information, to understand it, and to consciously make up our minds on the issues which are at stake and to realize that these issues have a direct and real impact on Canada and on the rights and welfare of our people; an impact that may be very serious indeed unless we reach correct conclusions and firmly grip the situation as you would a stinging nettle, which becomes quite harmless when boldly and firmly held.

It is the very nature of the forces that seek our downfall that they proceed by reason and insinuation - that they work by spells and incantations, fabricated by evil men who act like witch doctors and false prophets to conceal their malicious designs. On occasion they seek to lull us into careless acquiescence in some destructive act already accomplished, as was the case at Munich before World War II. At

other times they seek to frighten and to intimidate, as has been the case in Korea; at others again, to promote dissension and discord, and through it all to confuse our minds and weaken our wills to act in our own defence. No, what we need to do is to keep steady and alert, and to continue to do those things which will make and keep us strong and free. Korea is, of course, very much a case in point.

If you survey the history of the period between the two world wars you will find a very melancholy spectacle of one disastrous retreat after another, brought about by the threat of force. Sometimes these threats were open, sometimes they were covert and implied, and sometimes they were naked armed aggression, as in the occupation of the Rhur and like the Nazi march into Czechoslovakia.

It was not that the old League of Nations lacked ideals. It was not that it failed to command the services of able men of goodwill. But it seemed in those anxious and difficult years which followed World War I that the purpose of the nations had degenerated to the purusuit of narrow, selfish interest, and the general welfare had come to be regarded with apathy.

. We must be very carefu I think, not to impute the

fine conceptions of those who founded the League or to question their ideals, but we should, nevertheless, be very regretful over the way things worked out at Geneva, and we should be determined to profit by the lessons learned at such grievous cost and to put them into practice at the United Nations - the new opportunity which has been given to a conflict-ridden world to put itself in order.

perience with the League we have learned, or at least we should have learned, two very important lessons. The first is that nations which become intent on conquest will not be deflected by appeasement, nor in the pursuit of their evil purpose will they show any consideration for the rights of the weak, nor will they be moved in any way by pity for the defeated or the unfortunate. We have learned by bitter experience the truth of the saying quoted a short time ago by Mr. St. Laurent, the Prime Minister: "It is the strong man, armed, who keepeth the peace". Peace in the existing world of vast conflicting interests; in the world of clash between the principle of freedom for the individual and of the monstrous growth of totalitarian despotism. In the world, as un-

fortunately it really is today - I say that it is only through the positive strength in being, individual and collective, of the nations who think alike with us that we can create a deterrent which will stop those who would not hesitate to plunge us once again into war the moment they deemed that this would be to their advantage.

The second lesson we have learned is that lust for conquest grows progressively with what it feeds upon. And the scale of military action required to protect the nations or to prevent their destruction grows too, and in large and alarming proportions as the hazards sharpen and the possibilities of violence increase.

The application of these two lessons has been quite sufficient to prove the necessity for Canada to join with other countries in the defence of Korea, and more generally it has shown that we must associate ourselves in the preparation of a defensive bulwark against aggression wherever it may appear.

There was a further reason, moreover, which supported the decision of the Canadian Government and of other governments which backed the Security Council's action in Korea as the only wise and proper course to take. The Republic of Korea was established under the auspices of the United Nations. It is the

child of this Organization and the attack on it has therefore been recognized, in a very acute sense, as an attack on the United Nations and on Canada itself as a member of the United Nations. I pay sincere tribute to the courageous initiative of the United States which led the democratic world to see the need to resist this outright attack, to see the need that it should be resisted in time, and to accept the principle that the defence required should take the form of collective action by the United Nations and further, that it was the duty and the interest of all nations with the capacity to do so to add their assistance to the general effort.

The violation of the frontier in Korea proved the need for means to be brought into existence through which those countries determined to maintain their freedom could coordinate their armed forces and bring them to bear collectively in defence when the security of any one of them was threatened.

In this case the need was general in character and world-wide in application and it could not be satisfied by existing regional grouping such as our Atlantic Pact which is, of course, designed for particular contingencies only.

It was the intention of those who framed the Charter of

the United Nations that while this new organization should permit special regional groupings for defence, it should also provide specifically this general world wide safeguard. It is with this purpose that the Founders wrote into the Charter provisions for the establishment of collective forces which would be available anywhere to maintain peace and security.

As we all know, these comprehensive provisions never became operative because, in the Military Staff Committee of the United Nations the Soviet Union stubbornly refused to agree, or even to discuss in practical terms, the measures which would have been essential to make collective forces available to the United Nations. What has happened, however, in Korea during the past three months when members of the United Nations, in response to recommendations from the Security Council, have taken co-ordinated action to defend the Republic of Korea is clearly in accordance not only with the letter of the Charter but also with its real spirit and intention. Here at last many nations have together found a way through the vetoes and obstructions of the oviet and have acted promptly and in unison and with military forces against aggression.

In displaying its power to rally the free world in resistance to a premeditated attack launched without warning the United Nations has restored the hopes and confidence of people everywhere who otherwise might not unreasonably have given way to despair in the face of the mounting powers of the Soviet Union and their declared intent to try to overrun the world, eventually.

It is because we have learned that aggression must and can be resisted collectively, and because we know that the United Nations provides the only available means for organizing defence against it on a world-wide scale, that we have associated ourselves with United Nations action in Korea. It is within the framework of this knowledge that we must examine the capacity of the United Nations to act in the future as a deterrent to those recurrences of aggression which unfortunately it is all too evident we must continue to expect in the circumstances of the idealogical aggression which is the continuing central purpose of Soviet policy.

As you undoubtedly know the General Assembly during the past few weeks has discussed and adopted - under the title "United Action for Peace" - a plan for strengthening the capacity of the United Nations to deal with future cases in

which there may be a threat to the peace, a breach of the peace, or an act of aggression. This plan, which was put forward by the United States Delegation and which was outlined to the Assembly by the Secretary of State, Mr. Acheson, is a constitutional development of far-reaching promise for the United Nations and for the world at large. I do not assert that in itself this development is any complete guarantee against a repetition of the Korean situation, for the success of any plan depends on the will and the energy of those who will be responsible for carrying it out in particular circumstances. I do say that if this plan is pursued in good faith, it promises to provide the means for effective collective action on a world wide scale. It is for this reason, that from the outset the plan has commanded the respect and the active support of the Canadian Delegation which, indeed, has acted as one of its seven sponsors.

I do not propose to enter into any lengthy discussion of the details because I feel sure that in following the excellent accounts which have appeared in our daily and periodical press you will have formed an accurate impression see the Qual intent of its more important provisions. The plan is founded on the

premise that if the Security Council fails to act against aggression - if, in other words, the Security Council is prevented from performing its proper functions - the General Assembly can go ahead and make its own recommendations which will be implemented by special means created in advance by the Assembly.

In this connection there are four positive provisions. 1. To establish a body to be known as a Peace Observation Commission for the years 1951 and 1952 with the duty to proceed immediately to areas where international tension threatens and to investigate acts or threats of aggression, and to report thereon to the Security Council, the General Assembly or the Interim Committee as may be appropriate. 2. To develop the rules of procedure of the Assembly to permit the calling of emergency sessions on twenty-four hours notice on the vote of any seven members of the Security Council, or on the request of the majority of the members of the United Nations. 3. ask member states to set aside armed units equipped and trained to be ready to answer the call of the Security Council or the General Assembly - very much on the model of the Canadian Army Special Force. And 4, finally, to create a Collective Measures Committee to report to the Security Council and the General

Assembly on the mechanics of co-operative action to keep the peace.

This resolution is definitely a reaction to the aggression committed by North Korean forces last June. It stems from a realization that the democratic nations of the world must not delude themselves into imagining that there has been any lessening of the sinister ambitions which intoxicate the Politburo and mesmerize the Soviets. On the contrary, the democratic nations must prepare while yet they may to check this madness, should it break forth in war.

In the words of this U.K. Weekly "The Economist"
"The free nations are not only concerned to see the

North Korean aggression brought to an end. They

must see to it that such episodes are not repeated.

They now know from experience that they cannot expect

restraint from the Soviet side. Wherever the opportuni
ties for 'trouble short of general war' seem inviting...

the Soviet Union can be relied upon to make that trouble.

The problem is to see to it that the restraints which

were effective in Korea . . . are maintained."

In this connection I think it is important to remember that the action taken by the United Nations in Korea and its

successful results to date was made possible only by a combination of circumstances which could hardly be expected to recur. Not the least of these favourable circumstances was the profound miscalculation by the Soviet Politburo as to the speed with which their North Korean puppets could bring the invasion of South Korea to a conclusion. This they quite wrongly anticipated could be achieved before the military reaction of the United States could be effective and before world public opinion would be dangerously aroused. Also in this case it is now evident, although by no means certain when the invasion was launched, that the Soviet at this time is fearful of becoming directly involved in a general war.

By the decisions of the Security Council in June and July, new life has been infused in the United Nations - a new pride and a new prestige has been conferred upon it which are everywhere recognized in the free world, and it is important that this should be so as we enter the even more difficult phases of widening action and reaction in Korea.

But these decisions by the Security Council could not have been made if the Soviet Representative had been occupying his lawful place as a permanent member, and in his absence it was even claimed by some who were opposed to these decisions

that they were invalid because they lacked the concurring vote of the soviet Union.

In reply to this contention I would remind you that
the members of the Security Council are wader an obligation
to insure that the Council remains in continuous session (Art.
28 (1) and Rule 13). If some countries wish to stay away
from the Security Council that is their concern and neglect
of duty. But let them not then argue that their absence invalidates the Council's decisions:

Further, it has long been established by practice, with the explicit consent of the Soviet Union as well as of other members of the Security Council, that an abstension from voting in the Council does not constitute an exercise of the so-called 'veto' which was granted in the Charter (Art. 27 (3) to each of the five permanent members. If abstension does not invalidate a decision recorded by the affirmative votes of any seven members, how much less can it be claimed that wilful and premediated absence can have that effect:

Another factor of considerable importance in the situation at that time was that the Security Council had on the spot the United Nations Commission for Korea which was able to furnish clearcut and incontrovertible evidence and reports.

Certainly also the Council's decisions could not have been enforced with the same degree of promptness and military success had it not been for the presence of United States troops in Japan in convenient proximity to the area where the North Korean attack took place - under the command of a distinguished military leader and strategist.

It is the aim of the "United Action for Peace" resolution that collective action against aggression may be possible even at a time when the Soviet becomes more ready for war and despite the absence of such a combination of the fortuitous circumstances which made that action possible in the case of Korea.

It has been asked by some whether the seven-power plan will have the effect of transferring outright the powers of the Security Council to the General Assembly. I can assure you that such is not the case. Speaking on this very point in the Political Committee of the General Assembly on October 11, Mr. Pearson, the Secretary of State for External Affairs, stated:

"The General Assembly, in this draft resolution, is only to be used when the Security Council fails to perform, or is prevented from performing, its peace-preserving functions. If the Security Council acts, that will satisfy us, and there is nothing in

this draft resolution which interferes in any way with such action."

Mr. Pearson's statement makes it evident that this resolution is not an attempt to relieve the the Security Council of its powers under the Charter but that it is, on the contrary, a bold plan to ensure that, if the Council is not exercising its powers, the United Nations will not stand idly by in frustrated impotence and watch an aggressor reap the harvest of his cynical violation of the spirit and intent of the Charter.

I am sure you will agree that there is a striking contrast between the high purpose which inspires the provisions of the "United Action for Peace" resolution - and the long and dreary succession of propaganda resolutions on peace which we have come to expect as a matter of routine from successive Soviet delegations to the Assembly. Member states have not been slow to perceive and to realize the contract which it presents with the insidious provisions of the Communist sponsored Stockholm Peace Appeal - indeed the Democratic nations have seized upon this opportunity to move into what may well be a new phase of effective action by the United Nations. Fifty member states out of a total membership of sixty supported the plan, and only

five - the Soviet Union and its quartet of slavish Cominform disciples - voted against it, while the five remaining nations, largely for reasons connected with specific parts of the proposals which they were unable to accept have abstained. On one provision, the establishment of the fact-finding Peace Observation Commission, even the U.S.S.R. voted in favour, and Mr. Vishinsky, on behalf of the Soviet Government, later accepted membership in this body. I interpret this as showing that the Soviets continue to regard the United Nations as a Forum from which they cannot, in their own interest, afford to be absent and we certainly want them there so that we can bring to bear the whole weight of our arguments in the hope that we may convince them that their best future lies in friendly co-operation and not in war certainly we have not yet given up hope of an ultimate peaceful solution which it is possible may come when the Soviets fully realize the mounting determination which inspires the democracies and which shows itself in the vast preparations for defence now in hand - preparations of such potential power and long-continued endurance that it must be evident they cannot be makehed by the Communist totalitarian states.

It has been fashionable, in recent years, to discount the

capacity of the United Nations to meet an aggressor in his own terms and on his own ground. The events of the past four months have shown the potentialities of collective action against aggression. And the Assembly's action in adopting the "United Action for Peace" proposals has shown that the great majority of member states are determined that these potential ties must be developed and used.

In the words of Mr. David Lawrence of the New York Herald Tribune:

"It will be some time before the full implications of the policy which is in the course of adoption by the United Nations this autumn will be fully grasped throughout the world, but when the policy is fully understood, it should go a long way toward preventing war and assuring peace".

Deen taken in the United Nations to prevent a recurrence of war.

This is, of course, a vital part of the work of the organization.

But it is essentially a defensive or preventive function and, although it is essential, it is only a part of the purpose of the Organization which extends also into the almost unlimited

fields of human endeavour which lend themselves to the positive and creative functions which are open to the United Nations to perform:

In this connection I have been particularly impressed with the organization and development of what is known as The Technical Assistance Programme which had its origin in President Truman's justly famous Four Point Declaration in January, 1948.

Under that programme as now adopted by the United

Nations extensive arrangements are being made to give help

on a widening scale to the peoples of the lesser developed

countries throughout the world in an endeavour to assist them

in satisfying their awakened needs for social adjustment and

economic improvement. The sympathetic conduct of such positive,

constructive work, makes for the elimination of causes which

provoke war and so, it seems to me, that in the fulfillment

of these measures there lies the best prospect for the ulti
mate continuing success of the United Nations.

"Technical assistance" is the practical application of existing knowledge to everyday living, and in even simpler terms it is the means of helping people to help themselves.

As such it is a simple and basic proposition with which as Canadians, we are fully familiar. All of our basic industries, in their beginnings, and at various stages in their development, have depended in large measure for their success on the knowledge and technical skill which we have imported from other countries. In the process of developing our own resources we are from day to day applying our technical knowledge, in extending the development of our mining, forestry and agriculture, in parts of our country where these techniques have never before been applied and so we are well-practiced in this art which we have used so successfully in the development of our own country.

Through the United Nations Technical Assistance Protrough
gramme, and the similar Commonwealth programme especially
designed to meet the urgent needs of the underdeveloped
countries of South and South East Asia, Canadians have been
given the opportunity to extend this kind of technical help
to the countries which require it. This process does not
involve gifts, or a dole system, or loans or capital investment. We are not being asked to give to the peoples of these
countries, food,or paper for books, or heavy machinery, or
money to finance hydro-electric power projects for example; but

we are being asked to help show them how to grow more food, how to produce pulp and paper, how to operate machine tools, and how to build hydro-electric dams.

In order to assist effectively in this matter the Government of Canada has arranged both to send highly qualified experts in many fields to these under-developed countries where their services are required, and also it is our policy to receive in Canada selected persons from these countries who will benefit by training in our educational institutions or in our industries.

There is a particular requirement for instruction in the science and art of Agriculture and so I expect that Mac-donald College will have the opportunity to fill an important place in these constructive programmes and I am sure that those who will take part will have the opportunity for most useful careers. Certainly those who do will have the deep satisfaction of engaging in an enterprise which is of immense practical significance in setting a path towards peace by the elimination of some of the basic causes of war.

And now in conclusion I think you will agree that a most remarkable change has come over the situation in the United Nations. The democratic peoples devoted to the cause of

individual Freedom, have taken new heart, and already they have moved far forward into close association for collective military action to defend their rightful interests, with that promptness and that great power which comes from unity and which the situation so evidently requires.

Likewise in the Forum of the United Nations where the peoples representatives of the nations may come to speak their minds without fear or favour, the positive purposes of the Association have kindled the imaginations of those who are able to help and so at last support commences to be given in more generous measure.

Thus we may hope that at the end of the long and hard, and now very dangerous, road which lies immediately before us that we will find at last the security and the peace we seek as a basis for widening the prospects for human betterment.

A.G.L. McNaughton

Ottawa

Sunday 5 November 1950

McGILL UNIVERSITY, MACDONALD COLLEGE SIXTH WAR MEMORIAL ASSEMBLY

Address by Rt. Hon. Louis S. St-Laurent, M.P.
Prime Minister of Canada
November 9, 1951

THE KIND OF NATION CANADA IS

It is both an honour and a responsibility to be giving the sixth of these Annual Memorial Addresses at Macdonald College. It is an honour to participate in any service of Remembrance of those who gave their lives in two world wars. But a heavy responsibility is coupled with that honour when one is expected, as a part of that ceremony, to make some contribution to the thinking of an academic community.

Both the honour and the responsibility are the greater because of the high distinction of the five gentlemen who have preceded me in giving these Annual Addresses. I have read all the Memorial Addresses and they have set a standard of excellence that it is going to be very difficult to equal.

I feel that I should like to relate my address closely to the occasion of this Memorial, and I feel that particularly because the date of my address is so close to Remembrance Day.

Twice in my generation, and at least once in all of yours, our country has asked its young men to put their lives in jeopardy. Seventy-four members of this College gave their lives in two world wars. Now, we did not ask this sacrifice lightly and those of us who remain have a duty and, I believe, most of us have a sincere desire to be worthy of that sacrifice.

But what does being worthy of it mean? I think we have to ask ourselves again a fundamental question. What was this sacrifice for? Why did our nation feel justified in asking young men and young women to risk and, if necessary, to give their lives? What was worth this price?

That question has been asked and enswered thousands and thousands of times in the last thirty-five years. I do not think I am going to be able to give you any new enswer. The conventional answer is, of course, the preservation of our freedom and the restoration of our national security. But, freedom and security are both abstractions, and I would like to try to give a more concrete enswer to the question.

In 1914, and again in 1939, a government existed in Germany which deliberately set out to destroy the separate independent existence of other nations. In both cases no real attempt was made to conceal the ultimate design to control all nations and to establish everywhere in the world a tyranny which

would be obnoxious on two accounts -- first because it was based on a conception of the superiority of one race over another, and second because under its regime the individual had no rights against the state.

of course, the Germans were not the first, and they will probably not be the last nation, in which a large number of the people regard themselves as belonging to a superior race. This attitude of superiority can unfortunately be found in most nations which achieve a position of power or intellectual and cultural eminence in the world.

There have been, in the past, plenty of Frenchmen who regarded their race as superior to all others. There have even been Englishmen with the same notion. In large part it emanated from pride in an impressive succession of worthwhile achievements.

In those cases it was a relatively harmless social affectation and it was not part of a system of government. But the idea that political rights can be based on racial superiority is one which is simply intolerable to Canadians. You may think the word 'intolerable' is a strong one, and I admit it is, and that is precisely why I use it. I say it is intolerable because it is impossible to be a Canadian in any sense worthy of that name unless we accept the very basis - both legal and moral - of our nationhood, which is that ours is an equal citizenship regardless of our race or origin and that, among Canadians, it is not ancestry which determines one's superiority but only individual worth.

Now, of course, there is nothing uniquely Canadian about the view that all the citizens in a nation are qual. That is just as true of France and England as it is of Canada. But what is unique about our Canadian citizenship, and what makes this notion of racial superiority perhaps even more obnexious to us than to some other nations is that our nation was founded, and has developed, as an equal partnership of two different races; a partnership in which each undertook to respect and to uphold the historic rights of the other.

I believe the experience we have had since the first union of 1840, in making this partnership of two races work, not always in complete harmony, but never with anything approaching active hostility, has given us Canadians a special capacity as a people to respect, and even at times to accept, points of view and courses of action, which at first seem strange and often somewhat distasteful to some of us.

Three weeks ago I attended the installation of the new Principal of Queen's University. In the course of the proceedings, Principal Mackintosh referred to a visit he had made this summer to the Commonwealth of Australia. He said that during this visit he had learned something about Australia and a lot more about Canada.

And, then he said one thing which struck me particularly.

I do not attempt to recall his exact words but simply to give
you their meaning. He referred to that extreme sensitiveness
we Canadians have developed because of our need, in our national

affairs, always to take account of the point of view of a group of fellow-citizens with a different mother tongue and a different culture from our own.

It seemed to me that, in that observation, Principal Mackintosh was putting his finger on one of the things which makes Canada the kind of nation it is, and which makes Canadians, whether their mother tongue is French or English, different from the citizens of other countries; which gives us some of our individuality.

I am not saying for a moment that it makes us any better than other people. All I am saying is that it does give us a special tendency to tolerate and respect others whose outlook is quite different from our own.

or at least political problems themselves would be rather simpler -if we lived in a country with a homogenous population all
speaking the same language and all having a common culture.

But we are certainly never going to have that situation in Canada, either in our generation or in any generation we can foresee.

And, while, such a situation might make our domestic problems a little simpler, I am not at all sure that it would make our most important political problem -- the problem of maintaining a secure national existence in this twentieth century world -- much easier.

The very fact that there has to be a lot of giveand-take if we are to find acceptable solutions of our domestic political problems often makes it easier for Canadians than for citizens of other countries to bring the same attitude of giveand-take to the solution of international problems.

What is more, recent experience suggests we no longer are finding the lack of a homogenous population a very serious obstacle to the development in our population of a unity of purpose about essentials, and we have certainly learned that there can be the widest possible difference between unity and uniformity.

Indeed, the fact that our population is drawn from many races has, I believe, been a positive advantage in making us realize that there is more to unity than mere standardization and that true unity does not involve the subjection of individual citizens to a common pattern, or a common mold prescribed by an omnipotent state.

I am sure that the young men and the young women from Macdonald College who served in two great wars had no desire to force any of their own fellow-citizens, or the citizens of any other country, to accept any other way of life than their own.

They were not fighting to force anything on any one.

But they were fighting for more than the physical safety of this country and its population. They were also fighting to preserve in the world a large enough area of freedom to make it possible for us in this country, and on this continent, to

maintain the way of life we have developed here; and to keep Canada the kind of nation we want it to be.

By their service and by the sacrifice of those who gave their lives, they nevertheless changed this nation of ours. They gave to our history a common memory of heroic and selfless action. Today all our people share a common pride in a common Canadian achievement in arms far from our own shores.

The record of the Canadian Army and Navy and Air Force has helped us all to become more conscious of the fact that every Canadian has the whole of Canada as his country. But what kind of nation is this one we have learned to cherish, this nation our youth have died for?

Before I began to prepare this address I read over the text of an address I delivered at the University of Manitoba on the 15th of May, 1935, when I was given an honorary degree by that university. I thought it was possible there might be some ideas in that address which would be worth brushing off and looking at again. I found -- what I had rather forgetten -- that on that occasion I was concerned, as I am tonight, with an examination of what kind of nation this one really is.

Now, I am not going to repeat all or even most of in what I said/that address, though I confess I was rather surprised to find that there were some parts of it I could still repeat.

In 1935 and, indeed, for most of the years since, one of our main internal political problems in Canada has been to find a proper and workable relationship between the federal

government and the provincial governments. I would not go so far as to say that we have the final answer yet, though I do believe we have made a lot of progress.

In 1935 here were, as there are today, some who feel that this country with its relatively small population would be far better off with only one government for all purposes instead of having a central government with sovereignty in certain spheres and provincial governments — there were nine in 1935, now there are ten — each sovereign in its own sphere.

At the other extreme, then as now, there were those who considered that all political power originally belonged to the provincial governments and that the federal government was merely a creation of the provinces and a creature with very limited powers indeed.

I could not agree then, and I cannot agree now, with either of these views. I reminded my audience in Winnipeg in 1935, as I now remind you, that about a century ago an attempt was made to write the provinces of Upper and Lower Canada under one single Parliament with power to legislate for all purposes, and it was found that such a union would not work. There were some things the two peoples -- for in 1840 they were still two separate peoples -- found they could do in common, but there were many more about which they could agree only by acting separately and each in its own way.

with the Maritime Provinces of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick -we now call them the Fathers of Confederation -- in a momentous
decision that one Parliament should be set up for all the
provinces of British North America to deal with those things
upon which common action was acceptable to all, and that separate
legislatures should be maintained to handle those matters about
which experience in the smaller Canadian union had shown there
were apt to be differences between provinces.

The Fathers of Confederation were wise enough to realize that these different ways of doing things were political facts and that the only way to deal satisfactorily with facts is by recognizing their existence and setting up a scheme of things them which takes/into account. One fact they recognized was that the people of each province feared possible domination by a majority from other provinces, and there would have been no union if that fear had no been taken into account.

We have grown a great deal since 1867, we have grown a great deal even since 1935, but we have not yet reached the stage when every Canadian citizen in every part of Canada confidently feels that he has nothing to fear for what he regards as his natural rights of free citizenship from the action of a possible majority of his fellow-citizens in other parts of the country. Some of us may feel that some of our fellow-citizens are too sensitive on this score but we all know that feeling still exists.

It seemed to me in 1935 and it seems to me today, that so long as there are a substantial number of Canadians who feel that there are other Canadians who might want to make them over into something different, something not of their own choosing, we must continue to recognize the existence of that feeling as a social and political fact.

If we attempt to make political or constitutional changes which overlook or ignore that fact, we will be reaching for something that is still beyond our grasp.

Now, I personally believe that it would no longer be even a possibility to find a majority of Canadians who would wish to take away from any of their fellow-citizens any of their historic rights. But it is not enough for some of us to feel that way.

If we are to be true to the memory of those we are honouring today, we must each and every one of us strive, by our own conduct and by the use of our own influence with others, to create a situation and a state of mind where all Canadians in every province will believe that all their cherished rights are completely safe against the encroachment of any possible majority of their fellow-citizens.

I repeat my conviction that that is already true, but we all know it is not yet the conviction of many of our fellow-citizens.

Now the development of that mutual confidence among Canadians is closely bound up with the question of the power to amend our own Constitution here in Canada, about which the federal and provincial governments have been conferring from time to time in recent months.

I expressed the view in 1935 -- and I have not changed my opinion -- that we should not attempt to take away from the fields of jurisdiction of the provincial legislatures and governments, without their consent, any of the subjects which are there now. In those fields, the legislatures themselves are autonomous. They empy a sovereignty just as complete as that of the federal Parliament in the sphere of its own jurisdiction. The one has no legal right -- and no moral right -- to encroach on the other.

And, for me, it is no answer to say that the people of the provinces are also represented in the federal Parliament.

It is true that they are represented there, but they are not represented there for matters which are of provincial jurisdiction. The only accredited representatives of the people for provincial matters are the members elected to the provincial legislatures.

I do not think we would be furthering the development of unity of purpose and unity of national sentiment in Canada by trying to take from any substantial minority of our citizens something which they regard, and which the Constitution entitled them to regard, as a right possessed by them, and which they are not themselves willing to exchange for the reputed advantages of greater uniformity.

Now, there are, no doubt, some matters about which greater uniformity is a real advantage. Some ten years ago, with the approval of all the provincial authorities, we did amend the Canadian Constitution to permit the federal Parliament to establish a national system of Unemployment Insurance. Unemployment Insurance is the kind of thing which would be almost impossible to work, and quite impossible to work efficiently, within the boundaries of any province. That change in the Constitution was made with the assent of the provincial authorities, because they were convinced that, in giving their assent, they were not sacrificing the rights of any individual or any minority it was their duty to preserve, and I think every one today would agree with that view. No minority rights and no individual rights have been sacrified because we now have Unemployment Insurance.

Constitution again with the assent of the provincial authorities all in/the provinces. This amendment gave the federal Parliament the jurisdiction necessary to establish contributory old age pensions. It was agreed to because the advantages of giving all Canadians, no matter what province they live in, equal security for their old age had become obvious to every one.

It was again something which, while technically within provincial jurisdiction, involved no infringement of fundamental individual or minority rights. But though many were impatient with the delays, no action was taken until the authorities in all

the provinces were prepared to give their unanimous approval;
and I am convinced that was the right course if we wished our
fellow-citizans to feel that all their rights were being respected.

Now, there may be other cases where it might be in the interests of all Canadians to have greater uniformity but where the provincial authorities or the population in some of the provinces are not yet convinced of the advantages of this uniformity. They may be mistaken in their appraisal of the advantages of the proposed exchange of provincial jurisdiction for greater uniformity.

But we all make mistakes and it is one of the greatest privileges of human intelligence to be free to choose according to one's lights. Is that not precisely one of the elements of our way of life -- which the young men and women whose memory we are honouring, were prepared to die for.

I believe it is, and I hope it always will be, one of the characteristics of our nation that we Canadians do not try to destroy the freedom of choice of our fellow-citizens, but that we strive instead to increase the lights by which that freedom of choice may be directed to wise decisions. It may, in future, be wise to make other constitutional changes as I think it has been wise in the case of Unemployment Insurance and Old Age Pensions. But those changes should not be forced; the consent should be free consent.

useful and necessary in constitutions only so long as the citizens in whose favour they are designed to operate have reason to feel that without them their rights and privileges might be trespassed upon by their fellow-citizens, then it seems to be that the proper way to rid ourselves of such of these written restraints as experience shows are unnecessarily embarrassing, is to build up our confidence in each other and so bring our fellow-citizens to see that the great majority of their fellows are fair-minded and can be trusted. We are doing that very thing, now, and we have been doing it for quite a long time, when we measure time by the span allotted to one or two generations. But one or two generations cover but a short space of time in the life of a nation.

When I first made that statement in 1935, I went on to say that I had such confidence in some of my fellow-citizens and that the more I got about and mingled with them and got to know them, the more of my fellow-Canadians I found in whom I had that confidence and the more I found who seem d to have a like confidence in me. But I said then that I was not yet sure that I should have the same confidence in all my fellow-Canadians. That was in 1935.

Well, I have gone about quite a lot since 1935 and I have seen a great deal more of Canada than I had then, and a great many more Canadians. In those sixteen years, we Canadians have also changed a great deal. Today I do not believe there

are more than a handful of Canadians in any community in any part of this country who want to make over their fellow-citizens into something fundamentally different.

And, I doubt if even the small minority who would like to make over their fellow-citizens into something different really believe it could be done by the decree of any majority or, indeed, by any kind of force which could ever be successfuly employed in a free country.

I am not exactly the counterpart of my grandfather who lived through the days of the 1830's, and none of you is the same kind of Canadian your grandparents were. I do not expect that my children's children and their grandchildren will have the same outlook on Canadian problems and Canadian citizenship that I have. But that does not mean that any of us wants to be made over into a different kind of Canadian at the dictation of somebody else. To borrow a simile from the motor world, each of us is a 1951 model Canadian, but there are several 1951 models, and none of us wants to be turned into a different model.

From what we all have in common and from what we each can contribute out of our won, I believe we can evolve a type of Canadian citizenship alongside of which all the 1951 models will be revered but none the less antiquated herlooms. But, in the course of that evolution I am convinced that we should not depart from certain fundamental principles, and of these the greatest, I believe, are respect for the rights and the individuality of other Canadians -- a stubborn refusal, if you like, to coerce our fellow-citizens -- and a steady growing mutual confidence in the

good will and good faith of other Canadians.

So long as we cherish those principles, Canadians will be keeing faith with the memory of those we are honouring in this Momorial ceremony at Macdonald College.

SIXIEME COMMEMORATION DES MORTS DE LA GUERRE - COLLEGE MacDONALD DE L'UNIVERSITE McGILL.

Allocution du

très honorable Louis-S. St-Laurent,

Premier ministre du Canada

1 9 novembre 1951

LE CARACTÈRE DE LA NATION CANADIENNE

On m'a fait beaucoup d'honneur et de confiance en m'invitant à adresser la parole à cette sixième cérémonie annuelle du Souvenir au Collège Macdonald. C'est un honneur, en effet, de participer à une cérémonie qui rappelle le souvenir de ceux qui ont donné leur vie dans l'une ou l'autre des deux guerres mondiales.

Mais cet honneur comporte aussi une lourde responsabilité pour celui qui a pour mission, au cours de cette cérémonie, d'offrir matière à réflexion à un groupement universitaire.

Cet honneur et cette responsabilité m'apparaissent plus grands encore lorsque je songe à la haute distinction des cinq orateurs qui m'ont précédé. J'ai lu tous leurs discours commémoratifs, et ils ont établi un niveau d'excellence bien difficile à égaler.

Je suis naturellement porté à rattacher le thème de mon allocution à l'esprit de cette commémoration, surtout à la veille du Jour du Souvenir. Deux fois dans ma génération, et au moins

..../

une fois dans la vôtre, notre pays a demandé à ses jeunes gens de risquer leur vie.

Au cours des deux guerres mondiales, soixante-quatorze membres de cette institution ont donné leur vie. Ce n'est pas à la légère que nous leur avons demandé ce sacrifice et ceux qui leur survivent ont le devoir, - et je crois que nous avons à coeur pour la plupart, - d'être dignes de ce sacrifice.

Que signifie être dignes de ce sacrifice? Il est, je crois, une question essentielle que nous devons nous poser de nouveau: quel était le but de ce sacrifice? Pourquoi notre nation a-t-elle cru devoir demander à de jeunes hommes et à de jeunes femmes de risquer et, au besoin, de donner leur vie? L'enjeu en valait-il la peine?

On a posé cette question et on y a répondu des milliers de fois au cours des trente-cinq dernières années. Je ne crois pas pouvoir vous donner de réponse inédite. Il nous fallait, dit-on ordinairement, sauvegarder notre liberté et restaurer notre sécurité nationale. Mais, liberté et sécurité sont des abstractions, et je voudrais essayer de donner à la question une réponse plus concrète.

En 1914, et à nouveau en 1939, il y avait en Allemagne un gouvernement qui voulait de propos délibéré mettre fin à l'existence indépendante et distincte d'autres pays. Dans l'un et l'autre cas, on n'a pas réellement cherché à dissimuler le dessein ultime qui était de dominer toutes les nations et d'établir une tyrannie universelle qui eût été doublement odieuse: d'bord parce qu'elle reposait sur la théorie de la supériorité d'une race sur une sutre; ensuite, parce que sous son régime l'individu n'avait aucun recours contre l'Etat.

Certes, l'Allemagne n'est pas la première nation, et elle ne sera probablement pas la dernière, où une bonne partie de la population aura cru appartenir à une race supérieure. Cette idée de supériorité se retrouve malheureusement chez la plupart des nations qui atteignent à un niveau élevé de puissance matérielle ou de culture intellectuelle.

Bien des Français ont prétendu dans le passé que leur race était supérieure aux autres. Il y a même des Anglais qui ont eu la même prétention. Ce sentiment provenait dans une grande mesure de la fierté qu'inspire toute une ère d'importantes réalisations.

Il s'agissait là d'une vanité collective assez anodine, et non d'un principe inhérent à un système de gouvernement. Mais l'idée que les droits politiques puissent se fonder sur la supériorité raciale est une chose que les Canadiens trouvent tout simplement intolérable. Vous me direz peut-être que le mot "intolérable" est dur; j'en conviens et c'est précisément pour cela que je l'emploie. Je dis que c'est une chose intolérable, parce qu'on ne saurait être un Canadien digne de ce nom si l'on ne reconnaît pas le fondement même, - juridique et moral, - de notre condition nationale, savoir que notre citoyenneté est une citoyenneté égale, sans distinction de race ou d'origine, et qu'au Canada ce n'est pas l'ascendance qui détermine la supériorité,

Bien entendu, l'idée que tous les citoyens d'une nation sont égaux n'est pas l'apanage exclusif des Canadiens. On peut en dire autant de la France et de l'Angleterre que du Canada. Mais ce qui est particulier à la citoyenneté canadienne, et ce qui nous rend l'idée de supériorité raciale peut-être plus odieuse encore qu'à d'autres nations, c'est que la nôtre a été fondée et s'est développée sous le signe de l'égalité en tant qu'association de deux races différentes dans laquelle chacune s'engageait à respecter et à maintenir les droits historiques de l'autre.

Je crois que l'expérience que nous a vons eue depuis le premier régime d'union, celui de 1840, en faisant vivre cette association de deux races, pas toujours en parfaite harmonie, mais jamais en des termes ressemblant tant soit peu à une animosité réelle, a fait de nous, Canadiens, un peuple particulièrement apte à respecter, et même parfois à accepter, des points de vue et des lignes de conduite qui de prime abord nous paraissaient étranges et souvent quelque peu déplaisants.

Il y a trois semaines, j'assistais à l'installation du nouveau principal de l'Université Queen's. Au cours de la cérémonie, le principal, M. Mackintosh, a parlé d'un voyage qu'il a fait l'été dernier en Australie. Il a affirmé que ce voyage lui avait appris certaines choses sur l'Australie mais bien davantage sur le Canada.

Il y a un passage de son discours qui m'a frappé. Je ne chercherai pas à le citer au texte, mais simplement à vous en donner le sens. M. Mackintosh a parlé de l'extrême sensibilité que nous avons développée au Canada à cause de la nécessité où nous sommes dans nos affaires nationales de toujours tenir compte du point de vue d'un

groupe de compatitiotes qui diffère du nôtre par la langue maternelle et la culture.

Il m'a semblé qu'en faisant cette observation le principal de Queen's mettait le doigt sur un trait, entre autres, qui fait de la nation canadienne ce qu'elle est et qui distingue les Canadiens, francophones ou anglophones, des citoyens des autres pays, et qui nous confère une partie de notre individualité.

Loin de moi la pensée de prétendre que nous sommes par là supérieurs aux autres peuples. Tout ce que je dis, c'est que, de ce fait, nous sommes plutôt portés à la tolérance et au respect envers ceux dont les conceptions diffèrent tout à fait des nôtres.

Certes, la tâche des hommes politiques serait beaucoup plus facile, - ou du moins les problèmes politiques eux-mêmes seraient passablement simplifiés, - si nous vivions dans un pays à population homogène, où tous parleraient la même langue et auraient la même culture.

Mais tel ne sera jamais notre lot au Canada, ni au cours de notre génération ni dans un avenir prévisible.

St même si pareil état de choses simplifiait quelque peu nos problèmes nationaux, je me demande si le plus important de nos problèmes politiques, - celui qui consiste à assurer notre existence nationale dans ce monde du vingtième siècle; - serait beaucoup plus facile.

Par le fait même qu'il nous faut souvent recourir à des formules de concessions mutuelles pour trouver une solution acceptable à nos problèmes politiques, il est souvent plus facile aux Canadiens qu'aux citoyens des autres pays de prendre une attitude conciliante lorsqu'il s'agit de résoudre les problèmes internationaux.

De plus, l'histoire toute récente de notre pays démontre que l'hétérogénéité de notre population a cessé de constituer un obstacle sérieux à la manifestation, au pays, de l'unité de dessein que requièrent les choses essentielles, et nous avons certainement appris qu'il peut y avoir toute la différence du monde entre l'unité et l'uniformité.

En vérité, le fait que notre population procède de plusieurs races a servi fort utilement à nous faire comprendre que l'unité est plus qu'une simple standardisation, et que l'unité véritable n'implique pas la sujétion de chaque citoyen à un mode d'existence uniforme, ni l'imposition d'un moule commun par un Etat omnipotent.

Je suis certain que les jeunes gens et jeunes femnes du Collège Macdonald qui ont fait du service au cours des deux grandes guerres ne souhaitaient nullement plier leurs concitoyens ou les citoyens d'un autre pays quelconque à un genre de vie autre que celui qui leur était propre.

Ils n'ont pas combattu pour imposer quoi que ce soit à qui que ce soit. S'ils ont combattu, c'était pour quelque chose de plus grand que la simple sécurité physique de leur pays et de sa population. Ils ont aussi lutté afin de sauvegarder dans le monde une zone de liberté assez vaste pour que nous puissions préserver chez nous et sur notre continent le mode de vie que nous nous sommes donné et afin de permettre au Canada de rester ce que nous désirons qu'il soit.

Néanmoins, par leur dévouement, et par le sacrifice de ceux d'entre eux qui ont donné leur vie, ils ont transformé notre nation. Ils ont doté notre histoire du souvenir commun d'un effort héroque et désintéressé.. Aujourd'hui, les exploits de nos soldats loin du pays réunissent tous nos contitoyens dans un même sentiment de fierté.

Les hauts faits de l'Armée, de la Marine et de l'Aviation canadiennes nous ont aidés à sentir plus vivement que chaque Canadien a pour patrie le Canada tout entier. Mais quelle est donc cette nation que nous avons appris à chérir et pour laquelle notre jeunesse est allée à la mort?

Avant de préparer cette all cution, j'ai relu un discours que j'avais prononcé le 15 mai 1935 à l'Université du Manitoba, où l'on m'avait cohféré un grade honorifique. Il me semblait, en effet, que ce discours devait contenir certaines idées qu'il vaudrait la peine de relever et d'examiner à nouveau. J'ai constaté, chose que j'avais à peu près oubliée, - qu'en cette occasion je m'étais donné pour tâche d'analyser, comme ce soir, le caractère véritable de la nation canadienne.

Je ne redirai pas en entier, ni même en grande partie, ce que j'ai dit alors, bien que, j'en conviens, j'aie été surpris d'y trouver des passages que je pourrais répéter encore aujourd'hui.

En 1935, et de même pendant presque toutes les années qui ont suivi, l'un des principaux problèmes de notre politique intérieure a été d'asseoir sur une base rationnelle et acceptable

les rapports entre le gouvernement fédéral et les gouvernements des provinces. Je n'irais pas jusqu'à dire que le problème est définitivement réglé, mais j'estime que nous avons fait beaucoup de progrès dans ce sens.

Il y avait, en 1935 comme aujourd'hui, des gens qui pensaient que notre pays, avec sa population relativement faible, aurait avantage à n'être soumis qu'à un seul gouvernement ayant compétence dans tous les domaines, au lieu de l'être à un gouvernement central n'ayant d'autorité que dans certaines sphères, et à des gouvernements provinciaux, - neuf en 1935, et maintenant dix, - possédant chacun la souveraineté dans sa propre sphère.

Alors comme aujourd'hui, à l'autre extrême, certains étaient d'avis que, tout le pouvoir politique ayant appartenu à l'origine aux gouvernements provinciaux, le gouvernement fédéral n'était qu'une création des provinces, une créature investie de pouvoirs fort restreints à la vérité.

Pas plus alors qu'aujourd'hui, je ne pouvais souscrire à l'un ou l'autre de ces points de vue. En 1935, je rappelai à mes auditeurs de Winnipeg, comme je le fais en ce moment, que l'on avait tenté, il y a un siècle environ, d'unir les provinces du Haut et du Bas Canada sous l'autorité d'un seul Parlement investi du pouvoir de légiférer dans tous les domaines et qu'on s'était rendu compte qu'une telle union n'était pas viable. Il y avait certaines choses que les deux peuples, - car, en 1840, il s'agissait

bien encore de deux peuples distincts, - pouvaient accomplir en commun, mais il y en avait beaucoup plus au sujet desquelles ils ne pouvaient s'entendre qu'en agissant chacun séparément et à sa façon.

A cette époque, les hommes d'Etat du Haut et du Bas Canada se joignirent à ceux des provinces Maritimes, de Nouvelle-Ecosse et du Nouveau-Brunswick, - nous les appelons aujourd'hui les Pères de la Confédération, - pour prendre la décision capitale de constituer un Parlement unique pour toutes les provinces de l'Amérique du Nord britannique, qui devait exercer son autorité sur les domaines où une action commune rencontrait l'agrément de tous, et de conserver des législatures distinctes pour les domaines où l'histoire de la première Union avait révélé la possibilité de divergence entre les provinces.

Les Pères de la Confédération eurent assez de sagesse pour comprendre que ces différentes manières de faire les choses représentaient des faits politiques, et que la seule façon de disposer d'un fait c'est d'en reconnaître l'existence et d'instaurer un ordre de choses qui en tienne compte. L'un des faits qu'ils reconnurent, c'est que la population de chaque province redoutait la domination éventuelle d'une majorité formée dans les autres provinces: l'union eût été impossible si cette crainte n'était pas entrée en ligne de compte.

Nous nous sommes grandement développés depuis 1867, nous avons beaucoup grandi même depuis 1935, mais nous n'en sommes pas encore arrivés au point où chaque citoyen canadien, dans chaque partie du Canada, a le sentiment de n'avoir rien à craindre, pour ce qu'il considère comme ses droits naturels de libre citoyen, de la part d'une majorité de ses concitoyens qui se formerait éventuellement dans d'autres parties du pays. Quelques-uns d'entre nous peuvent trouver certains de nos concitoyens trop sensibles sous ce rapport, mais nous savons tous que cette crainte subsiste.

Aujourd'hui comme en 1935, il me semble qu'aussimiongtemps qu'un nombre appréciable de Canadiens continueront de penser que d'autres Canadiens pourraient vouloir les rendre différents de ce qu'ils sont, les transformer contre leur gré, nous devrons continuer de reconnaître l'existence de cette crainte en tant que fait social et politique.

Si nous tentons d'opérer des remaniements politiques ou constitutionnels sans tenir compte de ce fait, nous nous heurterons à des difficultés insurmontables.

Je pense, pour ma part, qu'il n'est plus même possible de trouver chez les Canadiens une majorité désireuse d'enlever à d'autres Canadiens la moindre partie de leurs droits historiques. Mais il ne suffit pas que cette conviction soit le fait de quelques-uns seulement d'entre nous.

Si nous voulons nous montrer fidèles à la mémoire de ceux que nous honorons aujourd'hui, nous devons nous efforcer, tous et chacun, par nos actes et par l'influence que nous pouvons exercer sur autrui, de créer un état de choses et un état d'esprit grâce auxquels tous les Canadiens de chaque province pourront avoir la certitude que tous les droits qui leur sont chers sont entièrement protégés contre les emiétements de toute majorité possible de leurs concitoyens.

J'ai la conviction, je le répète, qu'il en est déjà ainsi, mais nous savons tous que bon nombre de nos concitoyens ne partagent pas encore cette conviction.

Or, l'affermissement de cette confiance mutuelle chez les Canadiens est étroitement lié à la question du pouvoir de modifier nous-mêmes, au Canada, notre propre constitution, question au sujet de laquelle le gouvernement fédéral et les gouvernements provinciaux ont conféré plusieurs fois depuis quelques mois.

J'ai exprimé l'avis en 1935, - et ma manière de voir n'a pas changé, - que nous ne devons chercher à soustraire à la compétence des législatures et gouvernements provinciaux, sans leur consentement, aucun des domaines qui relèvent d'eux actuellement. Les législatures sont elles-mêmes autonomes dans ces domaines. Leur souverbineté est aussi complète que celle dont jouit le Parlement fédéral dans ses propres sphères de compétence. Aucune des parties n'a le droit, ni juridiquement ni moralement, d'empiéter sur le terrain de l'autre.

A mon sens, on ne répond pas à l'objection en disant que la population des provinces se trouve aussi représentée au Parlement fédéral. Il est vrai qu'elle y est représentée, mais ce n'est pas pour les questions qui relèvent de la compétence des provinces. Les seuls représentants accrédités du peuple en ce qui concerne les questions provinciales sont les députés élus aux législatures provinciales.

Je ne crois pas que nous puissions favoriser l'unité de dessein ni l'unité du sentiment national au Canada en cherchant à enlever à une minorité importante de nos citoyens ce qu'ils considèrent, et ce que la Constitution les autorise à considérer, comme un droit qui leur appartient et qu'ils se refusent à échanger contre les prétendus avantages d'une plus grande uniformité.

Il existe, sans doute, certains domaines où une plus grande mesure d'uniformité comporte des avantages réels. Il y a une dizaine d'années, par exemple, nous avons, avec l'approbation de toutes les autorités provinciales, modifié la Constitution du Canada pour permettre au Parlement fédéral d'établir un régime national d'assurance-chômage. L'assurance-chômage est précisément l'une des mesures qu'il serait presque impossible de mettre en ocuvre, et tout à fait impossible de mettre en ocuvre avec succès, dans les limites d'une province quelconque. Cette modification de la Constitution s'est accomplie avec l'assentiment des autorités provinciales, car celles-ci avaient la conviction qu'en y donnant leur assentiment, elles ne sacrifiaient les droits d'aucun particulier ou d'aucune minorité qu'elles avaient le devoir de sauvegarder, et

il me semble qu'aujourd'hui nous sommes tous d'accord sur ce point.
Aucune minorité ni aucun particulier n'a perdu l'un de ses droits
du fait que nous avons aujourd'hui un régime d'assurance-chômage.

a la Constitution, toujours avec l'assentiment de toutes les provinces. Ce nouvel amendement conférait au Parlement fédéral les pouvoirs nécessaires pour instituer un régime contributoire de pensions de vieillesse. Cn y a consenti parce que tout le monde se rendait compte des avantages qu'il y avait à assurer à tous les Canadiens, dans quelque province qu'ils habitent, une égale sécurité dans la vieillesse.

Il s'agissait encore une fois d'une question qui, tout en ressortissant en principe aux provinces, ne comportait aucun empirement sur les droits des particuliers ou des minorités.

Malgré l'impatience d'un grand nombre devant certaines lenteurs, aucune décision n'est intervenue avant que les autorités de toutes les provinces ne fussent disposées à donner leur consentement unanime; je suis certain que c'était le seul parti à prendre si nous voulions que nos concitoyens aient l'impression que tous leurs droits étaient respectés.

Il y a peut-être d'autres cas où tous les Canadiens auraient intérêt à réaliser une plus grande uniformité, mais où les autorités provinciales, ou la population de certaines provinces, ne sont pas encore persuadées des avantages de cette uniformité. Peut-être n'estiment-elles pas à leur juste valeur les avantages que présenterait l'échange projeté des pouvoirs provinciaux contre une plus grande uniformité.

Mais nous faisons tous des erreurs, et c'est l'un des plus grands privilèges de l'intelligence humaine que de pouvoir opter, chacun suivant ses lumières. N'est-ce pas là précisément un des éléments de notre mode de vie, pour lequel les jeunes gens et les jeunes femmes dont nous honorons aujourd'hui la mémoire étaient prêts à donner leur vie?

Je crois, et j'espère qu'il en sera toujours ainsi, que l'une de nos caractéristiques nationales réside en ce que les Canadiens n'essaient pas de détruire la liberté d'opter de leurs concitoyens, mais qu'ils s'efforcent, au contraire, d'augmenter les lumières qui peuvent orienter cette liberté vers des décisions saines. Il sera peut-être sage à l'avenir d'insérer de nouveaux amendements dans notre constitution, tout comme il a été sage de le faire dans le cas de l'assurance-chômage et des pensions de vieillesse. Mais ces amendements ne doivent pas être imposés; ils doivent être librement consentis.

Si j'ai raison de penser que les garanties écrites ne sont utiles et nécessaires dans une constitution, qu'aussi longtemps que les citoyens qui doivent en bénéficier ont lieu de croire que sans elles leurs droits et privilèges risqueraient d'être violés par leurs concitoyens, il me semble que la meilleure manière de nous défaire de celles de ces restrictions (crites, qui à l'épreuve se sont révélées inutilement embarrassantes, est de créer un climat de confiance mutuelle et, par là, de faire voir à nos concitoyens que la grande majorité de leurs compatriotes sont équitables et dignes de confiance. C'est précisément ce que nous faisons à l'heure actuelle, et c'est ce que nous faisons depuis longtemps.

si nous mesurons le temps en fonction de la vie d'une ou deux mais la vie d'une ou deux générations générations/ne représente qu'un court espace de temps dans la vie d'une nation.

Lorsque j'ai exposé cette idée pour la première fois, ne 1935, j'ai ajouté que j'éprouvais ce sentiment de confiance envers certains de mes compatriotes et que plus je les fréquentais et plus j'apprenais à les connaître, plus j'en trouvais en qui je pouvais avoir cette confiance et plus j'en trouvais qui avaient une confiance réciproque en moi. Mais j'ai dit aussi que je ne savais pas encore avec certitude si je devais témoigner la même confiance à tous mes compatriotes. C'était en 1935.

Je me suis beaucoup déplacé depuis, et j'ai appris à connaître le Canada mieux que je ne le connaissais alors, et j'ai connu
un grand nombre d'autres Canadiens. Au cours de ces seize années,
les Canadiens ont notablement changé. Aujourd'hui, peu importe la
région considérée, je me demande s'il y a chez nous plus qu'une
poignée de Canadiens qui voudraient faire subir à leurs compatriotes
une transformation fondamentale.

Et je me demande si même cette faible minorité de Canadiens, désireux de transformer leurs compatriotes, croient réellement pouvoir atteindre ce but par le décret d'une majorité quelconque ou, disons plus, par toute mesure coercitive susceptible de réussir un jour dans un pays libre.

Je ne suis pas exactement du même type que mon grand-père, lequel a connu les années 1830, et nul d'entre vous n'est un Canadien du même type que ses grands-parents. Je ne m'attends pas que les enfants de mes enfants et leurs petits-enfants aient les mêmes vues que moi sur les problèmes canadiens et la citoyenneté canadienne. Mais il ne suit pas de là que nous soyons prêts à devenir des Canadiens d'un autre type de par la volonté d'autrui. Pour emprunter une comparaison au monde de l'automobile, chacun de nous est un Canadien du modèle 1951, mais il existe plusieurs modèles 1951, et personne d'entre nous ne tient à être métamorphosé en un modèle différent.

Avec ce que nous avons tous en commun et avec l'apport que chacun peut fournir, je crois que nous finirons par crécr un type de citoyenneté canadienne auprès duquel tous les modèles 1951 seront respectés mais ne seront rien de plus que des témoins suranné d'un autre âge. Mais au cours de ce lent processus, nous ne devrons pas démordre de certains principes fondamentaux, dont le plus important est, à mon avis, le respect des droits et l'individualité des autres Canadiens, - ou, si vous voulez, le refus inflexible de contraindre nos compatriotes, - et une confiance mutuelle toujours grandissante dans la bonne volonté et la bonne foi des autres Canadiens.

Tant que ces principes nous tiendront au coeur, les Canadiens seront fidèles à la mémoire de ceux que nous honorons aujourd'hui, en cette cérémonie du souvenir, au Collège Macdonald. enfints de mos enfants et leurs petits enfants atent les mêmes vues que mot sur les problèmes canadiens et la citoyenneté canadienne, sats il ne suit pas de là que nous soyone prêts à deventr des Canadiens d'un autre type de par la volonté d'autrui. Pour emprunter une comparaison au monde de l'automobile, chatun de nous est un Canadion du modèle 1951, smais il existe plusieurs modèl s 1951, et personne d'entre nous ne tient à pare métamorphosé en un modèle différent.

avec de que nous avons tous en commun at avec l'apportu

que chacun peut fournir, je crois que nous finirons par erect un type de citóyenneté canadienne auprès duquel tous los modèles 1991 seront respectés asis ne seront rien de plus que des téncins suranné d'un autre n;e. dais au cours de ce lent processus, nous ne devrons pas démordre de certains principes fondamentaux, dont le plus important est, à mon avis, le respect des droite et l'individualité des autres Canadiens, - ou, et vous voules le refus inflexible de contraindre nos compatriaces, - et une confiance mutuelle toujours grandissante dans la bonné volonte et la bonne foi des autres Canadiens.

Tant que des principes nous ticndront au codur, les Cahadiens seront tidèles à la mémoire de ceux que nous honorons aujourd'hui, en cette cérémonie du souvenir, au Collège Accdonaid.

FRONT PAGE -- ADDRESS DELIVERED BY -- THE VERY REVEREND J. O. ANDERSON, MC, DD

Dominion President, Canadian Legion, B.E.S.L.

ress delivered at MacDonald College, to the War Memorial Assembly - Nov. 14/55

Many of you will recall the mild epidemic which rippled through university circles about seven years ago. It was usually observed at graduation exercises, appearing just as the speaker had reached that point about going out into the world to face life. A child from the audience would run towards the assembled graduates and shout: "Daddy! Can we go home now?"

This epidemic was referred to as the veteran's syndrome, I believe. But the veteran brought more than these small-sized outbursts of confusion to the Canadian campus. He brought with him a philosophy which is desperately needed in the world today. He brought a great feeling of universality for all mankind. He didn't see humanity merely as a series of racial or national groups. He didn't express these sentiments in highly philosophical terms, but nonetheless he had come to understand humanity as composed of human beings, motivated by the good and evil drives to which we are all heirs.

This outlook was developed possibly as a form of compensation. The veteran had let a savage and precarious existence. He had come to grips with life, had seen human nature at its lowest ebb. He had been forced to do things which may have been a direct violation to his moral principles and training. Yet, generally speaking, he emerged from the war with a high regard for human life and a keen awareness of humanity. He brought with him the ability to feel the suffering which the war imposed upon his defeated enemy as well as on his allies.

I believe that basically this is what the psychologists call empathy. In the case of the veteran, this sense of empathy gave rise to a highly civilized set of moral values. Today, I submit that this

feeling is a very important factor in deterring mankind from committing mass suicide. I also suggest that this ability to feel what the other fellow is feeling is more important to college students than any course on the cirriculum. The world needs a moral sense, more so today than at any time in history.

Dr. Alexis Carrel has said:

"Moral sense is more important than intelligence.

When it disappears from a nation, the whole social structure commences to crumble away."

Has our social structure started to crumble away? Some people might argue that it has. Although within the past twenty years our technology has soared through realms of what hitherto was the limitless unknown, we have at the same time become victims of our own Frankensteins of science. We talk of launching satelites into space, yet our knowledge of human relationships is languishing somewhere in the middle ages. Our own inventions are threatening our existence because we cannot get along with fellow human beings.

Undoubtedly this theme of extinction is familiar. It has rung down through the ages since the invention of the cross-bow. But never before has it been backed with such a sobering accumulation of scientific proof.

For instance, Dr. Ralph Lapp, a consultant to industry on atomic fusion in the United States, recently said that his country has developed a super-nuclear device capable of producing radio-active fall-out which could destroy all civilization.

I can't conceive that any nation would voluntarily unleash these monsters. But I can conceive that a chain-reaction of doom might get out of control if small groups of men, driven by paranoic fears, felt a compulsion to defend themselves. And today's strategists insist that the best defence is attack.

Paranoic fears, it should be remembered, are not the exclusive property of totalitarian powers. They can dominate any nation where ignorance, suspicion, fear and lack of understanding prevail. This was essentially the situation in the United States during Senator McCarthy's rise to prominence. Fortunately, the more responsible elements of the American senate were able to bring about the debacle of McCarthyism. However, the affair did point out one thing with incisive clarity. According to newspaper polls, at one time almost half of the American people were supporting the senator from Wisconsin. In the name of democracy, they were subscribing to tactics which gouged and ripped at the very fabric of what they were trying to preserve. They were denying the individual the right of criticism, of free speech, the right to reason and even the right to a fair trial.

How did these things come about? This was Washington in 1953 not Munich in 1937. As we watched the sorry theme unfold, it was sobering to realize that the same thing could happen anywhere; anywhere where the people have become reduced to thinking in terms of slogans, catch-phrases; initials and prepared statements. They could happen anywhere where there is ignorance, suspicion and fear, where any divergence from the accepted norm is considered an act of hostility.

This is why we must learn to hink in terms of human beings, not merely in terms of symbols, statistics and ideologies. In the hands of unthinking and unimaginative men ideologies no matter how nobly con-

ceived become ponderous.cliche-ridden masses which clutter up the orbit of human thought and activity. We know what has happened when such ideologies have clashed in the past. We are all afraid to think of what will happen the next time they clash.

Immediately following the last war, I read a rather cynical but pertinent observation by an author whose name I have forgotten. His comment on war seems even more prophetic in view of today's nuclear weapons. He said:

"Wars don't show who was right, They merely show who is left."

The only thing one might add is that there are grave doubts that another war would show even this.

The picture of the future is not bright when viewed in the light of today's technology and today's attitudes. But we do have the raw material to brighten that picture.

And that material is found in man himself. Even in this age of destructive forces, man remains indestructable. Although physically vulnerable to his own instruments of destruction, man possesses the soul, the spirit and the adaptability to survive. To do so, however, he must grow mentally and spiritually. He must use these attributes to harness his science to constructive tacks.

The soul of man himself is the foundation on which the nuclear world will be built, not his machines nor his scientific development. But the men we are speaking of will not be the men of yesterday. The men of yesterday was all too often short-sighted, too restricted in his thinking and in his relationship to his fellow-man.

Many of these men are still with us today. For example, what is our criterion of a socially acceptable norm, the minimum requirement which qualifies a person for the popular label of "good citizen"?

It seems that if a man stays out of jail, refrains from beating his wife, shoots a fair game of golf and makes a yearly donation to some charity, he usually passes as a good citizen.

This type of man has only a mild interest in what is going on in the next community, until perhaps some disaster strikes. Unless he happens to be a Canadian interested in the world series, he has less interest in what is happening in a neighboring country. As for what is happening in a neighboring continent, he couldn't be less concerned. Perhaps in an unusually expansive mood, he reflects briefly on the western world. But this is the extent of his scope. He may know that the western world incorporates about one quarter of the world's population. Yet the other three-quarters of the world's population couldn't be more remote from his passing thoughts than the notion his firm should establish branch offices on Mars.

This is the man of yesterday. As I said, he is still with us to a large extent. Such a man is not equipped to inhabit the world of gieger counters and radio-active fellout. Because of his mental attitudes, he is like a child playing with a loaded pistol. He is mentally hemmed in by inbred prejudices, limited experience and a sense of smugness over his superior political and economic systems.

This men has had his day. His successor must bring a sense of compassion, co-operation, and moral justice to his relationship with other humans. He must bring these things with an intelligence and an intensity never before attempted. He must be a hopefull "out-going" man, with the faculty of reaching out and grasping an appreciation of human conditions in other lands.

It would be absurb to over-simplify things by saying that a sense of empathy towards our fellow-man will determine the course of man's history. It is not offered as a panacea which will immediately cure all the ills of a neurotic world. But it is one vital element which must enter the social,

political and economic relationships which now go to create world tensions and hostility.

William Faulkner pointed up the need for human understanding in his acceptance speech upon the award of the Nobel Prize for literature.

Although he referred to writers, the same can be said generally:

"Our tragedy today is a general and universal physical fear so long sustained by now that we can even bear it. There are no longer problems of the spirit. There is only the question: when will I be blown up? Because of this, the young man or woman writing today has forgotten the problems of the human heart in conflict with itself which alone can make good writing because only that is worth writing about, worth the agony and the sweat.

"He must learn them again. He must teach himself that the basest of all things is to be afraid; . . . leaving no room in his workshop for anything but the old verities and truths of the heart . . . love honor and pity and pride and compassion and sacrifice.

"Until he does so he labors under a curse. He writes not of love but of lust, of defeats in which nobody loses anything of value, of victories without hope and worst of all without pity or compassion. . . "

There is no doubt that more empathy or understanding or common sense is needed. But where is it coming from and how can it be applied?

Mr. Pearson's recent trip abroad is evidence of an encouraging trend. A large measure of the Minister for External Affair's success was due to the fact that he was dealing with flesh-and-blood people who had

living ideas and living problems. In other words, the men across the conference tables were not mere caricatures.

Again in a recent report from Singapore on the Colombo Plan there is more heartening news that we are becoming aware of the need to get closer to the other fellow's point of view. Here is what Norman Smith of the Ottawa Journal wrote:

"The Colombo Plan, which has been called one of the friendliest clubs in the world, should pass a house rule that it should always meet in one of those teeming Southeast Asia countries whose great needs it is designed to fill . . . For here in Singapore, the geographical centre of the Colombo Plan, delegates with the money and the technical know-how cannot fail to see, smell and feel the task ahead of them."

Today more than ever before, we all — but especially you students must also learn to see, smell, and feel the task ahead, because it is from the colleges and universities that the nucleus of tomorrow's man must spring. Other generations have been charged with leaving classrooms to win wars.

Your responsibility is even greater, for yours is to make the Peace.

In the past there may have been an unfortunate tendency on the part of students to entertain stimulating thoughts and new concepts during college years only. These thoughts and attitudes were too often discarded with old notebooks after the final examinations. Today, college students no longer can afford to discard these new ideas. Rather you must seek to translate them into reality.

As you seek them, to measure the world and project your place in it -- beware of two things:

on one hand don't fall into the trap of cynicism. It is so easy to do so today and it creates the illusion of an impressive sophistication. On the other hand beware of the easy attitude of viewing the world as an abstract problem — like a scientist viewing a strange bug through a microscope. This attitude makes the future sterile indeed. We need not only the courage to see, but perhaps more important the will to persist, which alone provides the necessary prelude to hopeful living.

Thus a basic concern for humanity must shape the environment of your world. It won't do this tomorrow, next year. As I said earlier, the veteran in a new way realized the good and the evil which is in man. The evil is with us for some time, I'm afraid. But I am convinced that man can develop new patterns of behavior and thinking which will minimize this evil and finally with God's help overcome it.

Disciplined, directed intelligence removed from prejudice,
large in scope and imbued with a moral sense of what is right for mankind -here are the factors which will help solve our problems. You are the people
who can apply these factors. It will not be an easy task. When you leave
college you will find that these ideals will be battered, bent, and tortured.
You will often wonder if they can survive in a mundame world. The answer is,
that in you, they must survive.

WAR MEMORIAL ADDRESS

Macdonald College

March 18, 1958

Delivered by Dr. Gerald W. Johnson

"The whole earth is the sepulchre of heroes, and their story is not graven only on stone over their native earth, but lives on far away, without visible symbol, woven into the stuff of other men's lives."

So said Pericles in the greatest of all eulogies of the valiant dead, and his words are the explanation and justification of my presence here. A man of the south, I come to pay tribute to men who once were Canadian, but whose story is now woven into the stuff of my life; for these men died for liberty and, so dying, became additions to the honor not of Canada alone, but of the human race. Valor transcends all boundaries, and the martyrs of freedom are one community, the fraternity of those whose fealty to liberty makes them the glory of manhood to the ends of the earth.

Yet "to pay them tribute" is an inexact and misleading phrase whose use is excusable only because it is conventional. The heroic dead need no tribute from us. They are far beyond the reach of our poor praise. The only adequate reason for such an assemblage as this is described in the words of a great leader of my own country: "that from these honored dead we take increased devotion to that cause for which they gave the last full measure of devotion."

The place where they gave that last full measure, and the uniform they wore when they gave it, are immaterial; the cause is all that matters, and the cause is "eternal hostility to every form of tyranny over the mind of man." It was one of yours who uttered the injunction,

Take up our quarrel with the foe:
To you from failing hands we throw
The torch; be yours to hold it high,

yet the admonition lies not upon you alone, but upon all men everywhere to whom the cause is dear.

It follows that a war memorial address is effective only to the extent that it lifts the torch in an effort to illuminate not the past, that already shines by the splendor of great deeds, but the murky present and the darkness of the future. Who is prepared, who is competent to carry forward into the unknown this light that has come down to us from the brave men of old?

Negative ansers spring to the mind at once: not the faint-hearted; not the weak-willed; not the blind idolators of things past, nor the frantic iconoclasts who would repudiate the past. But the positive answer is not so easily framed. Precisely because the future is shrouded in darkness we cannot identify with any

certainty those who are to be its heirs. It behooves us, therefore, to speak softly on the matter, having in mind the words of the Apostle, "let us prophesy according to the proportion of faith," which is to say tentatively and in humility.

This is not the fashion of the times. The liberty-loving nations are confronted by opponents who speak with an arrogant certainty hardly attained by Ozymandias of Egypt in the inscription on his broken monument, and it is a temptation to reply to them in terms that match their own. But to claim all knowledge is to establish precisely that tyranny over the mind of man that we are sworn to oppose. If we allow insolent taunts to provoke us into abandoning our own faith, we defeat ourselves.

It was a medieval superstition of the East that the Great Name of Solomon was potent to control the Jinn. It is equally a modern superstition of the East that the Great Name of Marx is potent to control history. In our revolt against such delusions, let us ever beware of running into their counterpart, setting up a superstition of the West that the Great Name of Democracy is potent to control all injustice.

Some of our own people seem to have done just that. To be specific, in the United States we have developed a widespread political heresy that confuses form with substance. Because with us democracy is the form in which the spirit of liberty expresses itself, shallow thinkers have fallen into the delusion that democracy is liberty, and in the name of democracy they have endeavored to suppress freedom of thought. This scandal is, as I believe, directly attributable to the reaction against the intellectual arrogance of Communism, but it is none the less a scandal. It is repudiation of the heritage of the past and of the brave men who died to make us free.

The flight from intelligence is, however, more a nuisance than a grave menace. The stampede of the thoughtless is an ever-present menace, but it is an old one with which we have learned how to deal. It annoys, but it does not perplex men of sense.

Of an entirely different order is the shift in the very bases of thought brought about by modern science and technology as exploited by materialistic political philosophy. This troubles the wisest among us. The panic of light minds, even when it breaks out in attacks on liberty, is a triviality by comparison with the dissolution of categories effected by mathematical physics.

When leather-lunged fools infest the land, bellowing from every street-corner that thinking is a crime, the situation is indeed serious for the thinker, who comes in danger of the scaffold or the stake. But it is far more serious when he is compelled to recast his entire system of thinking about the universe around him. When the lines of demarcation fade between such concepts as time, space, mass, and energy, and all seem about to merge into a monad without attributes, thoughtful men are bound to consider the hypothesis that the spreading disintegration may affect the concepts of justice, freedom, and value in general. This brings us in danger of losing our intellectual footing, which is far worse than the danger of being hanged.

It inevitably occurs to us that to summon men to lift high the torch that will illumine our path into the future is not rational, if there is to be no future; and technology has made that a definite possibility. To live for the truth and die for the truth is not the course of reasonable men, if all values are relative; and dialectical materialism raucously proclaims that such is the case. This is the real crisis of our generation, by comparison with which the ranting of demagogues is a triviality.

To this, accordingly, I invite your attention, not that I cherish the delusion that anything said here will contribute to a solution. There is no solution as yet, nor do I expect one to be discovered for many years. This, like every really great problem in human history, will yield only to long and persistent attack by many men from many directions. What I have to offer is merely the small consolation of an escape clause; whatever the final outcome of the philosophical debate, you and I are under contract to hold to the position of freemen until that position shall be utterly demolished.

I suggest, furthermore, that to him who considers all its implications there may be in this gathering a gleam of light in the darkness of the future. You are assembled in memory of the men who have died in battle for your country, and you have deemed it fit and proper to summon a man from your neighbor country to join you; for you know that any citizen of the United States must account the summons an honor and a privilege.

This results from the peace that has reigned along our common boundary for more than five generations. Without the presence of a soldier or a fortress on either side of the line, peace has been established so firmly that its breach is unthinkable. To us this is a matter of course, but not to most of mankind. Because peace reigns on a frontier three thousand miles long, most of it open country without natural defenses, all the world wonders.

I submit that this wonder is a shameful thing, a reflection on the intelligence of mankind. The world lacks the wit to perceive that this peace, far from being mysterious, could not have been prevented, given the conditions that have existed all these years. It is not due to the superior wisdom and virtue of the people of Canada and the United States. It is not due to any lack of belligerence in either, for both have fought wars all over the world. It is due simply to the fact that each of these neighbor governments is dedicated to the proposition that it derives its just powers from the consent of the governed. Each is the representative of a free people, and people who are truly free are always respectful of the freedom of others.

We have quarreled, not once but repeatedly, and there are matters in dispute between our governments at this hour. Each country is and has always been jealous of its rights; but since we are persuaded that every freeman has inalienable rights, it necessarily follows that there is a point at which your rights begin, which is precisely the point at which my rights end. Every quarrel between us, then, has been a quarrel over the location of that point, not a denial that it exists; and the location of a point is a matter that may be determined by reason, but never by force.

Between nations so committed peace is not remarkable, it is inevitable, for the sufficient reason that their common objective is not attainable by military power; one might as reasonably study geometry with a rhyming dictionary, or summon a carpenter to cure a fever. Yet a large part of the world clings to the fantastic delusion that truth may be revealed by the ordeal of battle. It is irrational, for all that battle has ever determined, or ever can determine is the relative weight of power.

But the weight of power, physical power, is not related to liberty, that bows only to the power of truth. Subservience to physical power is the brand of the slave, whether it be through fear of its exercise, or through pride in its possession. A nation of men who are actually free is estopped by its own nature from the use of force to establish its rights.

The military potential of the United States is usually estimated at about ten times that of Canada, but the disparity might be increased indefinitely without the slightest danger to the Dominion from the Republic as long as both are committed to freedom. What would constitute a serious threat to Canada would be for the people of the Republic to come under the influence of false prophets who would seduce them from their allegiance to liberty and convert them to the worship of force.

As a citizen of the United States I should be happy to dismiss this as a purely imaginary danger, but if I did so recent history would convict me of being less than candid. We are as prolific of false prophets as any other nation and sometimes they have acquired dangerous popularity. After the shock of the great double assault that was finally beaten off in 1945, many of our people were deluded into tolerating the sacrifice of essential liberty under the specious plea of national security. That delusion, I am convinced, is now subsiding, but it would be fatuous to assert that it can never appear again. Under the right conditions it can reappear; and the ultimate disaster, to you as well as to us, would be for it to obtain complete control.

A bold and confident Republic, however powerful, offers no threat to any other free nation; but a terrified, uncertain Republic would be a threat to itself and to everyone else, especially to its closest neighbors. President Eisenhower, commander-in-chief of tremendous armed forces, is a protection rather than a menace to Canada; but a protagonist of terror, such as the late Senator McCarthy, could be a serious danger to you as well as to us. The safety of Canada's southern border depends very largely on the steadiness of the courage of the United States.

The record of the past is ample warrant that that courage will not freeze in the face of any physical danger. We are not now and never have been afraid of armed men. Their menaces arouse us only to indignation. But some of our people are hag-ridden by fear, not of foreign foes but of liberty itself, always suspecting that tomorrow it will degenerate into license. They tremble at the thought, not of invading Russians but of home-grown heresy. Unwittingly they have adopted toward political liberty the attitude that Robert Burns' character, Holy Willie, held toward piety -- the attitude that I, of course, am capable of enjoying liberty with reason, but it is very doubtful that you can do so, and the

fear that any day you may go mad and turn Communist keeps me awake at night.

The successful record of nearly two hundred years has not abolished this fear, and probably it can never be entirely eliminated for it contains a small element of truth. Liberty is always dangerous, as nobody knows better than Canadians, who have been in an exposed position throughout their history. The man who wrote our national anthem was guilty of a tautology when he made the refrain read "the land of the free and the home of the brave". The land of the free is the home of the brave, necessarily so, for if they are not brave they will not long remain free.

But as old Holinshed remarked long ago, times change and we are changed with them. Liberty remains dangerous, but the threat is not what it was in earlier times. No Invincible Armada now menaces us with subjection to the rule of Spain. The Most Christian King is long gone, and the House of Bourbon with him. To Canada and the United States alike the British Lion is a trusty friend, no peril. Yet freedom remains dangerous.

Part of its present danger does undeniably consist in the rise of a great power committed to the philosophy of dialectical materialism and in possession of formidable military strength. But I cannot agree with those who hold that this is the only, or even the greatest threat to the survival of political freedom as we have known it in Canada and the United States. The Red army is big and tough, but so was the German army, and where is that army now? All sensible men hope to avoid a collision with the Reds, but if a collision comes we do not expect to be on the losing side.

It is not the Red army that fills us with such dread that otherwise intelligent men are hinting that we have learned nothing political in twenty-five centuries, that Plato said the last word when he denounced as nonsense the idea that men in the mass are capable of governing themselves successfully. Yet this is no more than a theory and while, as Robert Louis Stevenson remarked, every rational man is afraid of dentists and of a large enemy with a club, it does not follow that rational men should be overcome by fear of theories.

There are, however, some terrors based not on theory, but on solid fact. Liberty may indeed turn into license, but it may not. Science, however, has already turned into a Gorgon's head whose mere view petrifies the souls of men. It has released physical forces of such magnitude that imagination reels under the effort to comprehend them. For the first time in human history we contemplate seriously the possibility that man may destroy the terrestrial globe, and that not in some apocalyptic future but soon, easily within the span of our own lives. We do not perceive any comparable release of power in the moral realm. Our control of physical nature has run far in advance of our control of human nature, and the imbalance offers such frightful possibilities that while our physical courage remains unimpaired, our moral courage freezes and we hesitate, we falter, we are rendered almost impotent by our fear of the non-material.

by our scientists and engineers are certainly capable of destroying civilization and perhaps of destroying the world itself. In the hands of barbarians they would probably be so used. It is equally certain that the western culture of the twentieth century has not eliminated the barbarian. The record of Adolf Hitler matches in savagery that of Attila, or Genghiz, or Tamerlane. These are demonstrated facts, and it is childish to attempt to deny them or ignore them.

But are they the most significant facts of recent history? I venture to deny it, and to assert that the most significant fact is that Hitler did not survive. Attila, Genghiz and Tamerlane lasted, respectively, twenty, twenty-one, and forty-four years and passed on their conquests to their heirs. Less than six years after he launched his attack on civilization Hitler died under the ruins of his own flaming capital. He began in possession of new weapons of enormous destructive power, but nevertheless he was wiped out. That is the most significant fact of the twentieth century.

In 1939 we saw the barbarian equipped with every engine of destruction that science and technology had been able to devise up to that time. Some of them, as for instance the armored division, the long-range rocket and the snorkel submarine, were vastly superior to anything of the kind possessed by any other nation. But in 1945 we saw Hitler reduced to an incinerated corpse, his hordes dead with him, his homeland laid waste and under the subjection of invading armies.

There is only one possible explanation of this Lucifer's plunge
With hideous ruin and combustion down
To bottomless perdition.

It is that the Nazi power came into collision with a force that in the long run proved superior to anything that science and technology could produce. That is what happened, but some men do not yet believe it because that force was not a material thing; it was the courage of men who dared be free.

It is fitting, then, that we take occasion to turn our minds to the memory of such men not with praise only, and not only with gratitude, but also with a certain uneasiness. We say that they died that we might be free, which is true enough, but why did they think that our freedom would be worth their lives? There can be but one answer: they were filled with a happy certainty that we would be fit to be free.

That is the disconcerting element in a war memorial service. Praise of the valiant, recognition of the true, gratitude to the loyal, all are part of it, and all are inspiring; even mourning for the lost is balm to the spirit, for

They shall not grow old, as we that are left grow old; Age shall not weary them, nor the years condemn, And at the going down of the sun and in the morning We will remember them. But this other thing, this torch flung to us from failing hands -- dare we assert that we hold it high? Yet if we let it droop, if we permit its light to flicker and grow dim, how can we lift up our heads to look upon our monuments, how can we stand here otherwise than abashed with faces turned to the ground?

It is no answer to point out that our situation is different, that the dangers that harass and alarm us are not armed men, but non-material foes, folly, and greed, and hate, in our own hearts and those of other men, evils against which all the saints and sages have thus far striven in vain, so how shall we hope to subdue them? It is no answer, for these to whom we speak are those who did not triumph, but who fell in battle. To doubt that we can win is no answer to one who died that we might have the chance to fight. There is no answer at all in words, only in the deed, only in brandishing the torch above our heads in defiance of the darkness that surrounds us.

True liberty, said Lord Acton, consists only in a man's freedom to do what his conscience tells him is right. To secure this liberty for us brave men have paid with their lives, and in so doing they have laid on us a duty more binding than the decree of any Caesar, more compelling than the whip of any slave-driver. For no man's conscience ever told him that it is right to throw scornfully aside a gift purchased at such a price.

Men of this Dominion, men of my Republic, really have no choice. Self-contradictory as it sounds, we are compelled to be free, held to liberty under a bond sealed with the blood of brave men. To the pessimists, then, whose faltering voices declare that Plato was right, that the experiment of self-government is doomed to defeat by the ineradicable vices of men, let us say, "Gentlemen, your words are irrelevant, for they come too late; freemen we will live until as freemen we shall die, for the price has been paid and all your cavilling cannot unseal the bond".

This, you observe, is not a refutation of what they say. I do not know that it can be refuted, nor do I care. The simple fact is that they have no standing because they do not argue to the point. We are committed, and the rest is action, not argument.

Yet if I left it at that I should be concealing part of my thought. I must add my profound conviction, logical or not, that the pessimists who despair of liberty are not only recreant, but fatally misled. Liberty is dangerous, yes, but it is just "out of this nettle, danger, we pluck this flower, safety". As Canada and the United States, being both free nations have lived at peace, so as freedom shall spread throughout the world, peace will follow its advance.

I do not claim that the policies of either the United States or Canada in dealing with each other and the rest of the world have always been altogether wise, or even altogether honest. We have often gone astray and doubtless we shall go astray again, at great cost in treasure and, it may be, in blood.

But to the extent that these two nations recognize and respect the

dignity of the individual; to the extent that they base their policies on the theory that in the masses of men there is enough of wisdom and virtue to enable them to govern themselves better than they can be governed by a master; to this extent they are not only right, but they have touched the hem of Immortality. Even if their political institutions should in the course of time be overwhelmed, even if they should perish in the attempt, yet they would survive, for their story would not only be graven on stone, but would live on far away, woven into the stuff of other men s lives.

In all reverence I attest this prophecy with the opening words of one of the first documents of American liberty, the Mayflower Compact:
"In the name of God, Amen!"

**

Thirteenth Annual War Memorial Assemb

Hovember 11, 1958

and the parme in the ecomic had being and the parme.

of the scientists. This stress

WAR MEMORIAL ADDRESS

Delivered by

B. C. GARDNER

M.C. D.C.L. LL.D.

CHANCELLOR OF McGILL UNIVERSITY
1952 to 1957

to the

Thirteenth Annual War Memorial Assembly
November 11, 1958

This Memorial Day ceremony was inaugurated for a dual purpose - first, to recall to memory the sacrifices and services of those who served in the Armed Forces in both the First and Second World Wars.

Today's commemoration is noteworthy because it is now forty years since the Armistice of 11th November, 1918, brought that long and bloody war to a conclusion. I have used those words because for those who have not taken part in warfare a battle seems something like a glorified football game. It is nothing of the kind - it is a horrible, ghastly business in which many dark deeds are done and which brings suffering, wounds and death to many, and yet it brings out the shining courage and self-sacrifice of which men and women are capable.

We cannot think without emotion of those who went forth out of a sense of duty to fight in order that our liberties might be defended and preserved. Their sacrifices we can never repay, but your presence here this morning clearly shows that their sacrifices are remembered and, living or dead, we honour them.

"THEY SHALL GROW NOT OLD, AS WE THAT ARE LEFT GROW OLD: AGE SHALL NOT WEARY THEM, NOR THE YEARS CONDEMN. AT THE GOING DOWN OF THE SUN AND IN THE MORNING WE WILL REMEMBER THEM."

And I do remember my old comrades in arms - loyal, light-hearted, modest in victory, undaunted in reverse, and over all having a keen sense of humor. There can be in this world no finer feeling of comradeship than is to be found among the members of a well-trained unit, of whatever service, bound together in a common cause.

The terms of this Memorial Foundation further stipulated that the Annual Address is to be delivered by a person of eminence and its purpose shall be to promote an intelligent understanding of world affairs by young Canadians.

While I am proud to follow in the footsteps of those really eminent speakers who have addressed this Assembly in recent years, I should like to make it quite clear that I am far from qualifying as eminent and my knowledge of foreign affairs is not based on an intimate and close study of this field. Rather I hope to put before you some thoughts which occur to me as an ordinary citizen.

Moreover, since I undertook to make this address, trouble has flared up in the Middle East and in the Formosa Strait, and indeed every day seems to bring changes in the international outlook. It is therefore a bold man who would at this time say anything about foreign affairs. However, I am committed and will do the best I can.

I do not intend to speak of Canadian-American relations because I am satisfied that our problems will be tackled, and I believe solved, in a manner that might well be expected as between good friends and neighbours.

We don't like their wheat disposal program and they don't like our effort to divert trade to the United Kingdom.

We don't like their attitude tending to restrict our exports and we complain of their infiltration into control of many of our natural resources, and yet without such capital assistance and know-how Canada's industrial progress would have proceeded at a much slower pace.

It is certain that however difficult, and at times awkward, we must work together in the defence of North America, but there always have been, and there always will be, problems of command when Canadian Armed Forces are placed at the disposal of a foreign power - however friendly.

But for my part, my belief is that no question can arise between the United States and Canada which is not capable of a satisfactory and friendly solution.

All of us here present have a vital interest in what our Government is doing and in the train of thought which responsible Ministers follow in carrying out their heavy responsibilities.

But the public - that is you and I - have to bear our share of the responsibility. I think it was Clemenceau who said that "WAR IS FAR TOO IMPORTANT A BUSINESS TO BE LEFT TO THE GENERALS" and I think we may fairly say that Foreign Policy is far too important to be left to politicians.

It was the hope of all both at the time of the First World War and also of the Second World War that as a result we could look forward to a peaceful and happier future. It is true to say that these hopes have not been fulfilled. Indeed the prospects for peace seem bleak indeed.

But as a result of Canada's participation in these Wars and the contribution it has made to victory, Canada, while not being one of the great powers, is in a position to wield an influence in world affairs quite disproportionate to its population; and we are in a particularly happy position to make ourselves felt for three major reasons -

Firstly, we are seeking nothing for ourselves. We covet no country's territory or resources. We do not seek to impose our will on others.

Secondly, we desire to live in harmony with all countries not only the U.K. and the U.S.A., but with the U.S.S.R. and the Peoples Republic of China, and with the Formosan Chinese.

Thirdly, we seek to expand international trade.

These attitudes, I believe, are supported by the majority of Canadians; certainly there is no difference of opinion about the first of these attitudes.

We need not count it as a virtue to ourselves that we live in such a bounteous country. Rather it should encourage us to think of those countries less fortunate in natural and technical resources and in many cases with no room for expansion. Such countries have problems the like of which do not trouble us in Canada.

With regard to the second point - friendly relations with all countries - our policies are bound to be influenced by our powerful neighbour to the South and also by our membership in the British Commonwealth, in the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, and in the United Nations, but we have now reached a stage of development which entitles us to make a truly Canadian approach to world problems as they arise.

Canadians are not willing to tag along with policies formulated and actions taken without consultation with our Government, especially where Canada would be expected in the event of trouble to stand behind our friends.

Although I for one do not know exactly what our Government said in the Suez crisis, it was quite clear that Canada was not prepared to back the policy, and it was not very pleasant to see Canada, the U.S.A. and Russia lined up together on the same side at the United Nations.

This incident, and perhaps the more recent one in the Middle East, stresses the importance of close consultation both within the United Nations and between members of the Commonwealth.

It is of paramount importance to the free world that a substantial measure of agreement should be reached on all questions involving matters of high policy, and as the time element is frequently of importance, full and continuous discussion and consultation would seem to be essential before, rather than after, any step of major importance is taken. We do not like being faced with a "fait accompli".

There have recently been some encouraging signs of independent thought by those responsible for the conduct of our foreign relations. Mr. Sidney Smith has called attention to the habit of the Washington Government permitting unnamed spokesmen of their Foreign Department immediately commenting adversely on any proposal made through the proper channels by Russia, and as a result of the wonderful worldwide system of communication, these comments circle around the entire world within twenty-four hours. I think it may interest you to hear Mr. Smith's exact words on this subject - (Quote) "IT IS NOT THE VIEW OF THE CANADIAN GOVERNMENT THAT WE SHOULD ALWAYS SAY 'NO' OR 'NYET' (Russian for 'NO') TO A RUSSIAN PROPOSAL".

"I MUST SAY FRANKLY THAT I AM DISTRESSED AT THE RECEPTION BY 'OFFICIAL SOURCES AND RELIABLE SPOKES-MEN' IN WASHINGTON TO ANY PROPOSAL FOR A HIGH-LEVEL CONFERENCE."

"I MUST SAY THAT I AM GREATLY DISTURBED WHEN WE READ OF A PROPOSAL FOR A HIGH-LEVEL CONFERENCE AND THEN THE NEXT MORNING WE READ PRESS REPORTS FROM WASHINGTON QUOTING THESE SPOKESMEN TO THE EFFECT THAT IT IS TO BE TURNED DOWN." (Unquote)

Very soon after this - a matter of weeks - another note was received at Washington and an unofficial spokesman of the Foreign Office immediately commented - "JUST A RE-HASH OF PROPOSALS ALREADY DECLINED BY THE AMERICAN GOVERNMENT".

It does not seem to be helpful to amicable relations if important questions affecting great nations are bandied about by people acting anonymously in an alleged official capacity. The radio makes sure that such statements are immediately circulated round the whole world.

We must all recognize that broadly speaking the world is divided into two camps - Communist and non-Communist - and the outstanding question is whether or not it is possible for these two

groups to enjoy peaceful coexistence. Only time will answer this question but in the meantime I make one suggestion, namely, that people in high places on both sides of the Iron Curtain might well refrain from saying what they will do to each other in the event of war. I do not think it makes for a good atmosphere when endeavouring to reach agreements on control of armaments. On the contrary such threats place a premium on mutual fear and distrust.

I suppose we all agree that every country has a right to adopt any particular economic system which appeals to it, and if so then we cannot quarrel with the Communist countries for their choice, but unfortunately it would seem to be difficult, if not impossible, to impose their system without depriving the individual of his inherent right of free expression, of criticism, and of choice generally, with the result that human dignity and freedom are sacrificed on the altar of State monopoly. In short the State is everything and the individual simply a cog in the machine of production.

It is well known that poor social conditions create a state of affairs which fosters dissatisfaction, rioting and revolution and it is in such an atmosphere that Communism is able to find supporters.

If this is so then the importance of the Canadian Government's policy of giving technical and financial aid to countries that need it can hardly be overrated. The amount of such assistance under all headings granted since the end of World War II has reached the gigantic sum of \$4,400,000,000., a sum equal to over \$275. per head of our population. Of this amount \$1,802,000,000. was by way of loan and \$2,622,000,000. by way of Grant.

This assistance is in harmony with the modern change of thought. In the first half of this century the more advanced countries improved the social conditions and the economic standing of their own citizens, as evidenced by Old Age Pensions,

Unemployment Insurance, Workmen's Compensation, Family Allowances, and other benefits, and by the redistribution of income in various ways, the slogan being "SHARE THE WEALTH".

Now the conscience of mankind tends to apply this same policy in the International field in order to raise the standards of living among the mass of the people in the under-developed countries.

While financial and technical assistance can be of great help, if full results are to be achieved the efforts by domestic labour and management must also be forthcoming - as standards of living can be raised only by increased production.

It is therefore most encouraging to note that at the recent Commonwealth Conference, the Government undertook substantially to increase its grants under the Colombo Plan and to make generous contributions of food to Commonwealth countries by way of loan and grant. In addition, financial assistance is promised for the Commonwealth Educational Exchange Program, which provides for exchange of students between Commonwealth countries thus broadening the knowledge of selected students and leading to a better understanding of each other's problems.

International trade is I think closely interwoven with foreign relations. Although it is dangerous to prophesy, the destructive machines now available to both sides in any future war seem to me to be powerful deterrents to the ambitions of individuals and governments. Rather, I believe, the war is apt to be an economic one - perhaps economic war is the wrong description - rather we should say a struggle for trade, and this need not be harmful, indeed the great expansion of international trade may well be expected to raise worldwide standards of living - but to hold our own in that field we must be prepared to work with both hand and brain and with a determination to support our free enterprise system, which has brought to us a high standard of living without trespassing on our liberties and our democratic way of life.

In confirmation of this view Lord Montgomery wrote in a recent article (and I quote)

"WE NOW FACE AN ECONOMIC AND FINANCIAL WAR, DIRECTED AT THE VERY FOUNDATIONS OF OUR CIVILIZATION AND STANDARD OF LIVING. IF WE LOSE IT, INTERNATIONAL COMMUNISM WILL GAIN A BLOODLESS VICTORY" (unquote)

But the outcome of this economic struggle in this scientific age is largely dependent on the quality of the teaching provided at our universities and also on the quality of the students.

I suppose it can be said that under our present system too many promising students find themselves unable to obtain a university training because of lack of financial resources and I feel that in this respect we may be falling behind the race in research and technology because we are not tapping the brains of the whole community, and while I cannot speak with authority on the subject, there is some feeling that in our public schools insufficient provision is made for the development and teaching of outstanding pupils. And here I should like to mention the recent splendid gift of Mr. J. W. McConnell to establish scholarships for deserving students, who in the absence of such might be debarred from pursuing their studies at University level.

With the enormous size of our national, provincial and municipal budgets it seems to be a short-sighted policy to fail to vote adequate funds to support a broad national educational system.

Of course I recognize that education is a provincial matter but surely that need not hinder the building up of an adequate system, suitable to the needs of the whole of Canada.

While I for one cannot become too excited about the Sputniks and prospective journeys to the moon, it is my belief

that no first-class mation can afford to be left behind in the field of education.

In thinking of the Soviet Republics as trade competitors, I feel that we are sometimes apt to forget that economic laws apply to their economies as well as to those of the free world. It may be true that specific industries can for a time sell their output at a loss in order to produce foreign exchange which might be badly needed, but broadly speaking the Russians do not like plants operating constantly in the red any more than the free world does. However the penalty for failure and inefficiency is apt to be a little harder in Communist countries than in the free world.

International trade can be an important factor in the effort to establish and maintain peaceful relations. It benefits governments and puts money in the pockets of the people at large, raises the standard of living, and reduces social tension. It has been said of individuals that "WHERE YOUR TREASURE IS THERE SHALL YOUR HEART BE ALSO". I believe this has some significance for international trading. It is poor business to quarrel with a good customer.

I suppose that the corner stone in our foreign policy is the maintenance of friendship with the U.K. and the U.S.A., but our interests are not always identical. I am thinking at the moment of trade with China, which, so the report goes, has been restricted by the internal policy of the United States. But, apart from one specific incident it is not clear to many Canadians why trade cannot be opened up with China. We must not forget that Canada is bounded on the West by the Pacific Ocean and I submit that China presents a wonderful potential market for Canadian exports because of its enormous population, the extent of its territory, and the developments already taking place in that country. You cannot write off a country with over half a billion people simply because you don't like their economic views, or their political institutions. It seems to some people that our policies are driving the Republic of China into the arms of the Russians, although Chinese trade has traditionally been carried on with the Western countries.

However, in advancing these views I am aware that whereas our exporting is in the private hands of individuals, Chinese trading is I understand done by Government agencies, which in itself presents difficulties; and moreover, it is now said that we cannot expect trade to develop because of our failure to recognize the Chinese Government. Perhaps here we should have a second look.

What the peoples of this earth desire to hear is that a workable arrangement has been made whereby armaments of all countries will be reduced and limited, that the appalling costs may be lifted from their backs and that they may look forward with some confidence to a peaceful and prosperous existence for themselves and their children.

Let us look for a few moments at our own expenditures on Defence. In 1949 the Department spent \$269 Million for National Defence. The estimates for the current fiscal year stand at One Billion, Seven Hundred Million (\$1,700,000,000.) and account for 33% of Total Budgetary Expenditures. This expenditure is no doubt fully justified on the basis of insurance but it is almost pure waste from an economic and social point of view. What splendid use could be made of these funds in the field of Health and Education, and Housing.

Do not think for a moment that I favour unilateral disarmament - no - we must maintain our defences until the actions of our potential enemies are more in harmony with their smooth words.

There is at present no indication whatever that the Communistic countries have abandoned their policy of world domination, so we must not run the risk of losing our priceless heritage by failing to maintain a position of strength.

I expect most of you feel, as I do, a sense of frustration and impotence in the face of world forces which are gathered about us. Eisenhower himself has recently admitted that he

faced a new crisis nearly every day. We must not, and cannot, complain of our leaders whom we have elected to govern us, but we can support them and perhaps prod them along lines which we believe to be right and help to develop a healthy public opinion on foreign affairs.

In support of this view, I quote what an experienced and distinguished European diplomat has recently said, "FOREIGN POLICY CANNOT BE BASED ON ANYTHING BUT CLOSE COOPERATION BETWEEN GOVERNMENT AND PUBLIC OPINION".

Since Confederation voters have largely been concerned with domestic affairs. For nearly a half century we dwelt under the shield of the Pax Britannica and, being without the cost of maintaining armed forces, we built a coast-to-coast transportation system, we opened up the Great North West, we became great producers of wheat and developed our mining and timber resources.

I suggest to you young men that we must now begin to interest ourselves in foreign affairs, because I believe in that field Canada will have a great part to play not only by its own contribution but as a catalyst to break down hostile viewpoints of differing countries. I believe it is right to say that Canada has no enemies and is therefore in a position to help in reconciling conflicting views.

Some thirty or forty years ago we felt if was not necessary to concern ourselves about what happened in Egypt, in the Middle East, in India, China and in Indonesia, in Africa, but now we must do so. Pick up the daily paper and almost without exception you will find headlines referring to the happenings in these countries, of which we are bound to take cognizance.

We live in ONE WORLD and we cannot be indifferent to low standards of living, to millions existing on one meal ahead of starvation, to illiteracy and all the misery that these things bring in their train. All this distress is bound to have repercussions upon us. As the poet has written "NEVER SEND TO KNOW FOR WHOM THE BELLING.

TOLLS - IT TOLLS FOR THEE".

While we are busy watching developments in the U.S.S.R. there is a danger that we do not look closely enough at our own failings and deficiencies. I have the feeling that, with nations as with individuals, if they are guided by right principles and follow honourable courses, all will come right in the end. In short, I believe that right makes might and if the world is not organized on that basis it would hardly be worth while struggling against wrong.

It follows that our domestic policies and those of our friends should be firmly based on the dignity of the individual and the equality of civil rights regardless of colour, race or creed. The free nations have, I think, some room for improvement here.

One thing is certain - the Communist and non-Communist countries must find some way to live together, and that soon. The alternative seems to be increasing tension, the building up of huge armaments, and eventual war.

Here in Canada we have our own domestic problems - among them -

- (1) Disposal of our oil and wheat;
- (2) The provision of adequate and expanded educational facilities at all levels;
- (3) The establishment of enlarged facilities for hospitalization and the health of the community.

I do not for one minute underrate their importance, but in comparison with the maintenance of peace they dwindle into insignificance.

I recognize how embarrassing and unpleasant it must be for our statesmen to negotiate with people they distrust and whose actions they condemn, and it is not likely that in our generation the Communist leaders will conform to our Christian standards of conduct, but surely there are some qualities which we humans can share - a love of justice, a love of our fellow man, and love of family - which may be said to transcend religious belief in so far as they are to be found in all peoples regardless of creed.

You may well say that in recent months we have seen little sign of the love of justice in certain countries behind the Iron Curtain, but it is only fair to say that in countries on both sides of the Iron Curtain protests have been heard against the travesty of justice in Hungary and the treatment accorded to the novelist Pasternak in recent weeks. I think we may take it as a hopeful sign that there are virtues in mankind which rise above political expediency and economic theory, and perhaps the appeal should be to the common people every where rather than to their political masters.

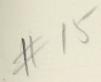
Is this too idealistic an approach? Perhaps it is, but surely we must make further efforts to live in harmony with other nations. Cannot we find some common ground so that the peoples of the world may live in peace, earn a living, enjoy reasonable comfort and leisure, and raise a family who will be given an education suitable to their talents and abilities? I suggest that mutual suspicion and mistrust can gradually be diminished by development of international trade, by the encouragement of travel, by exchange of scientific and medical knowledge, by the exchange of cultural activities, and, as I have mentioned before, by economic, scientific and technical assistance to those nations in need of such. But, overriding all these things our Foreign Policy should be broad-based on the dignity of the individual and on human freedom and recognition of the common humanity of all peoples.

Is it too much to expect less emphasis will be placed on force of arms and national ambitions and more on the fact we are all human beings, no matter of what race, colour, or nationality, and that the mass of the people desire friendly relations with their neighbors? Perhaps we can all play our part, as individuals, in encouraging and developing such attitudes. Canadians are great travellers and as suc

can act as missionaries in the cause of peace and goodwill.

You may recall that on Christmas Day 1914, when the Great War was getting under way, the German and the British soldiers, contrary to military discipline, came out of the trenches and exchanged cigarettes and greetings in the spirit of peace and goodwill. Is it too much to hope that the peoples of this world will one day come out of the trenches of the Cold War and mingle together, and establish an era of peace and goodwill? It is my fervent hope that you young men may live to see such a day.

* *



NOT TO BE RELEASED BEFORE 8.00 P.M. NOVEMBER 4, 1960.

SCIENCE AND INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

by E.W.R. Steacie

15th Annual War Memorial Assembly, Macdonald College

November 4, 1960

Traditionally these lectures have been devoted to developing an understanding of world affairs. This is a subject on which I certainly have no competence, but it was suggested that it might be worth while to discuss the setting of science in its proper place in relation to international affairs. There is, I think, some merit in this because of the very great change which has taken place in the last 50 years. To do this, however, we must also consider the general relation of science to national affairs as well as international. Here again the change has been spectacular. As an illustration I may quote an example cited by Conant. "At the time of our (i.e. the U.S.A.) entry into World War I, a representative of the American Chemical Society called on the Secretary of War, Newton Baker, and offered the services of the chemists in the conflict. He was thanked and asked to come back the next day. On doing so, he was told by the Secretary of War that while he appreciated the offer of the chemists, he found that it was unnecessary as he had looked into the matter and found the War Department already had a chemist". Certainly government attitudes have changed since then. The whole question, however, of the relation of science to society and to government is confused by a general lack of understanding of what science is, and in particular of its relation to technology. This confusion is most unfortunate, especially in relation to spectacular things. Thus the launching of the first space satellite was hailed as a great scientific achievement. In fact it was an engineering or technological achievement not a scientific one. Scientific experiments may have shown the way, but science does not launch satellites. The whole furore about the status of Eastern Science versus Western which followed, was thus based on a profound misconception. What should have been discussed was the status of Fastern versus Western technology, government organization of engineering projects, etc.

Similarly scientists have taken both the credit and the blame for atomic energy and atomic bombs. Both of these stemmed, of course, from experiments in nuclear physics. The use of nuclear physics for bombs or power is however a purely technological triumph, and the engineers rather than the scientists should get both the credit and the blame. In the atomic bomb field it is the morals of the politicians, administrators and engineers that are in dispute, not those of the scientists. This attempt to glamourize science on

the basis of technological achievements rather than on the basis of its real importance is a most unfortunate and a most misleading one.

In pursuing this question of the relation of science to society, or more specifically, to government policy, it is worth going back for a moment to consider the development of science and of the "practical arts", or technology. From the earliest times until about two or three hundred years ago the industrial arts, almost without exception advanced solely, and very slowly, by a purely empirical trial and error process. Tradition and the conservatism of the crafts tended to carry methods on unchanged from generation to generation. In some important fields, such as roads and water supplies, there were periods of as much as two thousand years without appreciable advance in methods. Carpenters' tools in the middle ages were almost undistinguishable from those in use two thousand years earlier. Even at the time of the industrial revolution it was the "practical man", the inventor in other words, who was important, not the scientist. The case has often been made, for example, that in England the industrial revolution occurred with very little impact on or from science or universities. It was the man skilled in the arts who invented engines or looms, not a university or industrial scientist. As a result, in spite of the profound organizational, sociological and economic changes of the industrial revolution the "practical arts" still remained based on empiricism and still changed rather slowly by present day standards.

It was only, in fact, about a hundred years ago that science began to have much real effect on industry, and that traditional empiricism began to be replaced in industry by the scientific method. It is also only within the same hundred years or so that science became firmly entrenched in the universities and that the universities became the main home of pure science. Also it is only since the rise of the industrial research laboratory in the past fifty years that science has been carried on to any appreciable extent in government or in industry, or by the professional research worker. Furthermore, in the past scientific advice was needed by governments only rarely, and governments were perfectly happy either to do without such advice (which was the usual course), or to turn to national academies or other non-governmental bodies. In fact governments in the past, and I suspect still, are suspicious of science because it is impossible to arrive at an official policy on a matter of scientific truth.

It is perhaps worth looking in a little more detail at the change over the last three hundred years in the people doing research and where they did it. As far as people are concerned we have gone a full cycle since the Middle Ages. In the early days of alchemy research was mostly done by professionals, i.e. the alchemists were in the main supported by the nobility. Once modern science commenced to develop in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, however, research was mainly the pursuit of the amateur with private means,

although he might employ a technician. In the nineteenth century the scientist was usually a "semi-professional", that is a university professor who was in no way obliged to do research, but whose career to some extent depended on it. Today research is largely a matter for the professional. The large laboratory with hired research workers is a very recent development, and in discussing the relation of science to society it is often overlooked how recent this development is.

A major change is also developing in the location of scientific research. Three hundred years ago when workers were amateur and equipment was simple, most work was done in private laboratories. The universities were by no means keen on letting science creep in the door, and it is only within the last century that it has been regarded as a reasonably respectable subject. I am sure, from their remarks, that some professors of the humanities regret that it was ever let in at all, and allowed to disturb the tranquil atmosphere in which all human thought since the Golden Age of Greece is regarded as both trivial and redundant. However, the fact is that until recently all scientific work of any importance was done in universities, and that the atmosphere produced by the humanists was, in spite of their objections to science, an ideal one for scientific investigation.

Recently, however, with the increasing application of science to technology and the increasing cost of equipment, more and more research on pure as well as applied science is being carried on by industry and by governments. There is a great danger that this trend may destroy the dominant position of the universities in science. There is also a danger that the increasing emphasis on technology may destroy the character of the universities themselves. It is a curious fact, however, that when the universities worry about this the stones are always cast at courses in engineering and agriculture, rather than at the much more mundane and technologically slanted courses in economics and business administration.

All this, however, is by way of introduction. It is a third change - that of the relation of science to government - that I wish to dwell on tonight. In the past, with one exception to which I will return, science has been singularly free from government control or interest. In fact science has developed almost altogether apart from the influence of society. There have been exceptions: Galileo had to say the earth was flat; bishops denounced science as the work of Satan; pulpits thundered on the subject of evolution; and today satellites and fallout are treated with emotion rather than reason. By and large, however, science has ignored such attacks and has developed on its own. In fact it has been able to do so to a much greater extent than the humanities, which have

always been in danger of suppression and distortion by theologians and ideologists.

It is interesting to note that Sir Humphrey Davy lectured in Paris during the Napoleonic Wars - not because of enlightened governmental attitudes to the freedom of science - but rather as a tribute to its utter uselessness in the minds of the governments of the day. The one exception to which I referred in which the freedom of science was infringed was in the case of the alchemists. They were hired to transmit base metals into gold and all that they did was kept secret. It is curious that the only pronounced case of secrecy in modern times has been in atomic energy - again involving transmutation. The reason, of course, is not hard to find. The ability to make gold or to make atomic bombs gives power to him who possesses it, and once power is involved science cannot be left in isolation. As a result two phenomena are occurring which are changing the picture of things: one the impact of science on government: the other the impact of government on science. Both will be fraught with difficulties in the next few decades.

At any rate, whatever the causes and the problems, science is now of decided interest to governments, because of its effect on the economy, because of its defence implications, and because it is impinging more and more on things international and political (in the wider sense). In short, national prestige is now largely a question of technological achievement, which in turn is largely a matter of science. This has meant two things: first that governments can no longer afford to stay out of scientific research: in fact in Canada the federal government now spends 200 million dollars a year on this: secondly governments are more and more in need of advice on scientific matters, and cannot afford to depend on casual and occasional advice from outside.

This involvement of the government in science raises two quite separate problems. The first is how to operate successfully a research laboratory under the bureaucratic and centralized methods of government operation. This is a major problem: a still more difficult, and in fact almost impossible problem is to operate a laboratory under international rather than national bureaucracy. I propose to ignore both of these tonight. The second problem and the one to which I propose to devote my attention, is the question of scientific advice and the interplay of scientific and political questions. This is a very serious problem, but it is so new that not too much thought has yet been given to its wider implications.

It can, I think, be argued that scientists have not been too helpful. Scientists in general, and scientific societies in particular, have argued vigorously that scientists must be consulted

on every phase of international affairs which has any technical content. They have not, however, often realized that in many cases the technical aspect may be small, and the political aspect large, and that in international affairs it may quite often be necessary for valid reasons to ignore competent scientific advice. It must not be forgotten that if science has an impact on political considerations in the international sphere, then political considerations must also have an impact on scientific policy. There must be mutual understanding between the scientist and the diplomat, and suggestions by vocal groups such as those who edit the Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists that all would be well with the world if it were only run by nuclear physicists hardly need rebuttal. It is an unfortunate fact that no matter how objective a scientist may be in his own work, he is just as emotional and illogical as anyone else once he gets outside it. Anyone who has ever attended a university faculty meeting will agree that neither a scientist nor a humanist is ex-officio easy to get along with.

On the other side of the picture, however, is the fact that no one has been more successful in international affairs than has the scientist. With an objective outlook on his own field, and able to meet those in other countries on common ground, the scientist has established an international framework which can serve as a model for all other fields of endeavour. It has not always been so. Until three or four hundred years ago science, like most things, was plagued by a combination of superstition, tradition, secrecy and theology, and this together with poor communications led to the development of local schools of thought. Since then, however, until relatively recently, improved communications and relative freedom from economics and ideology led to an almost complete absence of nationalism in science. There have, of course, always been signs of human frailties: authors always mention themselves most often, and their colleagues next, but on the whole nationalism and the tendency to treat science as a race have been conspicuously absent. It should be noted, however, that the word "international" is being used in two different senses. In science it usually does not mean "between nations" but rather that science is carried on by individuals ignoring national boundaries. This lack of nationalism in science is, however, today being weakened - partly from quite justifiable causes, and partly for reasons that can only be deplored.

There is no question that economic, military and political considerations make it impossible for science to remain aloof as in the past. What we must do is to adjust our thinking in such a way as to play a proper part in national affairs without losing the non-nationalism in pure science which has been achieved over the centuries.

In dealing with international organizations which concern themselves with science to a greater or lesser degree it is important to distinguish between governmental and non-governmental organizations. As two extreme cases consider the Faraday Society and the United Nations. The Faraday Society is a United Kingdom physical chemistry society. It stages symposia and publishes a journal. Its membership includes people from every country in the world, and it is rare for one of its symposia to have fewer than ten nationalities represented. Although located in the British Isles it has met abroad, and has even had the temerity to elect a Canadian president. There is no doubt about its international character: there is also no doubt that its members belong as individuals and do not in any sense represent the government of the country they come from. As a result it is totally non-governmental in character, and would never, and could never, concern itself with government policy in Britain or elsewhere.

At the opposite pole is the United Nations. This is purely governmental, and makes no sense in any other context. When it concerns itself with questions with some scientific content, its members are still speaking on behalf of their governments, and political considerations will always be expected to outweigh scientific ones. Any scientist who gives assistance must realize that he is merely an adviser, and that government policy will always be the determining factor.

In between these two extreme cases there are a variety of organizations concerned to a greater or lesser degree with science, which possess a partial governmental character. UNESCO is intergovernmental in nature, but because of its advisory committees, acts as somewhat less than a purely governmental body. ICSU, the International Council of Scientific Unions, obtains subventions from UNESCO and from National Academies, but has a mixed function as a governmental body and one composed of individual scientists. The International Unions, further down the scale, are financed nationally, and tend to have some degree of rotational and regional representation on committees, but are almost non-national in character - or at least to a considerable degree people speak for themselves rather than for nations.

In addition there are also organizations of limited blocks of nations with common objectives, or of nations in limited geographical regions which have formal organizations partially concerned with science. Examples are the nations concerned with the Colombo plan, with economic cooperation in Europe, with the development of Africa South of the Sahara, with NATO, and with the British Commonwealth. The result of all these is a plethora of meetings which results, as one prominent American scientist

puts it, in all scientists over 50 spending far more time talking about their work than doing it. On the other hand such organizations have a real and a legitimate interest in science, and somehow the best possible advice must be channelled to them. Life can, however, get very complicated when virtually all these organizations are interested in the same subject, e.g. space research. Certainly the only possible solution is close cooperation between scientists and those concerned with foreign affairs. The advice of scientists is essential to prevent diplomats from making foolish decisions where science is involved, but it is no solution to let scientists take over and make foolish decisions on international politics - as seems to be the idea of some rather vocal pressure groups.

For example, obviously the views of scientists on the technical side of disarmament are of the greatest importance, but the decisions are ones which involve political negotiation and are not basically scientific at all. There is certainly no excuse for the view that nuclear physicists have special qualifications to negotiate on disarmament, or that the views of nuclear physicists or physical chemists or microbiologists as a group should be taken any more seriously than those of any other group with a sincere interest in world peace. It should not be forgotten that it is possible for an individual to be very brilliant in one field, scientific or otherwise, and a crackpot in another in which he has limited knowledge.

All this leads, I am convinced, to a fundamental schizophrenia facing science at the moment, i.e. the question of nationalism versus non-nationalism in outlook. The days of aloofness are gone, and this must be recognized, but the integrity of science must not be lost in the process of such recognition. There is no question that the outlook of science today must be nationalistic in certain aspects. The first of these is in financing. The day of the private benefactor of universities and institutes is largely over, and today governments at one level or another are the main support of universities and of science. To a considerable extent, via the development contract, this is even true of scientific work carried on in industry. It is impossible, therefore, for national considerations to be overlooked, and the structure of science in any given country, or its importance relative to the humanities. may be largely determined or warped by government policy regarding the priority of certain fields. An example of this is the relatively much greater emphasis on physics than chemistry in the U.S.S.R. as compared with the United States.

A corollary to the importance of national financing is the importance of recognition of science at the government level. Countries vary widely in their recognition of the importance of science. In trying to achieve such recognition publicity comes in, and it is impossible to avoid considering the status of Canadian Physics or of Norwegian biology. Allied with this is a quite justifiable pride of accomplishment, or shame at the lack of it. It is certainly not reprehensible to point out that Canadian medicine has a high reputation, or that Canadian agricultural research has a long continued tradition of high quality. All this, however, does tend to suggest to the public mind that science is a local rather than a world-wide thing, and to obscure the almost complete freedom of exchange of results and ideas on a personal basis which ignores all boundaries and iron curtains.

Again science cannot be ignored as part of national economic development - it is the inevitable penalty for being useful. Applied science is certainly a definite factor in the health of the national economy, and since pure science is the foundation of applied science it also cannot be ignored in relation to economic policy. This again has possible dangers in the over - or under - emphasis of certain fields. In a similar way no one can suggest that the applications of science to defence can be regarded from any point of view but a national one. Finally, when scientists are acting as advisers on government policy, they are certainly tied in with the nations' affairs.

In all this, however, if science is to preserve its integrity, and also its usefulness, there are many nationalistic pitfalls which must be avoided.

One problem today is the prevalence of false publicity and false claims for priority of discovery. This is not new: in fact practically every town in central Europe has two things in common: first the former residence of one of Goethe's mistresses; and secondly the home of the discovery of wireless telegraphy. However, such claims - I mean the latter type - have been getting more frequent and more nationalistic in recent years, and the fault is by no means all on the eastern side of the Iron Curtain. The main thing, I think, is to avoid the outlook of certain small-sized magazines which insist that nothing elsewhere (including science) is as good as it is at home, and that through science all is for the best in this best of all possible worlds.

Scientific publications are not a source of major trouble at the moment. Previous difficulties of access to Soviet journals are mostly over, and the free circulation of knowledge is again going on. Security restrictions are becoming limited to more trivial things, and exchanges of people are helping to straighten the situation out. One major difficulty, however, looms on the horizon. An increasing nationalism is destroying the old custom of publishing only in one of the three or four main languages. More and more papers of some real value are beginning to appear

in obscure languages. This is giving rise to translation difficulties, and the major build-up of Chinese science will make these acute within a decade,

All these are minor troubles. There are, however, two major problems which result from the impact of national and international questions on science. These involve the questions of objectivity and of prestige, and I am afraid that there is no simple solution to either of them.

Scientific objectivity has in the past been something of which all could be proud, and in fact might be taken as an indication that similar objectivity in more difficult fields was not impossible to attain. Today, however, there are many disturbing problems, and the controversy over bomb-tests and fallout has done great damage to the public picture of the scientist as an objective person. Two of the major exponents of diametrically opposite points of view have been a distinguished chemist and a distinguished physicist, neither of whom is expert in genetics. In my mind there is no doubt that both have distorted the scientific facts on the basis of emotional, and sincere, views on disarmament. This raises the very difficult question of how the scientist is to keep his scientific judgement clear of all bias, but at the same time, as a person, be free to express his own political views whatever they may be. The difficult question is whether the scientist can speak as an individual without his scientific prestige slopping over into the political realm. Certainly if a scientist is sufficiently distinguished it is difficult for his views on non-scientific matters not to carry excess weight on the basis of his scientific reputation. The difficulty becomes almost insuperable if the question involved has a partial technical content. As science gets more and more bound up with national and international matters this question will become steadily more difficult, and there is a danger that in the process scientific thought will be carried back to the atmosphere of emotion and prejudice of the Dark Ages.

The prestige question is also very troublesome. It is most unfortunate to regard science as a race with anyone, and the atmosphere of the Olympic Games with national statistics on gold medals should be avoided if at all possible. However there is no question that today questions of prestige are of great importance in international affairs. There is thus every justification for the distorting of priorities for prestige reasons, and there is far more behind satellite launchings than science and the spirit of discovery and adventure. It is this sphere which produces the maximum clash between scientific and political questions, and such a clash cannot be avoided in the kind of world in which we live. The morals of science are thus being slowly broken down until they are not much better than those of the market-place, but I doubt if there is much we can do about it.

Apart from all these questions of the interplay of science and politics there is, I think, one special place where science can make a contribution to international good will. This is by maintaining personal contacts with people of many nationalities. Workers in science have a great advantage in this connection in that they start on common ground, they already know foreign workers from their publications and from correspondence, and they get together with reasonable frequency by means of international meetings or exchanges. It is thus possible to meet political opponents in a more friendly way than can any other group. There is no question that the presence of international graduate schools such as have existed at Oxford, Cambridge and at McGill for many years can be a great stimulus to international understanding. The same is true of the National Research Council where at any time we have people of about twenty nationalities, and where we have over the last ten years had people from virtually every country in the world. The continuation of this type of internationalism is, I think, of major importance.

Summing up, I think it can be said that the changing position of science in its relation to society is producing many problems. It is most important that we avoid the weakening of the structure of science by a narrow nationalism. At the same time it is equally important that scientists do their part by trying to keep their advice objective even when political considerations may in the last analysis be paramount. To do this will require in the future considerably more tolerance and mutual respect by scientists, diplomats, and politicians than has been evident in the past: and it must be admitted that scientists have by no means been above reproach in the past. The problems in the future will certainly be no less complex than they are at the moment, and scientists must be prepared to make the maximum possible contribution to world affairs. They can only do this, however, by an appreciation of the other factors, and the other people, involved: certainly they cannot make such a contribution by insisting that they occupy a position of special privilege, as is far too often the case today.

MCOILL UNIVERSITY, MAGDONALD COLLEGE SIXTHENTH ANNUAL WAR MEMORIAL ASSUMBLY January 26th, 1962 at 4:50 P.M.

take the reach of these who labour to the property of the areas as I

here took a Soldier, on administrator, a fundament Expertise and

"AGIA RESURGERT AND THE FREE WORLD"

Address by:

This leak of a MIK CAVELL. Weedning has inevite bly forest no

You have done me a great honour by inviting me here today to make the 16th Annual Memorial Address in memory of those valient members of your institution who gave their lives in the two great wers of our time. But I doubt if you know exactly the magnitude of the honour you have done me. It is with great regret that I have to admit that I am not of your learned company. All my life I have been very fully conscious of all I missed by not measing through a university. Actually, without that period of some years of study under learned guidence, no one knows better than I do that one never catches up; always there are gaps which one never succeeds in completely filling. At a very early ago, I joined the Indian army, a very fine force both then and now, and I am proud to have held a commission in it; but its function did not call for intellectual attainment or verse one in the work of the great thinkers upon which our civilization is tased. I well remember a very able and in fact a very great soldier under whom I served as his senior sabaltern, saying to me: "We shall have to get rid of young so and so". (He was the last joined sabalters.) I asked why and pointed out that he was a good boy, a good borsemen and had all the qualities likely to

16#16

with something like horror in his voice: "Don't you know he reads

This lack of a university background has inevitably forced me into the ranks of those who labour in the prectical field and so I have been a Soldier, an administrator, a Business Executive and finally a Diplomat but in all those years, I have never ceased to regret that I am not of your company. However, there must obviously be men who give practical expression to intellectual research and in the end, one can only play one's part in the role in which one is qualified to operate.

In the course of playing my particular role, it has been my lot to spend some twenty years of my life working in various parts of asia. In the course of that work, I have come to number many asians amongst my friends and have acquired some knowledge of the problems with which they struggle.

Probably few happenings in the modern world have brought about such profound change as the dissolution of the British, French and Dutch Empires following World Mar II. The disintegration of these colonial empires brought on to the international scene a number of newly independent countries with populations of hundreds of millions, all inexperienced in governing themselves and all with very low living standards. These millions of newly free people are determined to bring an end to their poverty and to obtain for themselves full

recognition of their rights as severeign powers. They take their part as free nations in a world which is bitterly divided, which lives constantly under the threat of destruction by atomic war started by accident or design; in general, a world which we can only describe with truth as being in a terrible and dangerous mess.

Today, we can only consider the problems of these newly free nations in the context of the world as it is. Alfred North whitehead, one of the very great men of your intellectual company, in his book, "Adventure of Ideas" has said this:-

this area of "intellectual green" that our Western civilization has "Every epoch has its character determined by disestrously fallon down. The basic cause of the dangerous world the way its populations react to the material situation which faces us today is the bitter fight for world events which they encounter. This reaction sucromedy between Communica as a way of life and our own system of is determined by their basic beliefs - by Western Boncorney. It is not necessary when speaking to an endiance their hopes, their fears, their judgments of such as this that I so into any debailed what is worth while. They may rise to the systems. It is enough to point out that Communism is not even founded greatness of an opportunity, seizing its drama, perfecting its art, exploiting its adventure, mastering intellectually and physically the years 1818 and 1833, which were the early years network of relations that constitutes the very Revolution when workers in newly satablished featories and mills being of the epoch. On the other hand, they had accuired no rights, were poorly paid and even very little may collapse before the perplexities children were exploited and brutelly treated in mines and factories. confronting them. How they sot depends partly Mark has moven what he found at that time in Europe and England, on their courage, partly on their intellectual where he died, into an interpretation of history as one of continuing grasp."

HEAD

white stresses "courage" and "intellectual grasp". I shall not today dwell on courage. I suggest that there is as much courage in the world as eyer there was and that it is no more wasted in futile and unworthy causes than it has always been. Courage is everywhere evident. We are gathered here today to commemorate the supreme courage of men who were members of this institution and who carried supreme courage to its last attainable degree.

What I do want to consider with you today is whitehead's reference to "intellectual grasp". It seems to me that it is in this area of "intellectual grasp" that our Western civilization has disastrously fallen down. The basic cause of the dangerous world situation which faces us today is the bitter fight for world supremacy between Communism as a way of life and our own system of Western Democracy. It is not necessary when speaking to an audience such as this that I go into any detailed comparison of the two systems. It is enough to point out that Communism is not even founded on truth.

Earl Marx, who wrote its basic philosophy, lived between the years 1818 and 1883, which were the early years of the Industrial Revolution when workers in newly established factories and mills had acquired no rights, were poorly paid and even very little children were exploited and brutally treated in mines and factories. Marx has woven what he found at that time in Europe and England, where he died, into an interpretation of history as one of continuing

class struggle. He could not possibly have foreseen how our Western civilization would develop. He would not have thought it possible that there could be the progressive distribution of wealth which has taken place in our society. From conditions which existed in his day, he could not foresee the spread of free education with its resultant equality of opportunity for those with brains and will power to reach positions of importance, no matter what the social status of their parents might have been. Two out-of-date books which Merx then wrote still constitute the Bible of Communism. Because that Bible is so terribly wrong today and so out-of-date as to be utterly ridiculous as a description of our democratic system, the Communist states must keep their frontiers closed and our radio and news services out and their people isolated lest they discover the truth about our free society as it functions today. Communist leaders know that their harsh, out-of-date system with its lack of human freedoms and decencies cannot compete with ours and that their only hope to keep the support of their people is to keep them in ignorance of the truth and feed them lies about us and our way of life. They have to wall their people in physically, as we saw in Hungary and more recently, in East Germany, or they would escape from their tyranny and join us in freedom, as many thousands have bedayilled by third who have come kind of moreon already done.

The Communists talk much of Colonialism and its evils, the truth is that they themselves are the greatest proponents of

Colonialism the world has ever known. In recent years, they have colonized and made closely guarded slaves of millions of people. In the same period, the Free World has given complete freedom to many more millions of people once under colonial rule. If the present situation were not so serious, Communist claims would be laughable. Today, there are a little under 5,000 million people in the world. One-third of them are under Communist control; the number is growing and the nations newly freed from colonial rule and trying desperately to establish themselves in freedom and independence, are bedevilled and frustrated in their endeavours by the efforts of the Communist faction to get control of them and our side of the Iron Curtain to prevent them from doing so.

That all this can have happened shows that something is radically lacking in the extent of the basic intellectual grasp of truth throughout the world. There is another example of even more immediate importance to mankind. The question of the control or abolition of the thermonuclear weapons of modern war has been before world opinion for a long time and day by day, it becomes more obvious that the whole world is crying out for guidance and help towards a same intellectual grasp of the intricacies inherent in this problem. Every serious question which faces our country or our world is bedevilled by those who have some kind of warded interests to protect: defence organizations their vested interests, the politician his votes, business its profits, labour its rights, organizations and influential individuals their often unreasonable

prejudices. Constantly, the cry goes up in vain: What is the truth?

To find and proclaim the basic background truth of the many problems which whirl around in the terrible mess we have got our world into, is, it seems to me, the paramount need of our age. The question is: Who is to research the complicated problems which face us, proclaim to the world the basic truth concerning them and show the way, or ways, in which they might be solved? There is only one answer to that question - it can only be done by men who have no interests to protect and who themselves have the necessary intellectual grasp and an unswerving determination to find and declars only the absolute truth. Such men and women ere to be found today only amongst those of your learned company scattered throughout the world. The frightening problems we face must be broken down into their component parts and turned over to bodies recruited from the universities and other learned institutes of the world for study and research as quickly as possible -the time is NOW and it is fast running out. You must find the courage to organize and bring into being whatever you need to do this job. I know of no other body of men capable of doing it and stapping the slide to destruction which seems to be staring mankind in the face today. Meanwhile, we must stumble along as best we can, hoping that no over-zealous fool will push the starting button leading to that state of destruction which that great prophet. M.G. Wells, so well described just before he died

as: "Man at the End of his Tether".

Anyone would be very foolish who tried to prove that we have discovered in our Democratic System a perfect way of life. All we can cleim is that we have solved some of the problems of a better way of life for our people, are moving towards solutions for others and have removed and controlled the worst abuses of power. For instance, here in Canada, we shall shortly throw out our present government. There is nothing its members can do about it; their time is up and out they go. If our people want them in power for another term, they will re-elect them; if not, they will elect an entirely new government. To us, this sounds so simple and so obvious that you probably are wondering why I even mention it. But think for a moment how much suffering and upheaval would have been saved in South America recently - to mention only one large area - were change of government such an easy and orderly procedure there.

In talking to you about Asia today, the first problem I want to bring to your notice is this problem of government. We are inclined to think that Democracy, as we know it, is a political system which will work anywhere. Nothing could be further from the truth. Most of the newly free countries of Asia have run into constitutional problems and have had to make changes in the forms of government left to them by their erstwhile colonial rulers. Actually, if we look around the world, we will find only a little better than a dozen countries who are Democratic, as we understand

the term. There are others who have maintained some democratic practices, others who have lost it completely by being over-run by Communism and yet others who are finding it more and more unworkable and are likely to substitute something else. If we would stop expecting our form of Democracy to be workable anywhere and substitute instead as a yardstick of progress a bill of human rights leading to a greater respect for the sanctity of human personality, we would be much nearer to reality than we are by trying to push our form of Democracy as a mode of government on peoples who have not the necessary wealth, education or experience to make it work.

Here is a most important field for research by the men of your learned company when they become organized. It could well be possible in Africa, for instance, to work out with the people and their leaders a progressive system of government which will lead gradually from tribalism to a more settled way of life and all the time introducing workable freedoms as the people make progress in industrial and agricultural skills. This, of course, is by no means an easy course to follow but it is a much sounder one than virtually offering, as we do now, only our very difficult and often unsuitable form of Democracy against the alternative of Communism.

I mentioned just now the profound change wrought in our wrold by the disintegration of the British, French and Dutch Empires. Now on their own, the paramount problem facing all the countries set free by that change is the appallingly low living standards of their people. In India, for instrace, the average yearly income is about \$60. in our currency. The terrible poverty of India and other Asian countries has to be seen before it can be fully realized. It is the fundamental background factor of Asian life. Before this poverty can be alleviated, some fundamental changes have to be made in the thinking and way of life of the people of these asian countries. This is not by any means an easy change to bring about. In India, a serious attempt has been made to solve the problem which was how to get the Indian land worker to take what the Chinese call, the great lesp forward. To these poor people, the world is the area of their village and that area, the distance one can travel in a slow bullock cart and back in a day. It is true that better roads lead to bus travel but roads are expensive and any kind of travel costly to people whose annual income is \$60. a year. To jolt these poor land workers out of their age-old lethergy, the Community Development Scheme was brought into being.

Thousands of young Indians, male and female, were trained and sent into the villages to teach better sanitation and the prevention of disease, how to build better houses in place of mud huts with no doors or windows, how to select better seed and raise more food, how to eat a better diet within such a low income, how to set up simple schools and so on. To this has been added what is called the Panchayati

Raj Movement. Fanch means five in Hindi and the Panchayati Raj means roughly, the government by five. This goes back to the age-old village government scheme of the five village elders who controlled the affairs of the village. Now the Government of India is trying to train the villagers in some four hundred thousand villages with some two hundred million people, to govern themselves locally, even to raise taxes locally to cover some of their development. In all this endeavour to introduce some progress to the villager, to get him out of the hands of the rapacious village money-lender, and so on, some sixty thousand workers are engaged. The country is divided into blocks with technical officers directing those in charge of individual villages. This is probably the greatest experiment in mass training ever tried outside of Communist China and the whole of Asia watches to see which system will bring the quicker results - the democratic method of India and co-operation with the peasant or the Communist method of China with the coercion of the peasent. We cannot let India fail bything from heavy atomes to large backets of carth

The Indian villager is learning slowly how to exercise the new powers being taught him. He is still inclined to look to one headman, or leader, rather than to use collective power through the use of his vote. Let ushope he will learn in time and that from this great experiment in fundamental democratic education, a strong Indian democracy with sound ground roots will arise.

But, if the Asian countries are to make any serious attack on the problem of poverty, they must move far beyond the Community Development Scheme of India. They must find ways and means by which they can take surplus labour off their overburdened land and put it to work in industry. To start up industries, they must have capital and what is even more important, they must learn how to use capital productively. Capital of itself creates nothing: it only becomes an asset when it is put to work wisely and effectively. To make proper use of capital calls for experience which these Asian countries have not had and cannot obtain quickly. This situation calls in turn for all kinds of education along new lines, leading to the establishment of schools for the teaching of new technical skills in agriculture, the production and the use of better simple hand tools. But even this is not easy to bring about. Let me give you a simple illustration. I once tried to introduce an ordinary wheal-barrow for use in my garden. My Indian gardener did not like it; he was used to carrying everything from heavy stomes to large baskets of earth on his head. He very unwillingly used the wheel-barrow only when I was looking - the last I ever saw of that wheel-barrow was the gardener carrying it through my gerden on his head; Now, you must not think that this man was either obstinate or stupid. All his life he had carried things on his head; the area of the continue of the stand all his muscles had been developed to that end: his arm and shoulder

One trouble erious at case in the very nature of human relations.

muscles were conditioned to lift them up there, his neck muscles to bear very heavy weights. I was the stupid one to think that he would accept willingly, what to him was a radical change for which his previous training had not fitted him. Let me give you one more example to allustrate some of the fundamental difficulties involved in introducing our western production methods to the people of Asia. An Asian carpenter usually squats on the top of his bench and uses his toes to help him to hold securely the wood he is working on. This works well enough until one introduces him to power tools when he can easily cut his toes off. At that point, he must be brought off the top of the bench and taught to adopt a safer working position, which for a long time is uncomfortable and more fatiguing for him.

If, at this primitive level, such difficulties are encountered, it is easy to imagine the much greater difficulty of introducing Western methods of production at higher levels where one runs into such skills as cost accounting, up-to-date factory management, market research and so on. But, in spite of all these difficulties, much has already been accomplished to lay the foundations in asia for a better way of life and particularly is this is so in India - and that brings me to the matter of aid from the West to these struggling countries.

One trouble arises at once in the very nature of human relations.

No one likes to be in the position of receiving charity and certainly not these new nations who have so recently found their freedom once more. They are naturally on their guard continually against anything which suggests condescension or infringement of their hard-won new sovereignty. And yet, no progress towards a better life for their people is possible without huge amounts of capital which they do not have. Aid, in the form of capital of many kinds, given or lent by weelthy nations to those less fortunate is a new concept of international co-operation. The first example was the Marshall Plan.

If we want an example of what can be done by judicious aid at the right time, we have only to look at Europe today. After world war II, Europe lay in ruins, her factories destroyed, her farms trampled by invading armies, her people unemployed and miserable. Today, Europe is prosperous as she never has been before. It was the Marshall Plan of aid to a devestated Europe which wrought this seeming miracle.

Actually, it was no miracle; it was an inspired act of common sense on the part of American leaders, paid for by a generous American people. Not only was Europe put on her economic feet again but the amalgamation of Belgium, France, Western Germany, Italy, Luxembourg and the Netherlands into a Common Market, which is one huge, strong trading area, is fast bringing into being a European unity which was the dream of Mr. Winston Churchill when at Zurich in 1946, he talked of France-German reconciliation in some kind of United States of Europe. It

was the dream of such men as Briand and Stresemenn and others who supported the idea of Pan Europa or a United States of Europe. All were far-sceing statesmen who dreamed constructive dreams on which the modern aconomic architects of various European countries have built this strong, European trading entity. There is little doubt that eventually a new unified continent will emerge from this powerful trading group which will turn Europe from a number of small, struggling powers - often in the past at war - into a powerful entity which will immeasurably atrengthen our Free World. Already, it has substantially halted the spread of Communism in Europe. All this grew out of the new concept of sid by wealthy nations to those less fortunate, the first example of which was the successful Marshall Plan.

The task now before us is how to extend this unity and strength to the 1420 million people of the poor, underdeveloped, newly independent countries who are struggling along, desperately trying to get a tochold on better living conditions for their people and to find their place in the councils of world affairs.

Good as the Marshell Plan was for Europe, it was not a blueprint we could follow in 1951 when setting up our Colombo Plan aid programme. In Europe, enough managers and fully trained technical staff were spared by the war to get industry rolling again once the capital had been supplied to replace the factories, machinery and communications which war had destroyed. In fact, in one way, the war helped European industrial recovery because it destroyed much obsolete equipment which

was replaced by the most up-to-date machinery to be found anywhere in the world. To a large extent, the same thing happened to Japan. Large quantities of her plants and machinery were destroyed by the terrible earthquake and resulting fires of 1923. Her rise to economic power was to a large extent due to the rebuilding of her industrial plant with the most up-to-date machinery available. Not only did asia require - in 1951 when the Colombo Plan began to function - all kinds of capital in the form of farm machinery, electrical generating and other equipment on a vast scale but also the creation of many kinds of educational establishments.

In the beginning, the Colombo Plan was a Commonwealth scheme; today, its membership of 21 nations includes the United States.

Japan and other countries outside the Commonwealth. Beginning in 1951, Canada has spent some \$332 million for Canadian assistance to the Asian members of the Colombo Plan. The Our contributions have taken the form of projects and these have included: In Ceylon, fisheries consisting of trawlers, nots, a refrigeration plant, mechanization of small fishing boats and better marketing facilities, cranes for the new Colombo Harbour, locomotives for Ceylon railways and electrical distribution lines through the Gal Dya agricultural development area. In India, we have built electrical generating as well as other United School Pakistan, Supplied railway locomotives and an atomic reactor. In Projects Pakistan, Canada gave the largest hydro-electric development plant

in the country, at Warsak; a cement plant and an aerial survey with AND OTHER PROJECTS a view to locating natural resources. In other countries we have done much the same kind of thing. I do not propose to attempt today to list our projects but only to give some idea of the gid to asia which Cenadians have contributed.

aremoting the welfere of the papels to show it is denoted. Somehow, In addition to these capital projects, considerable assistance we must get the dynamics of our enomants free enterprise system into has been given to what is known as The Technical Assistance Programme, this sudsayour. It has worked wonders for us all here on the Morth which is the education of young people both by having young students american Continent. It is working wonders tod come to Canada from the various countries and by sending Canadian end means to make it work for all the underdaysloped experts to teach in Asia. We have trained nurses by bringing them to Canada and by sending our teaching nurses to Asia. We have done the same with doctors and x-ray technicians. We have supplied travelling veterinary wans to help stamp out animal diseases. Under Colombo Plan offices and feetories doing something at which they are experte auspices, Dr. Wilder Fenfield, the great Canadian brain specialist, made a tour in Asia and lectured in many hospitals. A team of tuberculosis experts from Canada also toured the area and we made a the specially qualified agonle who make our system work, good contribution to technical education by setting up the Retabets Technical School just outside Colombo, Ceylon, which will teach carpentry, plumbing and other useful skills.

I am often asked the question: Are we doing enough? It is a very difficult question to answer objectively. My own feeling is that we are doing enough under present methods but could do much more with better co-operation. I feel that Western aid to Asia and other areas needs to be looked at very critically indeed. We should never

under any circumstances make our foreign aid an adjunct to the furtherance of our own economy as, for instance, so easily can be done by using foreign aid as a disposal for agricultural surpluses. All aid, no matter where it comes from, should be devoted only to promoting the welfare of the people to whom it is donated. Somehow, we must get the dynamism of our economic free enterprise system into this endeavour. It has worked wonders for us all here on the North American Continent. It is working wonders today for Europe and we must find ways and means to make it work for all the underdeveloped countries.

What is the real dynamic in our system? In my view, it is its freedom of action. Every morning, millions of people start work in offices and factories doing something at which they are experts.

Engineers and others in specialized branches of their profession go to work on their special problems; lawyers, accountants, doctors and all the rest of the specially qualified people who make our system work, do the same. All the small and large units in which these millions of people work are on their own, making their own decisions on the spot and not being subjected to government interference in running their jobs. Our farmers work on their own to produce our food essentials. There is no everall government plan controlling the efforts of all these people. There are, of course, laws which they all have to obey but no one controls their day-to-day efforts. Each unit, be it a factory, a bank or what you will, operates on its own, under its own

they are roughly 80% agricultural economics working at a very lo

lovel of efficiency and with for too many people dependent on plots

developm as plan.

of lend which are really uneconomic to operate. One crying need to management. The overall controlling factor is the usefulness of the end product in the overall economy. If something is produced which about. In sand countries, some efforts have been made no one wants, or is not up to standard, the company goes bankrupt musil a scale to produce substantial results. Many of those or and is thus removed from the economy; if services are offered which have been farming land for generations without puts no one wants or which are too expensive to be practical, the concern in; vast emparts of fertilizer are required an offering them does not stay in business. Competition is the balance wheel which maintains price and efficiency controls. In other words, leasn off the land and put into the special dynamic in our system is that it releases the creative these countries. But, this is not an easy thing to do. skill and energy of millions of individuals, whereas Socialism and Communism stifle and eventually kill individual creative skill and instead of energy, produce frustration because individual efforts have to be fitted into a state plan which may or may not turn out to handleen and virtually have been what was actually required. China today is a very good example of a situation in which overall state planning has been so disastrously wrong that the people are starving and there are no tose underdeveloped arous of the world but first, the reserves with which to tide over a bad crop period. That is the readitions must be set up under which experts trouble with the Socialist state: one wrong directive can plunge lais is not so much a matter of more capital aid the whole country into economic ruin and chaos. Under our system. use of the sid now being contributed. I am thin a few companies might make mistakes and, if they are really bad, be of some organization, such as the Forld Dank, which is o eliminated from the seconomy but the effect on the whole sconomy is appelalized agencies of the United Nations and is one of the best of small and localized.

The difficulty we face is how to introduce the dynamism of our system into these poor, underdeveloped countries. For the most part, they are roughly 80% agricultural economies working at a very low level of efficiency and with far too many people dependent on plots

a good development plan. The bits and pieces necessary - such. for

of land which are really uneconomic to operate. One orying need to remedy this situation is land reform - a very difficult thing to bring about. In some countries, some efforts have been made but on too small a scale to produce substantial results. Many of these countries have been farming land for generations without putting anything back in; vast amounts of fertilizer are required and the knowledge of how to use it. The surplus unemployed and underemployed labour must be drawn off the land and put into small industry spread throughout these countries. But, this is not an easy thing to do. The types of small enterprises to be set up must metch the abilities of the workers available until technical education can reise their skills.

handicap and virtually forces them to adopt various forms of state socialism. I believe that mestern industry and particularly North American industry, can eventually play a great part in helping the development of these underdeveloped areas of the world but first, the conditions must be set up under which experts can be of service.

This is not so much a matter of more capital aid as it is of a better use of the aid now being contributed. I am thinking along the lines of some organization, such as the World Bank, which is one of the specialized agencies of the United Nations and is one of the best of the many aid agencies, being used to lay out plans for some area of development in conjunction with the underdeveloped country's own Planning Board. The World Bank has an excellent staff of engineers, economists and, of course, benkers. That staff is capable of making

a good development plan. The bits and pieces necessary - such, for instance, as a power plant, perhaps some irrigation, some aid to agriculture, some small industries, preferably using local raw materials - could be supplied by the countries new giving so much aid; thus allowing them to keep control of their funds but to dispense them under an organized plan.

What happens now is that one country supplies perhaps a power plant but no one builds the supply lines at the same time. When they finally are built, the outlets for the use of the pwer are not there. So our sid schemes limp along without that dynamic quality which continually pushes sheed our own industrial expansion here in North America. If technical training is required in our selected area for quick development, let technical schools be built whilst power plants. distribution systems, mineral exploration and other things are all UNDER A WELL PREPARED SCHEME going forward. Along these lines, the selected area could be showing signs of economic improvement, with production, market research and so on, all laid on during a formation period of three or four years at the most. Whereas now, with the present system of uneo-ordinated effort and bits and pieces of sid, equally unco-ordinated, coming from various aid-giving countries, the overall improvement is much too slow and the dynamics of our system are not brought to bear on the problem.

The aid field has, unfortunately, become a competitive fector in the Cold War; both the Communist and Free World countries are contributing. The Communists feel that in the end they will get

planning - as I have just suggested - than of long loot, we might have

some real hope of Vettering the lot of the poverty-stricken people of

control of these underdeveloped people and add their labour to that which they already control. Therefore, they do not seem to object to the vest amounts of aid the United States and other Free World countries are contributing. Thus Communism and our system are compared side by side. This is particularly so in India which is trying desparately to raise the average yearly earnings of its people beyond the deplorably low \$60. at which it stands today. China, on the other hand, is trying to raise the living standards of its people by Communist methods and every uncommitted country is watching to see which country will achieve the most for its people in the shortest time. As I said before, we of the Free World simply cannot afford to let India fail - far too much is at stake.

It has many times been suggested that to insure an impartial approach to aid to underdeveloped countries, the whole scheme should be handed over to the United Nations. This, I do not think, is a practical suggestion. Aid has become a collossal undertaking and it is much better to keep its detail and expenditures in the hands of the nations who contribute to it. The trouble with the whole of our Western aid programme now is that it is moving far too slowly; in fact, it is barely keeping up with the growth in population. The population growth has become a very serious concern of these underdeveloped countries and they are all anxious to do something about it and eventually, of course, something will have to be done and, if at the same time, we could step up the efficiency of our aid by better planning - as I have just suggested - then at long last, we might have

some real hope of bettering the lot of the poverty-stricken people of Asia and other underdeveloped areas.

All this, it seems to me, opens up snother field weiting to be ploughed by the economic and other specialists of your learned company. All these countries which have recently emerged from colonial rule are seeking to find their souls as it were. After being so long under the government of various foreign powers, they went to go back to the essentialsoof their own cultures, to carry on the business of government in their own languages, to make their religions the pillers of their states. The intensities of this period of their new freedom will, I believe, eventually wass and they will then settle down and take the best they can find which will help them the most in their struggle for higher living standards. Meanwhile, we must be very patient: we must try to understand and sympathize with their present mood. find constitutions which will fit their aspirations, their religious beliefs and their future aims. Already there have been many changes and as time goes on there will be many more before they find exactly what they want. We must not jump out of our skins every time these changes occur, even if they are not exactly what we would like to see. It is more important that we put our own house in order and set a good example. It is more important that we realize and teach our young people that skin colour, for instance, is only nature's way of protecting human beings from the harmful rays of the tropical sun by giving them various shades of pigmentation. Since white people do not live in tropical areas, they do not need that protection and so donot

have it. Some of my most valued friends do have it but that does not prevent them from being highly educated, cultured and delightful people. The Right Honourable Philip J. Noel-Rabe

We are not at present doing nearly enough in asia and elsewhere to put before the people the best of our culture. The Communist countries, on the other hand, flood whole areas with literature and all kinds of Communist indoctrination in local languages. By touring circuses, dancing teams, plays and other media, they manage to leave their impression at all levels of these emerging countries. We of the west do nothing in any way comparable. The Communists also hold huge exhibitions in the area, designed to show what great progress they are making economically and otherwise. The west, on the other hand, does so little so insfectually, that it can be said that even our own image is largely given to asians and others of the poor areas through Communist agencies — of course, with disastrous results to us.

amongst the Western nations in all phases of our relations with the nations now emerging into nationhood and looking for really effective help in their many areas of need, advice and practical assistance and this is one more area where the men and women of your learned company can be of the utmost assistance.

on our courage and our intellectual grasp."

well as for spirits abandonment of the

WAR MEMORIAL ASSEMBLY ADDRESS #17 NOVEMBER 19,1962

The Right Honourable Philip J. Noel-Baker, P.C., M.P.

Disarmament 1962

I must begin by saying what a pleasure and a priviledge I count it to be invited to come to Macdonald College, and to deliver the War Memorial address for 1962.

For the first ten years of the League of Nations - the happiest ten years of my life - I worked for the Norwegian hero, Fridtjof Nansen, who made a magnificent expedition to find the North Pole in the 1890's, and who was not only the greatest of explorers, but one of the greatest international statesmen who ever lived.

Nansen, himself a Professor, used to say that the Universities governed the world.

There can be no doubt that your Founder, Sir William Macdonald made a formidable contribution to the present greatness of Canada in international affairs. He was one of the men who helped to make McGill; McGill has helped to make the modern Canada of today; generation after generation of your graduates have gone out to join the Government and the Civil Service which have given Canada her great position in the United Nations, and her influence and moral standing, which far exceed that of nations with many times her population.

Canada is today not only a great force in the British Commonwealth, but a natural and a respected leader of the middle and smaller powers in the United Nations.

I am proud and honoured to be your guest. I am grateful for the chance to make your War Memorial Address.

I was on the Front in Belgium in October, 1914, and for four long years I lived among the sights and sounds, the blood and mud, the heroism, the cruelty and the degradation of the First World War.

I served for six longer years in the Second World War - in Parliament in the Churchill Government, under Hitler's bombs, while my son was in the Forces overseas.

Before the guns fell silent in Europe forty years ago, the First World War had become to every soldier in every country what Lloyd George called it, the War to end all War.

We entered the Second World War with a resolve that strengthened with every battle, with every reverse and every vistory - a resolve put into words by Winston Churchill and Franklin Roosevelt in their Atlantic Charter, signed in a mighty battleship far out to sea in 1941:

All of the nations of the World, for realistic as well as for spiritual reasons, must come to the abandonment of the use of force.

That was the purpose - that and nothing less - which inspired the men who went out from your University and from mine to fight the two World Wars.

It is right that we should discuss today why that purpose is still unfulfilled; what hope there remains in 1962 for its fulfillment; whether, as some assert, it is and always was, an idle dream.

Let's start from the crisis over Cuba three weeks ago - by long odds the most dangerous crisis in the chequered history of man.

That crisis brought back to me with vivid force events that happened half-a-century ago, and bore in upon my mind the grim parallel with what is happening now.

In 1906 the British Government commissioned the most powerful warship that had ever sailed the seas, the Dreadnought. It was a stupendous short-term succes; it could sail at greater speed, it had heavier armour, it had guns of greater calibre and range, than any vessel it might have to fight; a squadron of four Dreadnoughts, so its designers claimed, could sink the entire, German Navy without danger to themselves. But the Germans replied by building Dreadnoughts too. Their Dreadnoughts made obsolete not 28, but 83 British battleships and amoured cruisers - our vast margin of superior stregth grew perilously less. By 1909 it was alleged by our Parlimentary Opposition that the Germans were building 'secret' Dreadnoughts; that very soon they might have more than us - they proclaimed on every husting that there was a dangerous 'Dreadnought gap'. In that year, 1909, the Opposition won a sensational victory in a by-Election, fought on the platform 'We want Eight, and we won't wait".

By this time the Dreadnoughts, had become a source of serious friction and suspicion between the Germans and ourselves. Our Foreign Sir Edward Grey, said in the House of Commons that "the naval rivalry was the only obstacle to confidence" between the two Governments.

"If I were asked", he said, "to name the one thing which would re-assure Europe with regard to the prospects of peace, I think it would be that naval expenditure in Germany would be dimished and that ours was following siut."

Unfortunately it didn't happen; the German Navy League was very strong; in 1912 von Turpitz got a new Navy law, which gave him authority to build still more Dreadnoughts although the Chancellor warned him in prophetic words, that "it would lead to war with England".

Sir Winston Churchill, then First Lord of the Admiralty, also said in 1912 that, if the Dreadnought race went on, it was likely to lead to "war within the next two years".

And the Dreadnought made tensions in other ways.

In 1912, the Kaiser, seeking bases for his navy, and hoping perhaps to extend his empire, or his 'zones of influence', sent a warship, the Panther, to Agadir. This was regarded by the Western democratic Allies, France, and Britain, as a very dangerous challenge to Britain's supremacy at sea.

A statesman, well-known for his advocacy of peace and disarmament, the British Chancellor of the Exchequer, Mr.Lloyd George, made a sensational speech of warning; he said that if the Panther was not instantly withdrawn, Britain and France might be compelled to go to war. The Kaiser gave way and withdrew the Panther.

But the Navy Party in Germany were greatly strengthened. The Dreadnought race went on; and two years later, at the very date predicted by Bethmann-Hollweg and Sir Winston Churchill, the first World War began.

Remember these dates:

1906 - the Dreadnought

1909 - the Dreadnought gap and Sir Edward Grey's proposal that the race be stopped

1912 - the Panther; Lloyd George's warning; the Kaiser's withdrawal; the continued arms race, and two years later, the outbreak of war

Remember those dates and then throw your mind forward half a century:

1956 - the missile with the nuclear war head

1959 - the Missile Gap and Mr. Khruschev's proposal that all missiles, bombers and other offensive weapons should be abolished.

1962 - the missile sites on Cuba; President kennedy's warning;
Mr.Khruschev's retreat -

Can you see the same pattern as half-a-century ago?

We all thought then - I was in my senior year at Cambridge - that Agadir was the gravest crisis the world had ever known; that but for Llovd George's warning speech, we might have had the most devastating war. When we came through that crisis, people fell back into the same defeatist rut that they had been in before - the same supine acquiescence in the catch-phrase: "There is nothing to be done!" They let the same senseless hysteria gain the upper hand - the unreasoning belief that more and more Dreadnoughts would make us safe.

Thus it happened that no one took the action needed to stop the drift to war, and the fighting started in the very month that Winston Churchill had foreseen.

When the war was over, Grey had retired from office; he gave his remaining strength and eyesight to the writing of a book about the efforts he had made to stop its outbreak; a book to warm succeeding generations about how the arms race works. Discussing the origins of 1914, he said:

"the moral is obvious; it is that great armaments lead inevitably to war. If there are armaments on one side, there must be armaments on other sides...

After discussing his diplomatic negotiations with the Germans, and why he thought they were wrong he continued:

"But although all this be true, it is not in my opinion the real and final account of the origin of the Great War. The enormous growth of armaments in Europe, the sense of insecurity and fear caused by them - it was these that made war inevitable. This it seems to me, is the truest reading of history, and the lesson that the present should be learning from the past in the interests of future peace, the warning to be handed on to those who come after us".

What lesson shall we learn from our Cuban crisis, half a century after unheeded Agadir?

There are voices which urge us to go on as we've gone before. The great lesson of Cuba, they declare, is that the deterrent deterred. If we had had no missiles with nuclear warheads, if the issue had not been one of life and death for whole peoples, we should have had a war.

I venture a contrary assertion. If we had not had the missiles, we should never have had the war. This has been an arms race crisis, much more plainly than the Dreadnought crisis of fifty years ago. And, thank Good, the

leaders of the major governments have recognized that basic fact.

In his decisive letter of October 27, Mr Khruschev said: "I note with satisfaction that you have responded to my wish that the dangerous situation should be liquidated, and also that conditions should be created for a more thoughtful appraisal of the international situation which is frought with great perils in our age of thermonuclear weapons, rocket technology, space ships, global rockets and other lethal weapons...

We, who are invested with trust and great responsibility, must liquidate

the breeding-grounds where a dangerous situation has been created ...

I also wish to continue an exchange of opinions on the prohibition of atomic and thermonuclear weapons and on general disarmament and other questions connected with the lessening of international tension..."

President Kennedy replied on October 28:

"I think that you and I, with our heavy responsibility for the maintenance of peace, were aware that developments were approaching a point where events could have become unmanageable. So I welcome this message, and concider it an important contribution to peace...

I agree with you that we must devote urgent attention to the problem of disarmament, as it relates to the whole world, and also to critical areas". (Does this hint at disengagement, at inspected nuclear free zones in Latin America, and Central Europe? - if so, this is ground for hope indeed).

And the President went on:

"Perhaps now, as we step back from danger, we can together make real progress in this vital field. I think we should give priority to questions relating to the proliferation of nuclear weapons, on earth and in outer space" - no more Nth acquiring A and H Bombs; let France, in truth, be the very last - "and to the great effort for a nuclear test ban. But we should also work hard to see if wider measures of disarmament can be agreed to, and put into operation at an early date".

Note it well: "wider measures of disarmament put into operation at an early date". "The U.S. Government will be prepared to discuss these questions urgently, and in a constructive spirit, at Geneva and elsewhere".

And Mr Macmillan - Prime Minister of a nation that still possesses, make no mistake about it, immense military striking power - Mr Macmillan, as the Governments "stepped back from danger", wrote to Mr Khruschev that "the way (should) be open for us all to work towards a more general arrangement regarding armaments. For instance, we should be able to reach an early conclusion of an

agreement about the banning of tests of nuclear weapons, on which much progress has been made, as well as to give firm directives to settle the main elements in the first stage of disarmament. I would hope that this might mark a new determination to resolve the problems from which the world is suffering... This is an opportunity which we should seize."

That is the whole constructive content of the letter which our Prime Minister wrote to Mr Khruschev, as Britain began to breathe again on October 28th.

Now I ask you to reflect on a tragic and an amazing fact. As the national leaders, fresh from their harsh bout with fate, faced the fact that "events could have become unmanageable", and agreed that all-round, world-wide internationally inspected disarmament, was the problem they must tackle and resolve if peace was to be established on a firm foundation, there arose, as so often before, a chorus of doubt and defeatism from the embattled intellectuals of the world.

Journalists, military experts, commentators, university professors, frustrated or one-eyed politicians, all of them the products of a costly university education, began to chant again their dreary formulas of despair: "It can't be done; they have tried for forty years and nothing has happened"; "the technical problems of disarmament can't be solved - what about the danger of the clandestine nuclear stock?". "In any case, it is politically absurd; who is going to trust the Russians". And the strange aphorism that fascinates the academics: "It's the bomb that saves us". And even the old determinist fallacy of long ago: "You can't change human nature; you can't change history - there will always be wars".

There is one of the greatest English plays for many years running in a London theatre now, in which the hero, an RAF recruit who revolts at bayonet practice, answers his Corporal when the Corporal says "there'll always be wars", "Always, always, always! Your great-great-grandfather said there will always be horses, your great-grandfather said there'll always be slaves, your grandfather said there'll always be wars. Each time you say 'always' the world takes two steps backwards and stops bothering".

I want to answer the substantial points made by the army of defeatists when they say "Disarmament can't be done".

The First need not delay us long. Many people used to say, and many still secretly bleieve, that world disarmament would mean a world-wide devastating slump. I expect you have some economist among your ranks. When I studied political economy at Cambridge, people used to say that "if you took all the economists in the world, and laid them out in a row end to end, they wouldn't reach a single conclusion".

The Acting Secretary General of the UN set up a Committee earlier this year of independent experts from the West, the East and the countries that are non-aligned, to report on the "Economic and Social Consequences of Dsiarmament". They all agreed, Communists and capitalists alike, that the only economic problems in Disarmament would be transitional; that they could all be solved with proper planning and that "the carrying through of general and complete disarmament would be an unmixed blessing for all mankind".

Second, the intellectuals and the self-styled military experts say: "The technical problems of disarmament can't be solved".

That proposition met me in the British Foreign Office when I came back from the Front after the Armistice in November 1918. The soldiers all thought their victory had been to clear the path to disarmament and stable peace. But the first paper that came into my desk in the League of Nations Section of theForeign Office was a lengthy memorandum by a Senior member of our diplomatic service, which argued that each country wanted a different kind of national defence - by sea, by land, or air, that you couldn't equate a battleship with an Army Division, or with a squadron or a wing of aircraft, and that, therefore, no Disarmament Treaty could ever be devised. Such sophistries were swiftly swept away by the Preparatory Commissions of the

Before the League's Disarmament Conference had been allowed to fail in 1933, every technical problem of what we now call 'conventional' Disarmament had been solved. As the British Foreign Secretary told the League Assembly, only political decisions were required. Also, those political decisions were never taken!

The Western democratic governments delayed too long; before they had taken the decision to disarm, to implement the plans their experts had prepared, Hitler had come to power and the golden hour of opportunity had passed away.

But the technical solutions so laboriously prepared are still there in those dusty records for us to use today. If we want to reduce and limit our armies, our navies, our air forces; if we want to deal with what President Kennedy has called offensive weapons - mark well, they include the bomber - there it all is, in the form of model Treaty clauses, ready for us to adapt to the conventional armed forces and armaments of today.

But what about the modern weapons, and above all the Nuclear Bombs? Isn't it true that a disloyal Government, which had promised to abolish its nuclear weapons, could conceal a portion, perhaps a fifth, of its past production; could hide this clandestine stock in a concrete chamber lined with lead; and that no geiger counter yet invented could trace the feeble radioactivity of these hidden bombs?

Yes, its true; and for seven years, from 1955, to 1962, disarmament negotiations were deadlocked in the UN on this danger that a disloyal Power might seek to make itself the master of the world.

But the experts no longer think that this risk need be decisive. Let me cite authority to support this controversial but uncompromising view. We have in Britain a sailor-statesman, Lord Mountbatten who said in a lecture on Defence to the University of Edinburgh the other day:

If the West can destroy Russia several times over it is not much good if Russia can destroy the West once over. I think that eventually we must come to nuclear disarmament.

In this univeristy what you should be concerned with is survival. If we don't get the answer right, you are wasting your education here because you won't live long enough to make use of it.

Sir John Cockcroft is the greatest physicist in Britain; there is nothing he does not know about our mighty armament of nuclear weapons. In his Address last August as President of our British Association, he declared that:

The development during the last year of bombs which can destroy by heat alone everything within a radius of 20-30 miles below the point of burst has carried the world still further along the road to destruction.

We must realise however that the great difficulties in achieving disarmamaent are political and not technical, and, if there was a real will on the part of all major powers to disarm, it could be achieved...

Political and not technical - mark that well.

And Sir John came not long ago to the House of Commons; to a crowded audience he explained in detail how the technical difficulties could be overcome; and again, after an elaborate analysis of the problem, he concluded:

In general I believe that the technical problems of disarmament could be solved if the political problems could be solved.

I won't trouble you with the detailed safeguards which can be taken against the danger of the secret nuclear stock.

By far the most important is the abolition of the means of delivery - the aircraft, the missiles, the submarines, the surface vessels, the launching

pads - without which the nuclear bombs cannot be used.

That is what Mr Khruschev has proposed as the first vital step towards Disarmament. It wasn't originally a Soviet idea - it came from private research in Britain; Moch of France took it up, with President de Gaulle's support; the British Foreign Secretary endorsed it in the House of Commons; only then did Mr Khruschev put it in the forefront of his plan.

If it were accepted and carried through, 99 hundredths of the danger

of the secret nuclear stock would disappear.

That brings one to the third question which the intellectual defeatists ask us. Can you trust a word that Khruschev says? Is not the Soviet aim, as always, the conquest of the world? Is not their method, as a well-known figure in Washington said the other day, subversion, deception, and if safe and appropriate, open war?

I can only give the briefest outline of a reply, I start from the basic

proposition: Stalin died nine years ago,

Most revolutions start with a mission to change the world. All revolutions change as their home regimes grow strong. The Russian Revolution, perhaps the best justified revolution in history, if you remember the ghastly Tsarist chaos in which it was formed - the Russian Revolution might have changed long years ago, if the West had shown more wisdom and more Christian charity in its dealings with the Kremlin in the years between the wars. But Stalin did die in 1953. Vast changes have happened in Russia since then. Far greater changes are on the way.

In foreign policy the break with Stalin was complete. The Korean truce in 1953, the Indo-chinese truce in 1954, the return of the naval Base at Porkhala to Finland in 1955; the evacuation of Austria and the Austrian State Treaty in 1955; the acceptance of Western Disarmament proposals which we, alas, very hastily withdrew; the later oft-repeated offers of Disarmament and peaceful co-existence; the visit to Camp David to talk with President Eisenhower in 1959; the Draft Treaty for General and Complete

Disarmament in the Committee of eighteen - it was events like these which made our Foreign secretary declare in our House of Commons a year or two ago:

We realise the mutual suicide that world war would mean...
We believe, and I say this to the House with all sincerity,
that we are making progress with the Soviet Union, and I think
that it's very largely due to the personality of Mr Khruschev
himself. I think we are making progress in trying to work out
a system of peaceful co-existence which will not involve all
these risks...

I know no one who has talked with Mr Khruschev about it, as I did for three hours a year or two ago, who does not believe that he genuinely desires really peaceful co-existence with the West.

But under the general Disarmament proposals that are being discussed today, no one needs to trust the Russians; the U.N. Inspectors will surely catch them out, if they are fools enough to cheat.

The defeatist intellectuals often ask me: Why do you go on talking about Disarmament? Aren't you sick of failure, after forty years? -

Yes, I feel sick; sick with fear at the dangers which lie ahead; sick with shame at the opportunities which have been lost.

The defeatist intellectuals have their share of the blame.

What is the duty of every man or woman who has had the priceless privilege of a University Education in the century in which we live? It is to safguard the marvellous heritage of the past - the art, the music, the architecture, the literature, the knowledge, the experience, that men over countless centuries, by the two greatest of human gifts, altruism and cooperation, have slowly but steadily built up. It is to hand that heritage on to future generations, intact, enriched, more glorious with every passing year. That means their duty is to fight with all their power against armaments and war.

Do you recall President Kennedy's flaming words, spoken to the United Nations a year ago?

Today, every inhabitant of this planet must contemplate the day when it may no longer be habitable. Every man, woman, and child lives under a nuclear sword of Damocles, hanging by the slenderest of threads, capable of being cut at any moment by accident, miscalculation or madness. The weapons of war must be abolished before they abolish us.

 $\,$ Did you read an eminent and much respected Columnist in the New York Times of yesterday:

To safeguard Berlin under existing conditions, we must now be prepared to sacrifice perhaps 200 million West Europeans and Americans within 24 hours - while the Communist bloc is demolished and our honour preserved. We have shown ourselves ready to stand by our pledges, even at this immeasurable cost.

Just fifty years ago I came down from Cambridge. The other day I stood in the Chapel of my College, King's - the loveliest Christian Church in all the world - I stood by the War Memorial, and read the well-remembered names:

Rupert Brooke, who would have been among our greatest poets, if he had lived; Noel-Compton-Burnett, the most imaginative of our historians; Terence Hickman, who stroked our boat, and with whom I used to climb the rocks in Europe; H.S.O. Ashington, the greatest natural athlete who ever went to the Olympic Games.

Our tutors taught us, in that far-off golden age, that democracy would spread from coninent to continent around the world; that science and engineering would abolish poverty and hunger in every land; that the arbitration of disputes; the Hague Conferences, the growth of international law, would abolish war.

It was for these things that my friends went out to die; and I still find it hard to think that they died in vain.

The Eighteenth Annual Memorial Address at Macdonald College

4980

Chairman
The Principal

Speaker

Sir Fitzroy Maclean C.B.E., M.P.

ශරිලින

The Macdonald College War Memorial consists of these yearly addresses, and a Memorial Entrance to the Library.

We remember with gratitude the sons and daughters of Macdonald College who served in two world wars, and keep alive in our hearts the memory of those who did not return.

January 13, 1964 8.00 p.m.

SPEAKER AT THE EIGHTEENTH ANNUAL

WAR MEMORIAL ASSEMBLY

JANUARY 13 AT 8:00

Sir Fitzroy Maclean has had a distinguished career in public life and journalism. He was the Brigadier commanding the British military mission to Yugoslav partisans in 1943-45. He was under secretary of Stateon War and Finance Secretary of the war office 1954-1957.

Sir Fitzroy was awarded the French Croix de Guerre in 1943 the Order of Kutusov in 1944 and the Partisan Star (1st class) in 1945.

Sir Fitzroy is well-known as the author of many articles and works such as

"Eastern Approaches"

"Disputed Barricade "

"A Person from England".

O Canada

O Canada! Our home, our native land,
True patriot love in all thy sons command.
With glowing hearts, we see thee rise,
The true north, strong and free,
And stand on guard, O Canada,
We stand on guard for thee.

We stand on guard for thee.

O Canada! Glorious and free!

We stand on guard, we stand on guard for thee.

O Canada! We stand on guard for thee.

SIR FITZROY MACLEAN

SPEAKER AT THE EIGHTEENTH ANNUAL

WAR MEMORIAL ASSEMBLY

JANUARY 13 AT 8:00

Sir Fitzroy Maclean has had a distinguished career in public life and journalism. He was the Brigadier commanding the British military mission to Yugoslav partisans in 1943-45. He was under secretary of Stateon War and Finance Secretary of the war office 1954-1957.

Sir Fitzroy was awarded the French Croix de Guerre in 1943 the Order of Kutusov in 1944 and the Partisan Star (1st class) in 1945.

Sir Fitzroy is well-known as the author of many articles and works such as

"Eastern Approaches"

"Disputed Barricade "

"A Person from England".

Academic Procession

O Canada

Invocation

Placing the Wreath

The Principal

68800

The Memorial Address

Sir Fitzroy Maclean C.B.E., M.P.

The Vice-Principal

The National Anthem

Academic Recession

These Gave Their Lives

% বৃথিক

1914-1918

Bailey, Hugh Courtney Bailey, Hugh Reginald Dowson Chatfield, Percy Charles Collingwood, Gordon Francis Dashwood, John Lovell Dean, George Frederick Dyer, Charles Edward Ford, William Dalgleish Gilson, Gordon Wyman Hacker, James MacMillan Hackshaw, Cecil Hamilton, Robert H. Harvey, William Lamb, William Sterling Levin, Morris T. Longworth, Frederick John MacFarlane, John Reid McCormick, James Hugh McDiarmid, Duncan David McLagan, Patrick Douglas McLaren, Quentin McRae, Douglas Muldrew, W. Harold Murphy, Allan I. Portelance, Joseph Reed, Benjamin Trenholme Richardson, Julius Jeffrey Gordon Robertson, Harry Sansom, George Shearer, William Dumaresq

Turner, William Henry Upton, Lionel Viane, Edgar Williamson, John

4960

1939-1945

Archer, Philip Leslie Irving Archibald, Clarence McDougall Bachelder, Allen Leland Barclay, John Duff Birkett, John Evelyn Wreford Brissenden, Joseph Cameron, Donald Cameron, George Everett Campbell, Gordon Dunlap Candlish, John Muir Chamberlain, Harold Arthur Clark, Garfield William Colley, John Eastman, Donald Mervyn Gale, Edward B. Goodenough, Carlton Stokes Gorham, James Rist Greenhill, Charles Fabian Griffin, Frederick Philip Hayter, William Douglas Hillrich, Vincent Philip Horn, John D'Arcy Houston, Allan Dale Kerr, Louis Noel Lyndon Lewthwaite, George Alexander Longley, Harold Graham MacLannan, Charles Grant McDonald, Donald

McRoberts, Douglas Brenton
Matthews, George
May, David Merriman
Ness, Alvin James
Pascoe, Philip Jocelyn
Patterson, John Richard
Philips, Neil Seymour Hunter
Porritt, Robert Arthur
Ross, Alexander Bentick
Scott, Eugene Claude
Smith, Kenneth Hew
Taylor, Harold Alvan
Watson, John James
Wilson, Denys Leslie
Woolaver, Allison Stewart

And us they trusted, we the task inherit, The unfinished task for which their lives were spent.

-C. A. ARLINGTON

Macdonald College

McGill University



In Memoriam



1914-1918 1939-1945

Mon. Jan. 13, 1964

Mr. Chancellor, My Lord, Ladies and Gentlemen -It is indeed an honour to me to address such a distinguished assembly, to-day and to follow so many very much more distinguished speakers including Field Marshall Alexander, under whom I was privileged to serve (a very long way under), in the last war. I've been talking for some years now on the subject of communism, communism yesterday, communism to-day, and communism to-morrow. My task, I find, gets harder, because with the loosening up and the changes going on in the communist world far more people visit communist countries, and therefore instead of being the only person whethe room who has ever been to any of these places, there are generally a number of people in the audience, and I've satisfied myself that is the case to-day, who know more about the Soviet Union, Red China, Yugo Slavia or whatever it may be, than I do myself. I think that those of you who have visited any of these countries will agree with me that the first time that one goes to a communist country, one finds oneself in a very strange, very unfamiliar world. Its a very bewildering experience and it makes it, this lack of any standard of comparison, of any criteron, the difficulty of comparing it with anything one has seen before - makes it very difficult to reach a balanced judgment. Now in this respect I am lucky because, as you have just heard, I spent a couple of years in the Soviet Union, a quarter of a century ago, before the second world war - and so when I go back now to the Soviet Union, as I do quite frequently, or indeed when I visit any other communist country, I have got a ready-made standard of comparison. compare the communist world of to-day with the communist world of twenty-five years ago, and I can relate what I see now to what I saw then and I can draw my conclusions accordingly. Now twenty-five years ago the communist world was very much smaller very much more compact than it is to-day. It consisted of the Soviet Union, or to be absolutely it consisted of the Soviet Union and Outer Mongolia, a country which I have been trying to visit for years, which I did visit for my Whitsun holiday this year - but, be that as it may, the business end of the Soviet, world was the Soviet Union. Now the Soviet Union. in those days, was ruled by one man. Power, absolute & complete power,

monolithic power was concentrated in the hards of Joseph Stalin. He sat in Moscow, and from Moscow, which he hardly ever left. from the Kremlin which he only left to go to his villa, a few miles outside - he exerted power which reached right out into the remotest valleys of the Caucasus and of the Tien Shan, the Mountains of Heaven, right across Siberia, south to Armenia and which controlled absolutely the lives and actions of every man, woman and child in the Soviet Union. He also controlled, incidently, the lives and actions of every single Communist Party member in the world. And so really, if you really knew Moscow, you knew the whole of the communist world N Anyhow you knew the atmosphere, which was the important thing. I was posted to our Embassy in Moscow at the beginning of 1937, and I spent the next two years, partly in Moscow and partly travelling about, seeing all that I could of the Soviet Union Aits people, the way of life and of the prevailing political system. What I saw was entirely fascinating - it was also in many waysherrifying. In 1937 & 38, what is now called Stalinism, but was then the ordinary system of government of the Soviet Union, was at its height. Stalin, himself, had been in power for a dozen years or so, ever since he had got rid of Trosky. Trosky had been followed by any other actual oponents that there might have been, there were not very many of them. He was now by the late 30's occupied in weeding out and liquidating anybody who to his suspicious mind might ever be a source of embarrassment, a cause of annoyance, or might ever conceivably become an opponent. And at a series of phenomenal state trials these people were dragged into court, confessed to the most improbable crimes, murder, arson, high treason, poisening, everything else - and then having confessed asked for the supreme penalty, which was then carried out without any difficulty at all. I attended the last of these, the trial of Bucharin and Richoff, included two former Prime Ministers, included Bucharin with being one of the makers of the revelution one of Lenin's closest friends - I heard them confess and I saw them sentenced to death and taken away to execution. And in one way and another I think that I can honestly say that in its complete unreality, unrelatedness to life, it was one of the most horrifying experiences of my life.

At that time a reign of terror was in progress in the Soviet Union which I suppose is unequalled in the whole blood-stained history of Russia, before or since the Revelution. Suspicion

hung about like a poisenous mist seaping in everywhere. Everybody was afraid and suspicious of everyone else. One read constantly in the newspapers of children who had been awarded medals for denouncing their parents as saboteurs or as foreign spies or whatever it might be. Every night thousands of people heard the knock on the door which meant that the police had come for them. self have never known anything like it. In Russia the most dangerous thing of all was to have any contact whatever with foreigners, and so the little handful of diplomats, foreign diplomats and newspaper men who constituted the foreign colony in Moscow lived in complete isolation in a sort of Ghetto. The only people we ever saw in Moscow were the officials of the commissariat for foreign affairs. They found themselves in a difficult position because of course their duty demanded that they had occasional contact with foreigners. If they had these contacts If they did their duty, they were shot for seeing foreigners, if they didnt see foreigners they were shot for not doing their duty. You can imagine that when one tried to telephone to them or ask them to lunch, the invitation was not received with great enthusiasm.

In the economic field Stalin had just carried through the collectivization of Agriculture. It had been a very wasteful and expensive progress. Several million figures, and again these are figures, I quote from Krhuschev and I dont think they are any exageration, two or three million peasants have been starved to death to carry through this scheme. I remember Sir Winston Churchill onee telling me that Stalin had told him that none of the battles that the Russianse fought in the second world war compared for toughness with the battle he had to fight against his own peasants at this time, but he fought it and won and collectivized Agriculture and now 45 - 46 years after the Revolution the Russians are still having to come to the United States, to a capitalist country to buy wheat to make bread to feed their own people.

What I think was a greater achievement on Stalin's part - I think he will probably be renowned for in history, was his indust-ralization of a backward country. That was also an extremely painful affair as far as the Russian people were concerned, because everything was sacrificed at the moloch of heavy industry, and first and foremost the standard of living of the people, but it is true that he did industralize Russia, that enormous factories went up everywhere, hydro-electric schemes, fire stations, oil wells and

that when in fact Russia became involved in the second world war, she had got some sort of industry of her own in addition to what she was able to get from the allies. But at the time, the people who suffered from all this were the ordinary people of Russia, who could by nothing in the shops, who were badly fed, badly clothed and above all, badly housed. And so when I left the Soviet Union, at the beginning of 1939, I took away with me an impression, first of all of terror, of terror such as I've never seen before or since, secondly of squalor, a really low standard of liveing and of miserable, unhappy people, I also took away a feeling of friendliness, for the Russian people themselves, because in spite of the immense difficulty of actually meeting them, in spite of the fact that it was only a few chance conversations with people in trains and so on who were either too stupid or too imprudent that it was a mistake to see foreigners, in spite of the of my contact one did realize that Russian people, in fact had it not been for the government, asked for nothing better then to be friendly hospitable and welcoming towards all kinds of foreigners. And that I'M sure is an important Russian characteristic - I've been told since the war, by Germans, who found themselves stranded. in the Soviet Union, either escaped prisoners or something of the kind, that in spite of everything they've done, their having attacked the S.U. and massacred people there the individual Russian peasant was always quite prepared to take them in and feed them. They are a very very friendly people.

And finally I took away with me a feeling of immense of immense curiosity as to how this fantastic and gigantic experiment would end. Would it end as so many things that ended in Russian history in chaos and bloodshed and another revolution — would it simply founder in a morass of muddle and confusion and ineficiency—could it confeivably succeed, or might it alternatively turn into something new and completely different. Well—I didnt go back to Moscow for just on 20 years, I didnt go back until 1958 and in the interval I've had some glimpses of the communist world, I spent a couple of years with Marshall Tito, who was building his won communist world in Jugo-Slavia, I'd also seen something of the Russians during the war. During those 20 years, 1938-1958, a tremendous lot had happened, both in the Soviet and elsewhere. Perhaps I might briefly run over one or two of the things that had happened in that period—

First of all, as a result of World War II, Russian power, the power of the Soviet Union, had increased enormously and with it, the extent of the communist world. Pretty well the whole of Eastern Europe had fallen under Soviet Bomination. In 1944,1945 I myself had seen the victorious Red army sweeping through the Balkans, raping and looting as it went. By February 1948 with the brutal subjugation of Checko-Slovakia the first phase of this expansion had been completed, and it looked, in 1948, as if there was more to come, as if the expansion of the communist world had only just begun. But as so often happens, just as everything seemed to be going so swimmingly for the Russians, a couple of very important things happened which really changed the whole course of history, and in particular the history of world communism.

The first of these was that in June 1948, Marshall Tito, the president of Jugo-Slavia, broke with Stalin, broke with the Kremlin. He had been Stalin's man. Stalin, if he was aware of a monor appointment who had made Tito Secretary General of the Jugo-Slav communist party in 1937. He'd put him in to clean it up, it had got into trouble, so he brought the heads of the Jugo-Slav communist party, shot them all, except one — and the one was Tito and he made Tito Secretary-General and gave instructions to get on with the job as best he could. With the result that Tito was in charge of the Jugo-Slav communist party when the Germans entered Jugo-Slavia in '31 and Tito before long was at the head of a remarkably effective communist control resistence movement.

Now, the result of that was two-edged, because first of all, at the end of the war Jugo-Slavia found itself under communist control -but human experience is apt to have its impact on human character. Tito's experiences during the war, the hazards and hardships which he'd served with his own, which he'd experienced with his own countrymen, what he'd seen of their fighting qualities and so on, fhe formidable and political and military machine, which he'd built up, and the fact that he had in fact established himself in par with no help and precious little encouragement from the Russians, had had their effect on Tito, and in spite of the fact that he had started the war as a communist agent - agent of Moscow, he ended the war fery much less ready to take orders from a foreign power. And this was a situation which came to a head in June 1948, and Tito then defied

Stalin, and got away with it and survived. Now that, you have to think back to 1948, to realize just how important that was at that time. Up to then the communist world had been absolutely monolithic. Soviet power was based on the absolute power, on the absolute authority and infallibility of the Kremlin. Nobody had ever challenged that and survived. Now for the first time Tito was standing at the head of his own army and in control of his own country. In spite of being a Moscow trained communist had done just that and a small country of 15-20 million people had defied a large one of 200 million, and had got away with it.

If I had been Stalin, at that time, I think that I would have put an airborne division down on Belgrade and wiped them out. Wiped out Tity. Stalin was a sensible and cautious man and didnt do that The result was that Tito was still there. Stalin didnt expect him to be there very long, he said to Krhushev as K. has since told us "I will lift my little finger and there will be no more Tito", but he did more than that, he didnt in fact resort to armed force, which I think he could have done and got away with at that time because Tito had no friends in the East and no friends in the West, at that time, but he imposed a complete economic boycott, he tried to make all the trouble he could for Tito, he did much more than lift his little finger, but in the end Tito remained alive, impenitent and was still at the head of his own army, at the head of his own communist party, and in control of hos own country. Nor did he, as the Russians tried to pretend, sell out to the West. If he had sold out to the West, if he had ceased to be a communist, his defection would have been very much less important - it would simply have been bad luck as a small country that had gone over to the West nut the fact that Tito did not do that, the fact that Tito/did-not proclaim, while accepting aid, it is perfectly true in the long run from the West and in spite of doing that he remained a communist, he continued to call himself a communist, as he does to-day, and he established the principle that it is possible for a communist country not to take its orders from Russia - and that is an enormously important principle to establish because it struck right at the roots of Soviet power, of Stalin's power.

Now, towards the end of 1948, something else occurred which was, in the long run, to be spuch more important - that was that the Chinese communists, who/up to then had said could, would never seize power, in fact, did seize power, and assume control of a

country-which with a population of around about 700 million people, rather more than between 3 or 4 times the size of the Now, I think it would insult them both to compare the one to the other, but I don't propose that to let that prevent me from doing so - the fact remains that Tito and Mao Si Tung have a great deal in common. The most important thing of all is that they both came to power not in the baggage train of the Russian army but under their own steam, by their own efforts, and in their own country, with Stalin saying 'these people arent any good', in the background. Neither of them owed anything to Stalin and both of them have been extremely conscious of that ever since. The Chinese - what happened in China its impact on the communist world has become clear for some time, but it was none the less important for that. Now, five years later, in 1953, in March 1953, something else happened which was immensely important, and that is, for world communism, that is that Stalin died. And after 2 or 3 years of uneasy manouvering for position, his place was taken at the summit of the communist hierarchy at the top of the S.U. by a successor of a very different character indeed, Krhuschev. And when I say that he is a man of a very differnt character, I dont mean that he isnt ruthless. He wouldn't have been where he is to-day if he had not been extremely ruthless, but whereas Stalin was an extremely cautious, prudent man, who never takes chances - Krhuschev is by nature a gambler, a man who is prepared to take enommous, any number of chances, has taken a whole series of gambles, and some of them have come off and some of them have not, By then the situation had arisen in the communism world which would have made it extremely difficult to go on as Stalin had gone on, up to then, with a regime of complete repression and the most important of these is that it is impossible, really, to operate a modern technilogical society with a lot of brainwashed helots. You have to teach people to think, you have to teach people to use their brains if you want to put sputniks in orbit and that sort of thing, and once you teach people to think about scientifif problems, they will think about a lot of other problems too, including political problems, and also they will start wondering about their standard of living and what is going on in the outside world, and so on. K. recognized that, to do him justice - he said to a newspaper man, a friend of mine of in

Moscow, sometime ago, Under Stalin the whole machine was grinding to a stop with seizing up was becoming paralyzed and he recognixed something had to be done about it and therefore he relaxed a certain amount. He allowed a little more freedom - but of course the Russians took a little more freedom than he allowed them and ever sinne then it has gone with a series of periods of relaxation followed by periods of tightening up. The general trend has been towards relaxation and going back, as I went back, in 1958, after an absence of 20 years, I found in Moscow a tremendous difference in atmosphere - in many ways it was quite unrecognizable. Of course the first thing one noticed as one drove in from the aeroport was enormous numbers of new blocks of apartment houses going up everywhere. It was obvious that more was being done about housing people, the moment you went out on the street, you saw that people were much better dressed - in the old days any foreigner, however shabby, stood out from a crowd of Soviet citizens like a canary like amongst a lot of sparrows. Now that was no longer the case. I dont say that the Moscow streets are like 5th Ave. or Park Lane or the Rue de la Paix, but there has been an enormous change, on the whole the people were much better dressed, much better fed - there is far more to buy in the shops, not always what you want, but anyhow something - and people have a reasonable prospect of getting somewhere to live in due course. But far more important than these material changes is the complete change of atmosphere that there has been. Now the first thing you notice is that people are no longer too terrified to speak to foreigners. Now all this is relative - if you go there for the first time and you've never been to Russia before, well you're very apt to come away with the impression that this is a dreary, squalid country - poor standard of living, a lot of rather nervous people, with all kinds of ridiculous rules and with a fairly active secret police. But compa red with what it was like 20 years ago, it is a different country altogether and going back as I have done of recent years, I notice a further change every time I go back and in all this perhaps the most important role of all is played by the younger generation who want to find out more about foreign countries, who are able at last to listen to foreign broadcasts, read foreign books and papers and so on - and they may do it of course, clandestinely, but they do it all the same and they find out about it and in short thanks to this gradual relaxation, thanks

to the involuntary relaxation which K. has had imposed upon him, and thanks above all to the limited contacts which have now possible with the outside world, things are moving more and more fast in the Soviet Union.

Now all that has had another effect - K. has summed it all up by the word 'deStalinization' - getting rid of Stalin. In 1956 to the horror of the Chinese and of many other more rigid communists he delivered a violent personal attack on Stalin and called him a homicidal maniac and so on. But of course the fact is that he did it. Now that was probably a risky thing to do, probably the most risky thing of all, because up to then, people had been taught that everything that Stalin did was perfect that Stalin was the little Father and was always right and to suddenly shatter all that at one blow, was taking a most almighty gamble. M.Sartre? I think, has put it very well when he said 'C'est la déstalinesation qui déstalinisera les déstalinesateurs Stalin expressed the same thought in other words when he said himself, shortly before he died (and again my authority is K) he said to the assembled members of the presidium 'you are blind like little kittens, what will happen to Russia when I am gone, you cannot tell an enemy' and I have no doubt that if he could see what was going on in Russia now he would turn in the modest little grave, outside the Kremlin wall, to which K. has rather unkindly relegated him. But of course when krhuschev started his process of de -Stalinization this had another effect - it had an effect outside the S.U. as well, because by implying and by saying that Stalin was wrong, he was also saying that in fact Tito might not have been wrong- and sure enough two years after Stalin's death K. took off for Belgrade, landed on the airfield there, got out of his aeoroplane, seized the microphone and read into it a statement in which he said Russians had been absolutely wrong and that they apologized and they were very sorry for everything they had done. He then handed the microphone to Tito, I think in the hope that Tito would say 'O, forget it or nonsense or something like that or make some generous remark. Tito, in fact, did nothing of the kind. He put the microphone firmly down and said 'I think its time we went on, here is the motor car' - having listened without a smile to everything that had been said and then took Kruschev back to his house, mid crowds that cheered Tito and not K. But that was the beginning of the process which was to come to a

acheck,

sort of head the following year in 1956 when there was an explosion in Hungary and an explosion in Poland, when it began to look as if the whole of the communist world was beginning to crumble. Now on top of that there was worse trouble fürther afield. Trouble was beginning just about that time with the Chinese communists and that trouble has gone on ever since and has in turn come to a head within the last few months.

I was in both Russia and China this summer and I found both countries obsessed with this conflict between them. A family row is always much more bitter and also in some ways much more enjoyable than an ordinary row and certainly the Russians and the Chinese are putting everything they've got into this particular one - and of course a lot is at stake. There are ideological disputes, the main one of which appears to be whether K. was right in saying that from now on that the inevitable clash between the communist world and the non-communist world, which Lenin had spoken about, the inevitable armed clash, was no longer a reality and that in fact world communism could triumph without recourse to arms. That appears to be the main issue. Tsiu in Lao in Africa has slightly spoilt the whole thing by going and saying that he didnt really believe in an armed clash either. But whether or not they differ or not this important subject, what they certainly do differ on is who is going to be in charge, who is going to be the leader, who is going to be the head of the world communist movement. And that is precisely what the Chinese are doing - they are challenging Russia's position, Rissia's claim to be the country of the Revolution, Russia's claim to lead world communism. And that of course is something which K. cannot possibly put up with. In addition to that there are all kinds of issues, between Russia and China not as great ideological forces but as ordinary states. There's the fact that there are frontier disputes and there's also the fact that China's population of 750 million are looking for somewhere to expand into and the nearest place to expand into is Siberia with its wide empty spaces and its untapped material resources. There is also at the bottom of it a racial difference there is no doubt at all that the Chinese regard the Russians as being white or pink, or whatever it is and that the Russians are inclined to regard the Chinese as being yellow and that that adds to the trouble. When the Chinese talk about K. as 'old baldy K.' - in fact the 're saying something very like 'foreign devil' - and certainly, my impression was that the Russians in Peking felt very much out of it in this completely Chinese world. Communism in China is something extremely Chinese and its something which has a special relevance for all the other countries Asia and that is something which the Chinese leaders Maghsis Tung and the others bear in mind the whole time.

Now all these to anybody like myself returning to the communist world, particular after a long absence, all these changes are very startling, especially the changes in Russia. In China I must say there are no signs whatever of liberalization or relaxation - the concentrated, autocratic power, the degree of central control which the Chinese Communist Government has achieved in China is something which would make Stalin green with envy and quite honestly, after Peking the atmosphere in Moscow seems like Monte Carlo by comparison. But in Russia the changes are going on all the time, so they are in the satelite countries and in addition to this is the fact that instead of being small and compact and concentrated and under control the communist world is la rge and incoherent and at ofds one with the other. Now one would be tempted to say, one is tempted to say when one sees all this, when one sees these changes, when one goes to Moscow and is invited into people's houses and is able to make friends with Russians and talk to them, one is tempted to ssy there have been so many changes, that this is quite a different country, quite a different animal. That I think at any rate at the present stage would be a grave mistake, because of course, the aim of Soviet Policy as stated and restated by K. and everybody else- the aim remains the same - it is World domination - it is the destruction of the non-communist world. As K. said in his friendly way not so long ago 'We will bury you' there's also a lot of talk of peaceful coexistence, he's also given his definition of peaceful coexistence which is the struggle continued by other means, and the operative word there of course is 'struggle'. There is of course also China who makes no pretense or very little pretense of accepting K.'s renunciation of war as a method of getting what he wants. What should be the attitude of the West in the face of this bewildering situation. I would say that the first essential is that we should on no account lower our guard. That seems to me the most important thing of all. We have got to re-

member that the reason why K. has abondoned Lenin's dogma that war between East and West, between communists and non-communists is inevitable, the reason why K. has abondoned that, he's not done that out of any feeling of affection for the capitalist imperialist world, He's done it for one reason and one reason only - that is the hydrogen bomb. He knows, and being a sensible man that there is nothing for him in a hot war, just as we know that there is nothing for us in a hot war and it is in fact the balance of terror which dominates the situation and that is so as far as the Russians are concerned all the more since October 1962 when K. ' bluff was called and whenit became clear that the West was, if necessary, prepared to resort to/ultimate deterent in order to stop him doing it to them. And therefore I would say that what we need is, in the first place, to maintain an effective Western nuclear deterent, a nuclear deterent which is at least as strong as the communist nuclear deterent, if possible considerably stronger. I think that we also need something else. I think that we also need an effective conventional deterent, because I think that the world we live in is going to be troubled partly through communist action, partly through history taking its course - its going to be troubled by all kinds of disturbances of the kind which we see in three or four different parts of the world at the moment Cyprus, Panama, Zanzibar, Malayasia and so on. Some of these I gather have been attributed by the experts to the communist action, some of them havent. The fact is that that is the sort of situation we are going to be confronted with and I think that it is very important that the West should have in addition to a nuclear deterent a convential deterent which like the nuclear deterent will not, if at possible, be used but will be there to stop trouble breaking out before it does break out.

And finally, and this is in some ways the most important of all, I'm sure that we must have the courage of our convictions. This is largely a war of ideas and we must at all costs stick to our own ideas. I may say this is a depressing prospect, a long period of what is sometimes called 'cold war, is sometimes called rather more optimistically 'peaceful coexistence' - but a long period of uneasiness and disturbance under the umbrella as it were of this balance of terror. Now, I don't think myself that it is all that depressing. I think that the prospect of a hot war, with everybody being burnt to a cinder, would be very much

more depressing - but I also think that looking at it from the point of view of the West, it has, it contains the seed of hope. First of all it is far better to be confronted with a divided communist world than a united communist world. Secondly, from my observation in the Soviet Union, I would say that in the long run, nothing is going to stop the Russian people having more say in the conduct of their own affairs. I'm quite certain that the Russian people who have been through two particularly horrible wars in a lifetime, many of them, dont want another war and their influence, when it comes to be exercised will be exercised on the side of Peace. I think that our best hope really lies in the evolution of the S.U. and the Soviet system from what it is at present, into something which is a little easier, a little less difficult to live with than what we confront at present.

I'm a great believer in the force of human nature and it seems to me than human nature is always beginning to take charge in the S.U. - the younger generation are far more interested in finding out how foreigners do the twist than in finding out about Marxism, Leninism and the inevitability of a clash with the West.

In China its perfectly true, that is not yet apparent - there is no sign of relaxation there, but the Chinese are just as human as anybody else, possibly more human, and I have no doubt that, given the chance, if there is not a war, if there is no cataclysm that human nature will in due course begin to play its part in China too.

Now what can we do to further this process of evolution? I believe that in so far as it is possible to have contacts with the communist world, with Russia, with China, with the satelites, we should have contact. I believe that for this reason, the Russians are convinced that its part of their ee fundamental belief that they are bound, that communism is bound to win in the end. They dont just believe that, they know that as a fact.

Now I myself believe and I'm sure that most of you believe that in effect, our ideas are much better and much stronger than communism which is an outdated, exploded, 19th centumy idea, which may have played some part in shaping the events of the Tast 50 or 100 years. It seems to me very unlikely, judging by what is happening in Russia, or judging by what is happening in other countries, it seems very unlikely to play much of a part any longer and I am

quite certain that if the Russians are prepared to meet us on equal terms, that is a challenge that we simply cant refuse. We have nothing, to my mind to fear from it whatever. Its quite possible that the Russians and the Chinese have got something to fear from it, that is of course why Stalin, for many years kept the Iron Curtain so absolutely rigid and water tight because he didnt feel that the Communist world could, in his day, stand up to free intercourse with the outside world, and who knows but that he was right. Anyhow K. is more confident, he has more reason to be more confident, but I dont think he can be all that confident, and I thank that we can do nothing but good by encouraging Russians, Chinese, anybody else to come abroad and by letting as many people from the West go to their countries as can manage to get there - because I'm sure that in the end, our ideas being stronger and better are bound to And so I believe that if we have the courage of our convictions, if we dont compromise, if we stick to our ideas, if we dont, above all, weaken, either military or economically or ideologically, then I think myself that in another 10 or 20 or 30 years from now, the worst of our troubles may be over.

PRESS RELEASE

CANADA

COMMUNIQUÉ

DEPARTMENT OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS

MINISTÈRE DES AFFAIRES EXTÉRIEURES

10

For release at 7.30 p.m. Tuesday, February 9, 1965.

PRINCIPLES AND PURPOSES OF FOREIGN AID

Address by

THE HONOURABLE PAUL MARTIN,
SECRETARY OF STATE FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS

to the

Memorial Assembly at Macdonald College, Ste. Anne de Bellevue I am honoured by your invitation to follow a series of such eminent and distinguished speakers in giving this annual memorial address.

Increasingly, over the past several years, it has become clear that the major challenge that is facing our generation is that of economic under-development which is a condition in which some two-thirds of the inhabitants of this planet find themselves. So long as this condition persists; so long as millions upon millions of human beings continue to be exposed to poverty, hunger and endemic disease; so long as the natural aspirations of newly emergent nations for a better life for their peoples remain circumscribed by a lack of resources and a lack of skills; so long as the world remains so unequally divided into areas of affluence and areas of indigence, there cannot be any expectation of true international peace and stability.

Because the problem of under-development is
one which has implications far beyond the areas where
under-development is prevalent, the means of meeting
and overcoming that problem must be international in

scope. Foreign aid is one of the most important avenues of approach to the problem of under-development and it is to the purposes and principles of foreign aid that I should like to address myself this evening.

I think it is fair to say that there has been broad and generous support among all segments of the Canadian people for the principle of foreign aid. Here and there, nevertheless, the query is raised whether charity should not rightly begin at home. It is not an unreasonable query and it is certainly one to which an answer cannot be left in abeyance.

The answer hinges to some extent on the definition which we give to the term charity. I suppose the most common usage we make of the term is in the sense of "helping the helpless". In that definition, however, charity has little in common with the purpose of foreign aid which is to provide the conditions in which the developing countries are enabled to help themselves. We do not assume that the developing countries are helpless. Nor is that assumption shared by these countries themselves. They recognize that the major responsibility for bringing their economies to the stage of self-sustaining growth must be theirs. All they

ask is that the international community cooperate with them in sustaining the efforts they themselves are making and in providing the climate and conditions in which they can mobilize their own resources to the most beneficial effect.

Still, it is arguable that foreign aid does involve the use of national resources -- in our case, Canadian
resources -- and that these resources might be used, as a
matter of first priority, to combat poverty at home before
they are directed to combat poverty abroad. This is an
argument which we cannot dismiss lightly, particularly when
we have in mind the findings of some recent surveys into the
persistence of poverty in our own country.

How do we reconcile the persistence of poverty in Canada with the provision of foreign aid? There are those who would argue that poverty is a relative concept. They would say that in any community in which there are substantial disparities of living standards those at the bottom of the scale have a claim to be regarded as falling within the poverty range. In one recent survey, for example, destitution -- that is to say, the lowest rung of the ladder of poverty -- is defined in terms of a per capita income

of \$1,000 or less. If we were to take this as some sort of absolute standard, we would have to conclude that, in 1960, fifty-four countries with an aggregate population of some 1,548,000,000 or roughly 80 per cent of the total population of the free world were destitute.

When we come to consider the so-called developing countries, we find that their per capita in 1960 averaged \$130. This represented an advance of a mere \$25 over the average per capita income recorded in these countries in 1950. Over the same period the advanced countries of the free world, taken collectively, increased their per capita income from \$1,080 to \$1,410. What this means is that, over the decade as a whole, the gap in living standards between the advanced countries and the developing countries widened not only in absolute terms -- as might be expected -- but also in relative terms.

Of course, these are aggregate figures and they do not always tell the whole story. One part of the story which they do not tell is the rising pressure of population and the impact this has had on the whole development process. For it is worth keeping in mind that in many developing countries

this pressure of population has been such that the progress made in increasing the volume of output of goods and services is barely enough to yield any improvement in living standards whatsoever.

As I said at the outset, this line of argument is one based on the relativity of poverty. It has an element of validity but it also has serious limitations. Poverty cannot be measured solely in terms of per capita income. Such a standard of measurement does not, for example, take account of what constitutes minimum levels of subsistence in different climatic conditions. Above all, it does not attempt to measure the social impact of poverty in a general environment of affluence which is the situation we confront in Canada and other advanced countries and which is bound to make the eradication of poverty a priority objective of Government policy.

I should therefore like to rest the case for foreign aid essentially on the argument which I would put as follows. In the scale of things Canada is an affluent country. While per capita income may not be the only reliable indicator of a country's affluence, the fact remains

capita income in the world. As such, there can be no doubt that we have the resources both to cope with the problem of poverty in our midst and to play our appropriate part in a cooperative international approach to the problem of mitigating poverty in the developing countries. That argument seems to me an overriding one if we believe that foreign aid is right as a matter of principle. It is to this aspect of the question of foreign aid that I should now like to turn.

The motives behind any foreign aid programme are likely to be mixed. These programmes have evolved pragmatically and the world setting in which they have evolved has itself been changing with unprecedented rapidity. Foreign aid is today part of the established pattern of international relations and it is likely to remain so in the foreseeable future. Nevertheless, there is merit, I think, in our stepping back from time to time to review the motives that have actuated our Canadian foreign aid programme and to consider afresh the purposes which we would expect it to serve.

For my own part, I have no hesitation in saying that I regard humanitarian considerations to be foremost in the minds of those who have supported and sustained the principle of Canadian aid to the developing countries. humanitarian approach to foreign aid is itself compounded of a number of factors which defy separate analysis. essence I would say it rests upon the recognition that, as flagrant disparities in human wealth and human welfare are no longer morally acceptable within a single community, whether it be local or national, the same principle is applicable to the larger world community. And as we have devised various mechanisms for transferring part of the wealth of the community to those segments which cannot rely on the laws of the market alone for their fair share, so foreign aid can be made to serve the same ends in a wider international framework. The validity of this approach to foreign aid was recognized in the Report of the Royal Commission on Canada's Economic Prospects of which the present Minister of Finance, the Honourable Walter Gordon, was Chair-As that report -- published some seven years ago -put it,

"... in a shrunken world the idea of humanity must have wider practical relevance. It may gradually become as unacceptable to the conscience of the West as it is now to the aspirations of the under-developed countries that there should be such gross disparities in human welfare throughout the world. In a remarkably short time the notion that such disparities cannot be tolerated within a single state has been accepted in almost all Western countries. To apply that principle throughout the world will be a much longer and harder task. But the issue has been raised and can hardly be wished away — even if Canadians were so disposed, which we do not for a moment believe."

I am sure the Commission were right in anticipating that that would not be the reaction of Canadians. In fact, the very contrary has occurred. As Canadians have expanded the range of their travel, as they have learned more, through their reading and through the public information media, about conditions in the developing countries, they have wanted to go

Government through the use of public funds. And today an increasing number of Canadians, as individuals or through organizations formed for this purpose are involving themselves in Canada's foreign aid programme. That this expanding degree of participation by Canadians owes its inspiration essentially to human, if not humanitarian considerations, of that, I think, there can be no doubt.

The fact that foreign aid is morally the right course to follow is not inconsistent with its being justifiable on more pragmatic grounds. I remember Barbara Ward putting the point as follows in her inaugural contribution to the Massey Lectures some years ago:

"To me, one of the most vivid proofs that there is a moral governance in the universe is the fact that when men or governments work intelligently and far-sightedly for the good of others, they achieve their own prosperity too....!Honesty is the best policy! used to be said in Victorian times. I would go further. I would say that generosity is the best policy and that expansion

of opportunity sought for the sake of others
ends by bringing well-being and expansion to
oneself. The dice are not hopelessly loaded against
us. Our morals and our interests -- seen in true
perspective -- do not pull apart."

In almost all countries today it is accepted that the maintenance of high levels of production and employment depend on the existence of adequate demand. Indeed, we are spending vast sums of money each year to stimulate demand by means of advertising and in other ways. At the same time, there are millions upon millions of disenfranchised consumers in the developing regions of the world whose potential demand upon our productive facilities remains to be unlocked. then, it is in our common interest -- that is to say, in the common interest of the advanced countries and the developing countries -- to enable these countries to make their proper contribution to the world's wealth and to participate more fully in world trade. Admittedly this is a long-range objective of foreign aid but it is one which, I think, we cannot with impunity afford to ignore. It is an objective of particular relevance to a country like Canada which, as one of the

major trading countries of the world, has a vested interest in expanding world trade.

The economic benefits of foreign aid are not, however, limited to the longer term. We in Canada have followed the practice of providing aid largely in the form of Canadian goods and Canadian services. I am aware that this practice -- which most other donor countries have also followed -- has met with some degree of criticism. So long, however, as we continue to provide the developing countries with goods and services which Canada can supply on an internationally competitive basis, I think a good case can be made for a country like Canada to provide its aid in that way. The advantages, as I see them, are fourfold:

First, the resources allocated to foreign aid serve directly to stimulate the growth of our economy by contributing to the level of production, exports and employment.

Second, the provision of foreign aid enables Canadian producers, engineers and educators to gain valuable experience and Canadian products and skills to become known in new areas.

Third, in the process of providing foreign aid the horizons of Canadians are enlarged and Canada's image abroad is more clearly projected.

Fourth, the use of Canadian goods and services gives Canadians a stake in foreign aid which, I am sure, has helped to enlist and maintain public support in Canada for an expanding foreign aid programme.

If the ultimate effect of foreign aid is intended to be economic, its political significance can hardly be overstated. For we must remember that foreign aid is being injected into countries and societies which are, without exception, caught up in a tremendous process of transformation. Many of these countries have only recently attained their independence. More often than not, independence has accelerated the pressure for change and has heightened impatience with the pace at which it is proving possible to mobilize the resources and the skills that are required to achieve progress on the social and economic front. This is what is sometimes referred to as "the revolution of rising expectations" and it is being fed by knowledge of the vast potential benefits that science and technology have to offer to twentieth century

man. The newly independent countries are determined to break out of the vicious circle of poverty and disease and illiteracy into this modern technological society. They are not prepared indefinitely to tolerate conditions in which the rich are growing richer and the poor are staying poor. They recognize that change cannot come overnight but there are deadlines which the governments of these countries can ignore only at their own peril.

The political implications of all this are clear. In the first place, as I suggested at the outset of my remarks, we cannot reasonably look for any real measure of stability or security in a world, two-thirds of whose inhabitants are living in a state of social ferment and economic discontent. I do not suggest — and I do not believe anyone would suggest — that foreign aid can provide anything like a complete answer to the problems of the developing countries. But, coupled with the efforts of these countries to create a sound basis for development, foreign aid can provide the beginning of an answer. Above all, it provides reassurance to these countries that they will be able to move forward in a cooperative world environment.

Secondly, we must remember that the need to mobilize resources for rapid economic development poses problems of the greatest magnitude in countries where a majority of the population are living at or near the level of bare subsistence. The basic problem, I think, from our point of view is whether in those conditions the development process is to go forward in a framework of freedom and respect for the uniqueness and diversity of men or whether it is to go forward under the impetus of political coercion and constraint. In referring to this as a basic problem I have in mind a passage in Mr. W. W. Rostow's book on "The Stages of Economic Growth" in which he puts the point as follows:

"If we and our children are to live in a setting where something like the democratic creed is the basis of organization for most societies, including our own, the problems of the transition from traditional to modern status in Asia, the Middle East, and Africa must be solved by means which leave open the possibility of a humane, balanced evolution."

And he goes on to say that

"It will take an act of creative imagination to understand what is going forward in
these decisive parts of the world; and to decide what it is that we can and should do to
play a useful part in those distant processes."

These, then, are some of the political implications of foreign aid as I see them. But I do not want to be misunderstood. I do not conceive of foreign aid as a means of imposing our political views and attitudes on the developing countries. That, to my mind, would be a self-defeating objective. It would create suspicion and hostility instead of confidence which is the only sound basis on which an effective foreign aid programme can be conducted. Not only would a foreign aid programme with political strings be self-defeating but it would be unrealistic. We cannot, with the best will in the world, expect to promote the establishment of parliamentary democracies on the Westminster model all over the world. Many of the new countries bring traditions of their own to the political evolution upon which they are embarking and they will in due course evolve their own patterns of government and social organization. But what

we can do -- and what I think it is legitimate for us to do -- is to enable these countries, at their own option, to develop -- to quote Barbara Ward once again -- "open societies in an open world".

In the light of what I have just said the question may be asked whether there are really no circumstances in which it would be permissible -- and perhaps even right -to attach conditions to the provision of foreign aid. is a question which I do not wish to avoid although it is a complex one and one which does not lend itself to dogmatic pronouncements. We do have to remember, I think, that the countries with which we are dealing are in many cases young countries, jealous of their independence and sensitive to anything that might be construed as circumscribing that independence. We also have to remember that there is no ready distinction to be drawn between different sets of conditions. Any condition is apt to be interpreted as being political in nature and design. This having been said, I think there is one condition which we have a right to attach to our aid and that is that it should be put to effective use. legitimately argue, I think, that the resources we allocate

jective which is to supplement the resources the developing countries themselves can manage to mobilize for their economic development. Where there is no sound indigenous development effort, foreign aid is unlikely to accomplish its objective. And if foreign aid does not accomplish its objective, governments in the donor countries will not be able to maintain public support for their foreign aid programmes. By insisting, therefore, that our foreign aid should be effectively used and that economic development in the countries receiving that aid should have a priority claim on the resources that are being generated, we are surely not surrounding our aid with conditions that are incompatible with their own best interests.

The concept of foreign aid is of relatively recent origin. Modest at its inception, it already encompasses the movement of significant resources from the advanced to the developing countries. Taking the advanced countries of the free world alone, the amounts provided from official sources for this purpose are now well in excess of \$6 billion a year.

Foreign aid is, of course, only one response to the

challenge of under-development. It will not by itself close the widening gap in living standards and we should be under no illusion that it will do so. For the resources mobilized through foreign aid represent — and will continue to represent — only a small portion of the resources that will have to be mobilized if the developing countries are to achieve the momentum needed for self-sustaining growth. Meanwhile foreign aid can help, as William Clark recently put it in his preface to a Handbook on Developing Countries, "to put a floor under poverty". That it should succeed in doing so is a matter of enlightened self-interest for all of us.

The claim is sometimes made that man's scientific progress has out-paced his moral capacity to measure up to his responsibilities in a changing world. There is something to that claim but I would like to think that in this matter of foreign aid we are at least beginning to take the measure of the changing world around us.

PRESS RELEASE



COMMUNIQUÉ

DEPARTMENT OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS

MINISTÈRE DES AFFAIRES EXTÉRIEURES

19

Pour publication à 7.30 p.m. Mardi, le 9 février 1965.

BUTS ET PRINCIPES
DE L'AIDE EXTERIEURE

Discours de

M. PAUL MARTIN,
SECRETAIRE D'ETAT AUX
AFFAIRES EXTERIEURES

àla

Memorial Assembly du Collège Macdonald, Sainte-Anne-de-Bellevue Je suis très honoré de votre invitation à prendre la parole, après tant de personnages éminents et distingués, à cette Assemblée annuelle.

Depuis un certain nombre d'années, il se révèle de plus en plus que la grande tâche de notre génération consiste à s'attaquer au sous-développement économique, dans lequel sont plongés à peu près les deux tiers de l'humanité actuelle. Aussi longtemps qu'il en sera ainsi, aussi longtemps que des millions et des millions d'êtres humains resteront exposés à la pauvreté, à la faim et aux maladies endémiques, aussi longtemps que l'aspiration naturelle des nouveaux Etats vers l'amélioration des conditions de vie de leurs populations sera empêchée de se réaliser faute de ressources et de techniques, aussi longtemps que le monde restera divisé avec une telle inégalité en régions d'opulence et régions d'indigence, on ne pourra compter sur une authentique paix et sur la stabilité internationales.

Parce que le problème du sous-développement a des répercussions bien au-delà des régions mêmes où il se pose, les moyens à prendre pour l'affronter incombe au premier chef de faire accéder leur économie au palier de la croissance autonome. Ce qu'ils demandent, c'est que la communauté internationale leur apporte son concours en soutenant leurs efforts et en établissant le climat et les conditions qui leur permettront de mettre en oeuvre leurs propres ressources en vue des objectifs considérés comme les plus utiles.

On peut soutenir cependant que l'aide extérieure utilise des ressources nationales (dans notre
cas, des ressources canadiennes) et que ces ressources
pourraient servir prioritairement à combattre la pauvreté
chez nous avant d'être employées à combattre la pauvreté
à l'étranger. C'est un argument qu'on ne peut repousser
à la légère, surtout si l'on tient compte de certaines
enquêtes récentes sur la persistance de la pauvreté dans
notre pays.

Comment concilier la persistance de la pauvreté au Canada avec une activité d'aide extérieure? Certains soutiennent que la pauvreté ne constitue qu'une notion relative. Dans toute société où il existe de sensibles inégalités de niveaux d'existence, les secteurs de la population qui occupent le bas de l'échelle ont droit de se faire considérer comme vivant dans la pauvreté. Dans une enquête récente on définissait la pauvreté comme se situant au niveau d'un revenu per capita de \$1,000 ou au-dessous. Si l'on devait considérer ce montant comme constituant une sorte de critère absolu de pauvreté, il faudrait dire qu'en 1960, dans le monde libre, 54 pays, comptant ensemble une population de 1,548,000,000 d'habitants, soit 80 p. 100 du total, vivaient dans la pauvreté.

Regardons du côté des pays dits en voie de développement, et nous constaterons qu'en 1960 leur revenu per capita moyen a été de \$130, soit d'à peine \$25 de plus qu'en 1950. Pendant la même décennie, les pays avancés du monde libre, considérés collectivement, ont vu leur revenu per capita passer de \$1,080 à \$1,410. C'est dire que, pendant cette décennie, l'écart entre les niveaux d'existence des pays avancés et ceux des pays en voie de développement s'est élargi, non seulement en chiffres absolus, comme on pouvait s'y attendre, mais aussi en chiffres relatifs.

Ce sont là, évidemment, des chiffres d'ensemble qui ne traduisent pas forcément toute la réalité. Ils laissent de côté, par exemple, la pression croissante qu'exerce l'augmentation de la population et son influence sur le processus de développement. Il est bon de nous rappeler que dans un nombre important de pays en voie de développement, l'accroissement démographique au cours de la décennie a été tel que l'accroissement du volume de production des biens et des services a à peine suffi à améliorer quelque peu les niveaux d'existence.

Comme je l'ai dit au début, c'est là un argument fondé sur le caractère relatif de la pauvreté. Les limites de cet argument sont assez marquées. La pauvreté ne peut pas être mesurée seulement en termes de revenu per capita. Un tel étalon ne tient pas compte, par exemple, des niveaux de subsistance minima dans des conditions de climat différentes. Surtout, il ne tient aucun compte du retentissement de la pauvreté sur le plan social, dans un milieu où règne l'opulence comme au Canada et dans les autres pays avancés, situation qui obligera

les gouvernements à faire de la lutte contre la pauvreté un de leurs objectifs prioritaires.

Je m'appuierai donc, pour parler en faveur de l'aide extérieure, surtout sur un argument que j'énoncerai de la façon suivante. Objectivement parlant, le Canada est un pays opulent. Le revenu per capita n'est peut-être pas le seul indice sûr de l'opulence d'un pays, mais il reste que le Canada vient au second rang mondial pour le revenu per capita. Il n'y a donc aucun doute que nous ne possédions les moyens voulus pour faire face au problème de la pauvreté chez nous et pour jouer le rôle qui nous revient dans toute action internationale coopérative visant à réduire le problème de la pauvreté dans les pays en voie de développement. Cet argument me semble l'emporter sur tout autre dès lors que nous approuvons en principe l'aide extérieure. C'est vers cet aspect de la question que je me tourne maintenant.

Tout programme d'aide extérieure obéit d'ordinaire à des motifs assez divers. Ces programmes ont évolué de façon pragmatique, et le cadre mondial dans lequel ils évoluent s'est lui même transformé avec

une rapidité inoule. L'aide extérieure fait partie aujourd'hui des relations internationales ordinaires et continuera probablement d'en faire partie aussi loin dans l'avenir que puisse porter notre regard. Il est bon toutefois que, de temps à autre, nous nous arrêtions pour réfléchir sur les motifs qui inspirent notre programme canadien d'aide extérieure et pour raisonner à nouveau les buts vers lesquels ce programme est ordonné.

Pour ma part je n'hésite pas à dire que les considérations humanitaires me paraissent l'avoir emporté dans l'esprit de ceux qui ont appuyé et soutenu le principe de l'aide du Canada aux pays en voie de développement.

A ce point de vue humanitaire se greffent de nombreux autres éléments qui défient toute analyse séparée. En général, toutefois, on admet, me semble-t-il, que les inégalités choquantes de richesse humaine et de bienêtre humain, de même qu'elles ne sont plus acceptables moralement au sein d'une communauté locale ou nationale, ne le sont plus désormais sur le plan mondial. Nous avons mis au point divers rouages afin d'opérer des transferts de richesse vers les secteurs de la

communauté qui ne peuvent compter sur le seul jeu des lois du marché, et l'aide extérieure peut jouer un rôle analogue dans un cadre international beaucoup plus large. On trouve une approbation de cette philosophie de l'aide extérieure dans le rapport de la Commission royale d'enquête sur les perspectives économiques du Canada, dont l'actuel ministre des Finances, M. Walter Gordon, fut le président. Voici ce qu'en disait ce rapport, publié il y a environ sept ans.

"(...) Dans un monde d'où les distances ont disparu, l'idée d'humanité doit avoir des résonnances pratiques plus prononcées. Il peut devenir graduellement inacceptable pour la conscience de l'Occident, de même que cela est déjà inacceptable du point de vue des aspirations des pays sous-développés, qu'il existe d'aussi choquantes inégalités de bien-être humain dans le monde. En très peu de temps, la plupart des pays occidentaux en sont venus à juger qu'on ne peut tolérer de telles inégalités à l'intérieur d'un même Etat. Il sera beaucoup plus long et plus difficile d'appliquer ce principe au monde entier. Mais la question est désormais

posée et ne peut plus guère être éludée, même si les Canadiens souhaitaient l'éluder, ce que nous ne croyons pas."

Je suis convaincu que la Gommission avait raison de croire que telle ne serait pas la réaction des Canadiens. De fait, c'est le contraire qui s'est produit. A mesure que les Canadiens ont voyagé davantage et qu'ils en sont venus à connaître davantage, par la lecture et par les autres moyens de grande information, les conditions qui règnent dans les pays en voie de développement, ils ont désiré faire plus que ce que le gouvernement canadien accomplissait dans ce domaine avec les fonds publics. Et aujourd'hui des Canadiens en nombre croissant, individuellement ou dans le cadre d'organismes créés à cette fin, prennent part au programme canadien d'aide extérieure. Cette participation accrue des Canadiens s'inspire essentiellement de considérations humaines; cela, je pense, on ne saurait en douter.

Que l'aide extérieure soit bien motivée au point de vue moral, cela n'est pas incompatible avec le fait qu'elle se justifie sur le plan pragmatique.

Barbara Ward a fait ressortir ce point de la manière suivante, dans sa première allocution aux conférences Massey il y a de cela quelques années.

"Pour moi, l'une des preuves les plus convaincantes de l'existence d'un ordre moral dans le monde se trouve dans le fait que lorsque les hommes et les Gouvernements travaillent avec intelligence et vision au bien des autres ils s'en trouvent également plus prospères... A l'époque victorienne on disait que "l'honnêteté était la meilleure politique. J'irai plus loin, la générosité est la meilleure politique l'amélioration que l'on recherche pour le sort des autres amène également son propre bien-être et l'amélioration de son propre sort. Les jeux ne sont pas inexorablement faits contre nous. Nos idées morales et nos intérêts - vus dans une juste perspective ne nous écartèlent pas."

Presque tous les pays reconnaissent maintenant que le maintien de hauts niveaux pour la production et

l'emploi dépend de l'existence d'une demande adéquate. Certes, nous dépensons chaque année des sommes considérables pour stimuler la demande au moyen de la publicité et de diverses autres manières. En même temps, il existe dans les régions en voie de développement du globe des millions et des millions de nouveaux consommateurs qui représentent à l'égard de nos moyens de production une demande non encore exploitée. Il est certainement dans notre intérêt commun - c'est-à-dire dans l'intérêt commun des pays évolués et des pays en voie de dévelopment - de mettre ces régions en mesure de fournir leur propre contribution à la richesse du globe et de participer plus activement au commerce mondial. C'est là évidemment pour l'aide extérieure un objectif à long terme, mais un objectif que nous ne pouvons impunément ignorer. Ceci s'applique tout particulièrement à un Etat comme le Canada qui, étant l'un des grands pays commerçants du monde, a fortement intérêt à developper le commerce mondial.

Les bienfaits économiques de l'aide extérieure peuvent toutefois se manifester à plus courte échéance. Ici au Canada, nous nous sommes fixé comme règle d'accorder une bonne proportion de notre aide sous forme de marchandises canadiennes et de services canadiens. Cette pratique - que la plupart des pays donateurs ont adopté a fait l'objet de certaines critiques. Mais tant que
nous continuons à procurer aux pays en voie de développement des biens et des services que notre pays peut
fournir suivant le principe de la concurrence internationale, on ne peut que louer le Canada, à mon avis,
d'avoir adopté cette méthode. Les avantages sont de
quatre ordres:

Premièrement: les ressources affectées à l'aide extérieure stimulent directement la croissance de notre économie en contribuant à hausser le niveau de la production et de l'emploi.

<u>Deuxièmement</u>: l'aide extérieure permet aux producteurs, ingénieurs et éducateurs canadiens d'enrichir leur expérience et aux produits et aptitudes du Canada de se faire connaître dans de nouvelles régions.

Troisièmement: l'horizon des Canadiens s'en trouve élargi et l'image du Canada à l'étranger est ainsi projetée avec plus de clarté.

Quatrièmement: l'utilisation des biens et services

canadiens fournit aux Canadiens un intérêt dans l'aide extérieure, et ceci a permis de mobiliser et de conserver l'appui du public en vue d'une expansion progressive du programme d'aide extérieure.

Si l'effet ultime de l'aide extérieure est d'ordre économique, on ne saurait toutefois exagérer sa signification politique. Nous ne devons pas oublier en effet que l'aide extérieure se déverse dans des pays et dans des sociétés qui, sans exception, subissent des transformations à un degré sans précédent. Un grand nombre de ces pays n'ont que récemment obtenu leur indépendance. Dans bien des cas, l'indépendance a renforcé la pression poussant à l'évolution et a aiguisé l'impatience que suscite le rythme auquel il est possible de mobiliser les ressources et les compétences nécessaires pour la réalisation de progrès sur le plan social et économique. C'est ce qu'on a parfois appelé "la révolution des espoirs en croissance", car elle prend sa source dans la connaissance des immenses bienfaits que la sceince et la technologie peuvent apporter à l'homme du vingtième siècle. Les pays nouvellement indépendants sont déterminés à briser le cercle vicieux de la pauvreté, de la maladie et de l'ignorance, afin d'entrer dans la société technologique moderne. Ils n'accepteront pas indéfiniment de tolérer un état de choses dans lequel les riches deviennent plus riches et les pauvres restent pauvres. Ils reconnaissent que le changement ne peut survenir en vingt-quatre heures, mais il est des délais-limites que les gouvernements de ces pays ne peuvent ignorer qu'à leurs propres risques.

Les incidences politiques de tout ceci apparaissent nettement. En premier lieu, comme je l'ai fait observer un début de mon discours, nous ne pouvons raisonnablement nous attendre à la stabilité ou à la sécurité dans un monde dont les habitants vivent pour les deux tiers dans un état d'agitation sociale et de mécontentement économique. Je n'insinue pas, - et nul à mon avis ne le ferait - que l'aide extérieure peut apporter une solution complète aux problèmes des pays en voie de développement. Elle peut cependant fournir un commencement de solution lorsqu'elle s'ajoute aux efforts déployés par ces pays afin de créer une base de développement solide. Par dessus tout, elle fournit à ces pays l'assurance qu'ils pourront aller de l'avant dans une ambiance de coopération mondiale.

En second lieu, n'oublions pas que le besoin de mobiliser des ressources pour un développement économique rapide crée des problèmes extrêmement vastes dans les pays où la majorité de la population a un niveau de vie qui égale ou avoisine celui d'une maigre subsistance. De notre point de vue, le problème de base se ramène à ceci: dans ces conditions, le processus de développement doit-il se poursuivre dans un cadre de liberté et de respect à l'égard de la diversité des hommes, ou doit-il avancer sous le joug de la contrainte politique? En parlant de ce problème fondamental, j'ai à l'esprit le passage suivant du livre de M. W.W. Rostow sur "Les étapes du développement économique":

"Si nous-mêmes et nos enfants voulons vivre dans un univers où quelque chose qui ressemble au credo démocratique forme la base de la plupart des sociétés y compris la nôtre, les problèmes du passage d'un régime traditionnel à un régime moderne en Asie, au Moyen-Orient et en Afrique doivent être résolus par des moyens qui ne limitent pas la possibilité d'une évolution humaine et équilibrée".

M. Rostow ajoute:

"Nous devrons faire preuve d'une intuition créatrice afin de comprendre ce qui se passe dans ces régions décisives du monde, et de décider ce que nous pouvons et devons faire pour jouer un rôle utile dans cette lointaine évolution."

Voici donc certaines des incidences politiques de l'aide extérieure telles que je les envisage. Je ne voudrais pas toutefois que l'on se méprenne. Je ne conçois pas l'aide à l'étranger comme un moyen d'imposer nos vues et nos attitudes politiques aux pays en voie de développement. Ce serait là, à mon avis, un objectif qui entraînerait luimême son propre échec. Il amènerait la suspicion et l'hostilité, au lieu de la confiance qui seule peut fournir une base valable pour la conduite d'un programme d'aide extérieure efficace. Un programme d'aide comportant des intentions politiques serait non seulement voué à l'échec; il serait en premier lieu complètement dénué de réalisme. Même avec la meilleure volonté du monde, nous ne pouvons espérer promouvoir l'établissement de démocraties parlementaires du genre Westminster dans toutes les parties du monde. Un grand nombre de nouveaux pays apportent certaines

de leurs traditions dans l'évolution politique qu'ils abordent, et le moment venu ils élaboreront leurs propres formes de gouvernement et d'organisation sociale. Mais ce que nous pouvons faire - et ce qu'il est légitime pour nous de faire, à mon sens - c'est de mettre ces pays en mesure, s'ils le veulent, d'établir et je cite de nouveau Barbara Ward "des sociétés ouvertes dans un monde ouvert."

Après ce que je viens de dire, l'on peut se demander si vraiment il n'est pas de circonstances où il serait permis, et même équitable, de poser des conditions à la prestation d'aide extérieure. Je ne veux pas esquiver cette question, même si elle est complexe et ne se prête pas à des énoncés dogmatiques. Nous devons, je crois, nous rappeler que les pays avec lesquels nous traitons sont, pour une bonne part, jeunes, jaloux de leur indépendance et sensibles à tout ce qui leur paraît de nature à restreindre cette indépendance. Souvenons-nous qu'il n'y a pas de distinction facile à établir entre différentes catégories de conditions. Toute condition peut être interprétée comme ayant un caractère et une fin politiques. Ceci dit, je crois qu'il est une condition que nous avons le droit de poser

en accordant notre aide, à savoir qu'elle doit être utilisée avec efficacité. Nous sommes en droit de soutenir, à mon sens, que les biens que nous consacrons à l'aide extérieure sont destinés avant tout à suppléer les ressources que les pays en voie de développement peuvent mobiliser eux-mêmes pour assurer leur essor économique. Au cas où un pays ne ferait pas lui-même d'effort sérieux pour son avancement, il est peu probable que l'aide extérieure atteindrait son objectif. Et alors les gouvernements des pays donateurs ne pourraient plus obtenir l'appui du public pour leurs programmes d'aide extérieure. Ainsi, en exigeant que notre aide soit utilisée avec efficacité et que le développement économique dans les Etats bénéficiaires ait un droit prioritaire sur les ressources en voie de production, nous ne posons assurément pas de conditions incompatibles avec le meilleur intérêt des pays en cause.

L'idée de l'aide extérieure est d'origine assez récente. Modeste à ses débuts, elle englobe déjà le mouvement de ressources importantes des pays avancés vers les pays en voie de développement. Les sommes consacrées à cette fin par les Etats avancés du monde libre seulement s'élèvent aujourd'hui à plus de

six milliards de dollars. L'aide extérieure, il va sans dire, n'est que l'un des moyens de relever le défi que pose le sous-développement. En soi elle ne suffira pas à combler l'écart grandissant entre les niveaux de vie et nous ne devons pas nous bercer d'illusions à ce sujet. Car les ressources mobilisées grâce à cette aide ne sont et ne resteront qu'une faible portion de celles qu'il faudra mettre en branle si l'on veut imprimer aux pays sous-développés l'élan voulu pour assurer leur croissance autonome. Dans l'intervalle, l'aide extérieure peut contribuer, comme l'a dit récemment William Clark, dans la préface de son manuel sur les pays en voie de développement, "à freiner la pauvreté". Il y va de l'intérêt bien compris de chacun de nous que cette fin soit atteinte. On prétend parfois que le progrès scientifique réalisé par l'homme a dépassé sa capacité morale de porter ses responsabilités dans un monde en évolution. Il y a du vrai làdedans, mais j'incline à croire qu'en matière d'aide extérieure, nous commençons pour le moins à prendre la mesure du monde changeant qui nous entoure.

Macdonald College

McGill University



In Memoriam



1914-1918 1939-1945

The Twenty-First Annual Memorial Address at Macdonald College

4880

Chairman

Professor H. G. Dion

Vice-Principal, Macdonald College

Speaker

Chester A. Ronning, B.Sc., M.A., LL.D

Former Chargé d'Affaires, Canadian Embassy, Nanking, China

Former Canadian High Commissioner to India Special Canadian Representative to Saigon and Hanoi

4680

The Macdonald College War Memorial consists of these yearly addresses, and a Memorial Entrance to the Library.

We remember with gratitude the sons and daughters of Macdonald College who served in two world wars, and keep alive in our hearts the memory of those who did not return.

November 27, 1967 8:00 p.m.

A College Song

Macdonald College, thy name will ring
From shore to sounding shore
Thy memory will be enshrined
In our hearts forever more.
Thy trees, thy halls, thy fields, thy walls
Forever will be near
Macdonald College will remain
Our Alma Mater dear!

O Canada

O Canada! Our home, our native land,
True patriot love in all thy sons command.
With glowing hearts, we see thee rise,
The true north, strong and free,
And stand on guard, O Canada,
We stand on guard for thee.

O Canada! Glorious and free!
We stand on guard, we stand on guard for thee.
O Canada! We stand on guard for thee.

Academic Procession

A College Song

Invocation

Placing the Wreath

Professor H. G. Dion Vice-Principal, Macdonald College

ශරිලින

The Memorial Address

Chester A. Ronning, B.Sc., M.A., LL.D.

Professor M. K. Oliver

Vice-Principal (Academic)

O Canada

Academic Recession

The audience is requested to remain standing until the Academic Procession has left the Hall

These Gave Their Lives

4882

1914-1918

Bailey, Hugh Courtney Bailey, Hugh Reginald Dowson Chatfield, Percy Charles Collingwood, Gordon Francis Dashwood, John Lovell Dean, George Frederick Dyer, Charles Edward Ford, William Dalgleish Gilson, Gordon Wyman Hacker, James MacMillan Hackshaw, Cecil Hamilton, Robert H. Harvey, William Lamb, William Sterling Levin, Morris T. Longworth, Frederick John MacFarlane, John Reid McCormick, James Hugh McDiarmid, Duncan David McLagan, Patrick Douglas McLaren, Quentin McRae, Douglas Muldrew, W. Harold Murphy, Allan I. Portelance, Joseph Reed, Benjamin Trenholme Richardson, Julius Jeffrey Gordon Robertson, Harry Sansom, George Shearer, William Dumaresq

Turner, William Henry Upton, Lionel Viane, Edgar Williamson, John

4980

1939-1945

Archer, Philip Leslie Irving Archibald, Clarence McDougall Bachelder, Allen Leland Barclay, John Duff Birkett, John Evelyn Wreford Brissenden, Joseph Cameron, Donald Cameron, George Everett Campbell, Gordon Dunlap Candlish, John Muir Chamberlain, Harold Arthur Clark, Garfield William Colley, John Eastman, Donald Mervyn Gale, Edward B. Goodenough, Carlton Stokes Gorham, James Rist Greenhill, Charles Fabian Griffin, Frederick Philip Hayter, William Douglas Hillrich, Vincent Philip Horn, John D'Arcy Houston, Allan Dale Kerr, Louis Noel Lyndon Lewthwaite, George Alexander Longley, Harold Graham MacLannan, Charles Grant McDonald, Donald

McRoberts, Douglas Brenton
Matthews, George
May, David Merriman
Ness, Alvin James
Pascoe, Philip Jocelyn
Patterson, John Richard
Philips, Neil Seymour Hunter
Porritt, Robert Arthur
Ross, Alexander Bentick
Scott, Eugene Claude
Smith, Kenneth Hew
Taylor, Harold Alvan
Watson, John James
Wilson, Denys Leslie
Woolaver, Allison Stewart

And us they trusted, we the task inherit, The unfinished task for which their lives were spent.

-C. A. ARLINGTON

Macdonald College

McGill University



In Memoriam



1914-1918 1939-1945

The Twenty-Second Annual Memorial Address at Macdonald College

ශරිලින

Chairman

Professor H. A. Steppler

Memorial Assembly Committee

Speaker

Norman Z. Alcock, B.Sc., M.S., Ph.D.

Director of the Canadian Peace Research Institute



The Macdonald College War Memorial consists of these yearly addresses, and a Memorial Entrance to the Library.

We remember with gratitude the sons and daughters of Macdonald College who served in two world wars, and keep alive in our hearts the memory of those who did not return.

OCTOBER 29, 1968 8:00 p.m.

A College Song

Macdonald College, thy name will ring
From shore to sounding shore
Thy memory will be enshrined
In our hearts forever more.
Thy trees, thy halls, thy fields, thy walls
Forever will be near
Macdonald College will remain
Our Alma Mater dear!

O Canada

O Canada! Our home, our native land,
True patriot love in all thy sons command.
With glowing hearts, we see thee rise,
The true north, strong and free,
And stand on guard, O Canada,
We stand on guard for thee.

O Canada! Glorious and free!
We stand on guard, we stand on guard for thee.
O Canada! We stand on guard for thee.

Academic Procession

A College Song

Invocation

Placing the Wreath

Professor H. G. Dion Vice-Principal, Macdonald College

4680

The Memorial Address

Norman Z. Alcock, B.Sc., M.S., Ph.D.

Professor C. W. Hall Dean, Faculty of Education

O Canada

Academic Recession

The audience is requested to remain standing until the Academic Procession has left the Hall.

These Gave Their Lives

4980

1914-1918

Bailey, Hugh Courtney Bailey, Hugh Reginald Dowson Chatfield, Percy Charles Collingwood, Gordon Francis Dashwood, John Lovell Dean, George Frederick Dyer, Charles Edward Ford, William Dalgleish Gilson, Gordon Wyman Hacker, James MacMillan Hackshaw, Cecil Hamilton, Robert H. Harvey, William Lamb, William Sterling Levin, Morris T. Longworth, Frederick John MacFarlane, John Reid McCormick, James Hugh McDiarmid, Duncan David McLagan, Patrick Douglas McLaren, Quentin McRae, Douglas Muldrew, W. Harold Murphy, Allan I. Portelance, Joseph Reed, Benjamin Trenholme Richardson, Julius Jeffrey Gordon Robertson, Harry Sansom, George Shearer, William Dumaresq

Turner, William Henry Upton, Lionel Viane, Edgar Williamson, John

ఆర్చికేతా

1939-1945

Archer, Philip Leslie Irving Archibald, Clarence McDougall Bachelder, Allen Leland Barclay, John Duff Birkett, John Evelyn Wreford Brissenden, Joseph Cameron, Donald Cameron, George Everett Campbell, Gordon Dunlap Candlish, John Muir Chamberlain, Harold Arthur Clark, Garfield William Colley, John Eastman, Donald Mervyn Gale, Edward B. Goodenough, Carlton Stokes Gorham, James Rist Greenhill, Charles Fabian Griffin, Frederick Philip Hayter, William Douglas Hillrich, Vincent Philip Horn, John D'Arcy Houston, Allan Dale Kerr, Louis Noel Lyndon Lewthwaite, George Alexander Longley, Harold Graham MacLannan, Charles Grant McDonald, Donald

McRoberts, Douglas Brenton
Matthews, George
May, David Merriman
Ness, Alvin James
Pascoe, Philip Jocelyn
Patterson, John Richard
Philips, Neil Seymour Hunter
Porritt, Robert Arthur
Ross, Alexander Bentick
Scott, Eugene Claude
Smith, Kenneth Hew
Taylor, Harold Alvan
Watson, John James
Wilson, Denys Leslie
Woolaver, Allison Stewart

And us they trusted, we the task inherit, The unfinished task for which their lives were spent.

-C. A. ARLINGTON

Macdonald College

McGill University



In Memoriam 1914-1918 1939-1945

In Memoriam 1914-1918

Bailey, Hugh Courtney Bailey, Hugh Reginald Dowson Chatfield, Percy Charles Collingwood, Gordon Francis Dashwood, John Lovell Dean, George Frederick Dyer, Charles Edward Ford, William Dalgleish Gilson, Gordon Wyman Hacker, James MacMillan Hackshaw, Cecil Hamilton, Robert H. Harvey, William Lamb, William Sterling Levin, Morris T. Longworth, Frederick John MacFarlane, John Reid McCormick, James Hugh McDiarmid, Duncan David McLagan, Patrick Douglas McLaren, Quentin McRae, Douglas Muldrew, W. Harold Murphy, Allan I. Portelance, Joseph Reed, Benjamin Trenholme Richardson, Julius Jeffrey Gordon Robertson, Harry Sansom, George Shearer, William Dumaresq Turner, William Henry Upton, Lionel Viane, Edgar Williamson, John

The Twenty-Third Annual Memorial Address

Macdonald College

Robert B. McClure M.D., F.R.C.S., F.I.C.S., D.D. Moderator United Church

November 11, 1969

MACDONALD COLLEGE

The mellow rose of tiled roof above your lawn and field,

The gracious space, the sunny sky, a tranquil spirit yield!

Your walls no narrow dogmas find, No confines of the mind,

> But like the river at your gate Whose depth and flow still unabate,

The search for new truth leaps

While moving tide of wisdom keeps The constant channel of your deeps.

MACDONALD COLLEGE, HAIL!

PROGRAMME

Academic Procession

College Song

Prayer

The Placing of the Wreath

Dr. Howard Ross Chancellor, McGill University

Dr. Rocke Robertson

Vice-Chancellor and Principal, McGill University

Robert B. McClure M.D., F.R.C.S., F.I.C.S., D.D. Moderator United Church

Professor H. G. Dion Vice-Principal, Macdonald College

O Canada

Academic Recession

The audience is requested to remain standing until the Academic Procession has left the Hall.

In Memoriam 1939=1945

Archer, Philip Leslie Irving Archibald, Clarence McDougall Bachelder, Allen Leland Barclay, John Duff Birkett, John Evelyn Wreford Brissenden, Joseph Cameron, Donald Cameron, George Everett Campbell, Gordon Dunlap Candlish, John Muir Chamberlain, Harold Arthur Clark, Garfield William Colley, John Eastman, Donald Mervyn Gale, Edward B. Goodenough, Carlton Stokes Gorham, James Rist Greenhill, Charles Fabian Griffin, Frederick Philip Hayter, William Douglas Hillrich, Vincent Philip Horn, John D'Arcv Houston, Allan Dale Kerr, Louis Noel Lyndon Lewthwaite, George Alexander Longley, Harold Graham MacLannan, Charles Grant McDonald, Donald McRoberts, Douglas Brenton Matthews, George May, David Merriman Ness, Alvin James Pascoe, Philip Jocelyn Patterson, John Richard

In Memoriam 1939-1945

Philips, Neil Seymour Hunter
Porritt, Robert Arthur
Ross, Alexander Bentick
Scott, Eugene Claude
Smith, Kenneth Hew
Taylor, Harold Alvan
Watson, John James
Wilson, Denys Leslie
Woolaver, Allison Stewart

The Annual Memorial Assembly was established in 1946 to: "Inspire ______ the maintenance of freedom, tolerance and the improvement of human relationships everywhere".

Macdonald College

McGill University



In Memoriam 1914-1918 1939-1945

In Memoriam 1914-1918

Bailey, Hugh Courtney Bailey, Hugh Reginald Dowson Chatfield, Percy Charles Collingwood, Gordon Francis Dashwood, John Lovell Dean, George Frederick Dyer, Charles Edward Ford, William Dalgleish Gilson, Gordon Wyman Hacker, James MacMillan Hackshaw, Cecil Hamilton, Robert H. Harvey, William Lamb, William Sterling Levin, Morris T. Longworth, Frederick John MacFarlane, John Reid McCormick, James Hugh McDiarmid, Duncan David McLagan, Patrick Douglas McLaren, Quentin McRae, Douglas Muldrew, W. Harold Murphy, Allan I. Portelance, Joseph Reed, Benjamin Trenholme Richardson, Julius Jeffrey Gordon Robertson, Harry Sansom, George Shearer, William Dumaresq Turner, William Henry Upton, Lionel Viane, Edgar Williamson, John

The Twenty-Fourth Annual Memorial Address

Macdonald College

Dr. W. David Hopper
B.Sc. (Agr.) (McGill), Ph.D. (Cornell)

President

International Development Research Center, Ottawa.

January 27, 1972

MEMORIAL ADDRESS

"Toward the Well-Being of Rural Peoples"

Music provided by the Macdonald-Hudson High School Band.

Mr. Ted West, Director

PROGRAMME

Academic Procession

Invocation Reverend J. A. MacLean

The Placing of the Wreath

Professor H. F. MacRae Chairman, Memorial Assembly Committee

Dr. H. G. Dion Agricultural Consultant Canadian International Development Agency

Dr. W. David Hopper
B.Sc. (Agr.) (McGill), Ph.D. (Cornell)
President
International Development Research Center, Ottawa

Professor H. R. Neilson Director, School of Food Science

O Canada

Academic Recession

The audience is requested to remain standing until the Academic Procession has left the Hall.

In Memoriam 1939-1945

Archer, Philip Leslie Irving Archibald, Clarence McDougall Bachelder, Allen Leland Barclay, John Duff Birkett, John Evelyn Wreford Brissenden, Joseph Cameron, Donald Cameron, George Everett Campbell, Gordon Dunlap Candlish, John Muir Chamberlain, Harold Arthur Clark, Garfield William Colley, John Eastman, Donald Mervyn Gale, Edward B. Goodenough, Carlton Stokes Gorham, James Rist Greenhill, Charles Fabian Griffin, Frederick Philip Hayter, William Douglas Hillrich, Vincent Philip Horn, John D'Arcy Houston, Allan Dale Kerr, Louis Noel Lyndon Lewthwaite, George Alexander Longley, Harold Graham MacLannan, Charles Grant McDonald, Donald McRoberts, Douglas Brenton Matthews, George May, David Merriman Ness, Alvin James Pascoe, Philip Jocelyn Patterson, John Richard

In Memoriam 1939-1945

Philips, Neil Seymour Hunter Porritt, Robert Arthur Ross, Alexander Bentick Scott, Eugene Claude Smith, Kenneth Hew Taylor, Harold Alvan Watson, John James Wilson, Denys Leslie Woolaver, Allison Stewart

The Annual Memorial Assembly was established in 1946 to: "Inspire the maintenance of freedom, tolerance and the improvement of human relationships everywhere".

Macdonald College

McGill University



In Memoriam 1914-1918 1939-1945 The Annual Memorial Assembly was established in 1946 to commemorate the many Macdonald men and women who served in two world wars and the seventy-five who gave their lives.

The commemorative entrance to the College Library was erected as part of the memorial and contains two illuminated books of remembrance in which are inscribed the names of those who served.

The express purpose of the address which is given each year by an invited guest is to promote an understanding of national and world affairs and to serve as an inspiration for others to do their part towards the maintenance of freedom, tolerance and the improvement of human relationships.

The Twenty-Fifth Annual Memorial Address

Macdonald College

Mr. Ken Dryden B.A. (Cornell)

March 19, 1973

MEMORIAL ADDRESS

"Sport — a personal view"

Music provided by the Macdonald-Hudson High School Band.

Mr. Ted West, Director

PROGRAMME

Academic Procession

Invocation Reverend R. K. Barker

The Placing of the Wreath

Professor A. C. Blackwood Vice-Principal, Macdonald College

Professor H. R. Neilson Director, School of Food Science

> Mr. Ken Dryden B.A. (Cornell)

Mr. R. Trenholm President, Students' Council

O CANADA

Academic Recession

The audience is requested to remain standing until the Academic Procession has left the Hall.

In Memoriam 1914-1918

Bailey, Hugh Courtney Bailey, Hugh Reginald Dowson Chatfield, Percy Charles Collingwood, Gordon Francis Dashwood, John Lovell Dean, George Frederick Dyer, Charles Edward Ford, William Dalgleish Gilson, Gordon Wyman Hacker, James MacMillan Hackshaw, Cecil Hamilton, Robert H. Harvey, William Lamb, William Sterling Levin, Morris T. Longworth, Frederick John MacFarlane, John Reid McCormick, James Hugh McDiarmid, Duncan David McLagan, Patrick Douglas McLaren, Quentin McRae, Douglas Muldrew, W. Harold Murphy, Allan I. Portelance, Joseph Reed, Benjamin Trenholme Richardson, Julius Jeffrey Gordon Robertson, Harry Sansom, George Shearer, William Dumaresq Turner, William Henry Upton, Lionel Viane, Edgar Williamson, John

In Memoriam 1939-1945

Archer, Philip Leslie Irving Archibald, Clarence McDougall Bachelder, Allen Leland Barclay, John Duff Birkett, John Evelyn Wreford Brissenden, Joseph Cameron, Donald Cameron, George Everett Campbell, Gordon Dunlap Candlish, John Muir Chamberlain, Harold Arthur Clark, Garfield William Colley, John Eastman, Donald Mervyn Gale, Edward B. Goodenough, Carlton Stokes Gorham, James Rist Greenhill, Charles Fabian Griffin, Frederick Philip Hayter, William Douglas Hillrich, Vincent Philip Horn, John D'Arcy Houston, Allan Dale Kerr, Louis Noel Lyndon Lewthwaite, George Alexander Longley, Harold Graham MacLannan, Charles Grant McDonald, Donald McRoberts, Douglas Brenton Matthews, George May, David Merriman Ness, Alvin James Pascoe, Philip Jocelyn Patterson, John Richard

In Memoriam 1939-1945

Philips, Neil Seymour Hunter Porritt, Robert Arthur Ross, Alexander Bentick Scott, Eugene Claude Smith, Kenneth Hew Taylor, Harold Alvan Watson, John James Wilson, Denys Leslie Woolaver, Allison Stewart

The Annual Memorial Assembly was established in 1946 to: "Inspire the maintenance of freedom, tolerance and the improvement of human relationships everywhere".

News & Chronicle, Thursday, March 28, 1974 - 7 Judy LaMarsh: instant oratory at Macdonald

By HELEN K. LEGGE

"Anybody got a pin?"

The scene was the faculty lounge at Macdonald College, where invited guest Judy La-Marsh, QC, was settling a borrowed hood over an academic gown before taking part in the procession to the Assembly Hall.

The occasion was the annual Memorial Assembly, established in 1946 to commemorate the Macdonald men and women who served in two world wars and the 75 who gave their lives.

The express purpose of the address, delivered each year by an invited guest, is "to promote an understanding of national and world affairs, and to serve as an inspiration for others to do their part towards the maintenance of freedom, tolerance and the improvement of human relationships".

Miss LaMarsh was the guest speaker for this annual event, held this year on Tuesday afternoon, when she became one of an illustrious company which has addressed the assembly over its 26-year span.

The first Memorial address was given in February, 1947, by the Rt. Hon. Vincent Massey, and in the following year Viscount Alexander dedicated the Memorial Entrance to the college library. Both men served as Governors-General of Canada.

The only other woman to be so honored was the late Eleanor Roosevelt, for whom Miss LaMarsh expressed great admiration.

AT OSGOODE HALL

After two years on an "open line" radio program in Vancouver, Miss LaMarsh recently returned to Toronto where she is now a professor in the Osgoode Hall Law School of York University.

When asked what topic she had chosen for her address, "I don't really know - yet," was her reply.

But no one present was sur-

prised when her speech, delivered without notes, came out as a balanced, clear, concise appreciation of the changes occurring in this country over the past 25 years.

When she was a parliamentarian, Miss LaMarsh began, she was often approached to attend Armistice Day ceremonies in her native area. She found it hard to stand beside a cairn bearing the names of classmates who didn't survive.

"What would they see and how would they feel," if they came back today was the kick-off point of her remarks. "What changes would they find, and would they wonder where we are heading. Are we showing the spirit Sir Wilfrid Laurier expected?" she asked.

"We are probably the luckiest nation in the whole world," Miss LaMarsh stated.

She pointed out that for her generation it was the honorable thing to join up and serve, very far away, for perhaps an abstract idea.

But the generation now at university not only hates war but positively rejects it. "I think this is significant -- you are the first generation to abjure war," she said.

Since Korea, she pointed out, our blood, our money has been spent toward peacekeeping. Peace is an abstract, "yet young people have by force of will brought about the end of a bloody war,"

This was not accomplished, she insisted, by high policy, but "because of the insistence of your generation.

"Young people are now on the brink of directing this country. I think they will direct us in the last 25 years of the century ... toward being one of the foremost countries of the world - not in a material sense but In being 'ourselves,' something special!"

TWO DRUMMERS

"This nation has a special" heart that beats to two drummers,'' Miss LaMarsh stressed, "but it is one heart, and it is beginning to understand itself at last."

She wound up her remarks with: "We've come to be a nation not recognizable by those who fell in the last world war . . . we are showing we are concerned for our neighbor . .

"Inside the students of today lies the beating heart of Canada . . . The trust is on their shoulders, passed by those who lost the opportunity to grow by giving their lives for this country."

Miss LaMarsh was introduced by Professor H. R. Neilson and thanked by Professor N. C. Lawson.

SIDELIGHTS

Miss LaMarsh made no secret of her optimism about this country and its young people.

Before the assembly she nevealed herself as a keen gourmet cook, though she claims, "I cook by the book, I'm not a natural cook."

Forthright and seemingly indefatigable, she actually finds time to read her collection of 800-odd cookbooks.

MACDONALD COLLEGE WAR MEMORIAL



INTEGRATED WITH

McGILL WAR MEMORIAL

CONTINUING CAMPAIGN

MACDONALD COLLEGE WAR MEMORIAL FUND

A campaign for a Macdonald College War Memorial Fund will be conducted as an integral part of the McGill War Memorial Campaign. Contributions from Macdonald College men and women will be devoted to two purposes:

First — to construct a Memorial Entrance to the Library as a visible memorial at Macdonald.

Second — to establish an Annual Assembly at which an eminent speaker will give a Memorial Address on world affairs of interest to young Canadians. This is described more fully on the last page of the folder.

OBJECTIVE

To carry out the purposes outlined above, \$10,000 has been set as the goal. Your generous support is earnestly solicited.





MEMORIAL LIBRARY ENTRANCE

The proposed Memorial Entrance to the Library is illustrated above. It will provide an appropriate setting for the Books of Remembrance containing the names of all who served in the two World Wars. The impressive simplicity of this memorial, in the very heart of the College, will furnish a dignified and continual reminder of Macdonald's war heroes.

MACDONALD COLLEGE WAR MEMORIAL ASSEMBLY

PURPOSE:

It is proposed to use the larger part of the contributions to establish the Macdonald College War Memorial Fund. This fund shall be used to arrange an annual gathering in the College Assembly Hall designed to:

- (1) keep alive the memory of those who served in the war;
- (2) inspire future Macdonald men and women to do their part toward the maintenance of freedom, tolerance and the improvement of human relationships everywhere.

TIME:

The assembly shall be held once each year at any time during the College session when a suitable speaker can be obtained. If possible it should be on or about Remembrance Day.

FORM OF THE GATHERING:

The assembly shall be impressive and inspirational, opening with suitable organ music and closing with the National Anthem. An eminent speaker shall present an address which seeks to promote an understanding of world affairs by young Canadians. Such addresses will undoubtedly give to succeeding generations of students a greater appreciation of national affairs and will encourage them to strive for a better understanding between peoples. The speaker shall be introduced by the Principal, and thanked by the Vice-Principal or the President of the Students' Council.

MACDONALD CAMPAIGN COMMITTEE

Honorary Chairman - Dean W. H. Brittain

Chairman,

W. Rowles (Agriculture)

Vice-Chairman,

L. C. Raymond (Agriculture)

Vice-Chairman,

E. A. Lods (Agriculture)

Secretary,

W. A. Steeves (School for Teachers)

School of Household Economics,

Miss M. McCready

Graduates in Agriculture, F. S. Thatcher Graduates in Home Economics, Miss M. Stewart

Graduates in School for Teachers, Mrs. A. B. Walsh

President of Students' Council, C. A. Goring

Students of Agriculture, H. S. Murdy

Students of Household Economics, Miss E. Eardley-Wilmot

Students of School for Teachers, R. Osborne

McGILL UNIVERSITY

MACDONALD COLLEGE

FIRST ANNUAL WAR MEMORIAL ASSEMBLY



ADDRESS

BY

THE RIGHT HON. VINCENT MASSEY, C.H., LL.D.

FEBRUARY 26th, 1947



The Macdonald College War Memorial commemorates the many Macdonald men and women who served in two World Wars and the seventy-four who gave their lives. It consists of a series of annual Addresses, of which this is the first, and a Memorial Entrance to the Library. The express purpose of the addresses is to promote an understanding of national and world affairs, and to inspire future Macdonald men and women to do their part toward the maintenance of freedom, tolerance and the improvement of human relationships.

These Gave Their Lives

1914 - 18

Bailey, Hugh Courtney Bailey, Hugh Reginald Dowson Chatfield, Percy Charles Collingwood, Gordon Francis Dashwood, John Lovell Dean, George Frederick Dyer, Charles Edward Ford, William Dalgleish Gilson, Gordon Wyman Hacker, James MacMillan Hackshaw, Cecil Hamilton, Robert H. Harvey, William Lamb, William Sterling Levin, Morris T. Longworth, Frederick John McCormick, James Hugh McDiarmid, Duncan David MacFarlane, John Reid McLagan, Patrick Douglas McLaren, Quentin MacRae, Douglas Muldrew, W. Harold Murphy, Allan I. Portelance, Joseph Reid, Benjamin Trenholme Richardson, Julius Jeffrey Gordon Robertson, Harry Sansom, George Shearer, William Dumaresq Turner, William Henry Upton, Lionel Viane, Edgar Williamson, John

1939 - 45

Archer, Philip Leslie Irving Archibald, Clarence McDougall Bachelder, Allen Leland Barclay, John Duff Birkett, John Evelyn Wreford Brissenden, Joseph Cameron, Donald Cameron, George Everett Campbell, Gordon Dunlap Candlish, John Muir Chamberlain, Harold Arthur Clark, Garfield William Colley, John Eastman, Donald Mervyn Gale, Edward B. Goodenough, Carlton Stokes Gorham, James Rist Griffin, Frederick Philip Hillrich, Vincent Philip Horn, John d'Arcy Houston, Allan Dale Kerr, Louis Noel Lyndon Lewthwaite, George Alexander Longley, Harold Graham McDonald, Donald MacLennan, Charles Grant Matthews, George May, David Merriman Ness, Alvin James Pascoe, Philip Jocelyn Patterson, John Richard Phillips, Neil Seymour Hunter Porritt, Robert Arthur Ross, Alexander Bentick Scott, Eugene Claude Smith, Kenneth Hew Taylor, Harold Alvan Watson, John James Wilson, Denys Leslie Woolaver, Allison Stewart

And us they trusted, we the task inherit, The unfinished task for which their lives were spent.

-C. A. Alington.

FOREIGN POLICY BEGINS AT HOME

The Right Honourable Vincent Massey, C.H., LL.D.

I feel much honoured in being invited to speak here tonight. The honour is the greater because the Foundation under which these addresses are to be delivered has been established in memory of the members of this College who gave their lives in the cause of freedom. This lectureship and the visible memorial commemorate their service. War memorials, of course, perform two functions. Their establishment is a tribute to the dead; they also stand to remind us perpetually of what they did. So let there be no forgetting. Do you know these simple lines written as coming from those who did not return?

"Went the day well? We died and never knew; But well or ill, Freedom, we died for you."

That is but a statement of the truth. If we are able this evening to meet in this room as free men and women, we can humbly thank, above all others, those who gave all they had to give in the years of war.

The addresses, of which this is the first, are, if I may quote from the announcement, intended "to promote an understanding of world affairs by young Canadians." I have an idea that young Canadians are more likely to gain such a comprehension than old Canadians. A good many of them not long ago played a very responsible part in world affairs (no course in international relations could be

more practical), and they are entitled and qualified to discuss them. They could not fail to return home from their wartime service without a deepened sense of the reality of these things. But today could anybody be so foolish as to underrate the importance of the subject? We Canadians, new in the international field, were perhaps a little slow to realize the relation of world events to our own domestic affairs, but we have moved a long way from the point of view expressed by a representative at Geneva who was moved to say that we lived "in a fireproof house far from inflammable materials." There is no dearth of combustible matter about, and our structure will catch fire as quickly as anyone else's. It is not only the advent of nuclear fission which has made us, in common with other peoples, feel that all immunity and remoteness have gone. The world, as we know, has been shrinking steadily. The late war forced this fact upon us and as the world has grown smaller Canada has, in effect, grown larger; larger and more exposed to what goes on beyond her borders.

So foreign affairs are no longer a highbrow subject for the expert. They are brought home as a practical business to the ordinary citizen. In discussing the subject, however, it is important not to isolate it. Foreign affairs and domestic affairs, with us as with other countries, are closely interwoven. They cannot be separated from each other, put into watertight compartments. Sometimes students, with the zeal that comes from working in a new and unfamiliar field, talk about a foreign policy for Canada as if it were something to be made to order like a suit of clothes. But foreign policies, like poets, are born—not made. They come from within. National security and welfare must of course be their aim. Those are fixed objectives. But national character shows itself in the way such objects are pursued. As a nation thinks, so will it act. A country's foreign policy is therefore, in a sense, the projection of its personality. One of the greatest of the "makers of Canada" once said: "You have sent your young men to guard your frontier; you want a principle to guard your young men; thus only can you guard your frontier." He was talking of defence,

but we must look to foreign policy too for the expression of principles. Foreign policy begins at home.

Mr. Harold Nicolson some years before the late war defined the traditional principles underlying British foreign policy as: peace; the balance of power on the Continent; the maintenance of communications with India and the Empire; free trade; humanitarianism. Events have strangely altered this list but peace and humanitarianism still stand as of first importance. The American tradition has changed as sharply under the impact of war. The Monroe Doctrine remains its corner-stone but happily the companion principle of isolation has been formally abandoned. Like Great Britain the United States is now dedicated to the search for peace. So are we in our more limited sphere. This is the supreme objective of all three nations. But each must speak in its own vernacular.

If we look for the principles which underlie a Canadian foreign policy we will find them interwoven with our history when we did not talk or even think about foreign policy at all. We have there a firm substance for a national point of view—one which we can express with confidence.

Our background presents a complicated pattern. We have a variegated history and we are a diverse community, but for nearly two hundred years there have been some consistent ideas running through our story. We may have been a handful of people dropped—almost lost, as it has seemed sometimes—in half a continent, but Canada has always been more than a geographical expression. Ours is a stirring tale, but most of us of my generation at least, cannot, I fear, look back on our classes in Canadian history at school as moments of palpitating excitement in the routine of the week. Why did they seem so boring? You may say, of course, that once you get past the capture of Quebecthat mountain peak in the romance of our annals—you descend to a dull plain of constitutional problems and economic issues; and that parliamentary debates and trade statistics are just not exciting. At least, they do not naturally seem exciting to the pupil not yet emerged from that period of simple adolescent emotions when the stuff of history, to command his interest, must be concerned with fighting. Did the difficulty lie in the material or in its presentation? I think it lay in the latter, and we should be grateful to the present generation of historians who are re-telling our story in such a way as to bring out the fact that arguments across a table can have plenty of romance when the issues are great and far-reaching, and the personalities richly-endowed characters. In my view, those bewhiskered, frock-coated Victorian politicians in the familiar print of the Fathers of Confederation, were actors in a drama just as romantic as any linked in our minds with jerkins and rapiers. Theirs was a victory of imagination over geography.

The Founders had that rarest of gifts—political vision—and their grand design in nation-building took concrete form sooner than they thought. They little dreamed that within fifty years of the Act which gave us our foundation we would take a nation's part in a European war. The duties of nationhood with us thus preceded its privileges. The war, of course, quickened the pace. After 1914 there followed swiftly seven events, some of them little noted, all significant. It is worth while reminding ourselves of what they were.

- 1. Within three years Canada, and her sister British states, were declared to be nations of an Imperial Commonwealth with the right to a voice in foreign policy.
- 2. Two years later, Canada in her own right signed the great peace treaty and entered the League of Nations as one of its founders.
- 3. In 1922, the Government's decision at the time of the crisis at Chanak in Asia Minor, established the principle that even when automatically at war, Canada was free to take no active part.
- 4. Next year a treaty with a foreign power was signed for the first time by a Canadian representative alone.

- 5. In 1926 the Imperial Conference of that year, as everyone knows, declared Great Britain and the Dominions to be equal partners under the Crown.
- 6. In the following year Canada set up her first diplomatic mission.
- 7. In 1931 the Statute of Westminster, in "tidying up", as it were, the status already acquired by the British Dominions, gave Canada the power to make laws with force beyond her borders, and provided that her legislation in the future could not be held invalid on the ground that it conflicted with British law.

Those seventeen years complete the journey. Nothing further was needed to give us the freedom and rights of a sovereign state. But an international status which is not used is like a well-found ship kept in the harbour. In the inter-war years the good ship "status" received many coats of paint but never ventured far out to sea. Mr. Shaw once said—perhaps not very charitably—of an English writer, that he was "a tragic example of the combination of imposing powers of expression with nothing important to express." It would not be fair to apply such a mot to Canada during these years, but although we sent good delegations to Geneva and played no inactive part, was it a very constructive one? We were useful on the administrative side but on the larger issues our attitude seemed too often negative. It is true, of course, that between 1919 and 1939 the world was living in an age of illusions and we cannot be blamed for sharing them, but I fear we made our own contribution to the fantasies of that period, when so many at Geneva found abiding comfort in the moral authority of the League. The idea that its moral authority needed force behind it was regarded by that school of thought—those days seem very distant now—as a dangerous notion. The Covenant of the League, of course, had its weapons for the punishment of evil-doers but we helped to blunt them. Indeed, we began our career at Geneva with a determined effort to whittle down that article in the League's charter which guaranteed states against aggression, and all through

the twenty years we consistently opposed any measure which would have led to the employment of force. That can, of course, be defended as representing a considered point of view. We preferred to regard the League as a humanitarian institution and an instrument of conciliation. It could not, however, have given much comfort to those living under the menace of invasion to hear a Canadian delegate make such a pronouncement as, "We hope to get nothing ourselves out of the League. We are willing to be of any assistance we can. We believe in the principles of co-operation rather than conflict."

We were, as I have said, by no means alone in our interpretation of the Covenant, but sometimes we added a touch of smugness. Canadian delegates at Geneva seemed to reflect the view that the Americas possessed superior virtue, and that Europe, "a continent that cannot run itself" as we said, could learn from us if only she would. We talked to the Europeans about the virtues of our undefended frontier and advised them to make their frontiers as peaceful. This much publicized boundary of ours was the subject of so much oratory from Canadians at the League that the patience of the assembly must have been sorely tried.

When the Japanese crisis darkened the horizon in the early 'thirties and the League met its first great test, Canada took evasive action. Her representative, apparently in the absence of instructions from home, spoke, as one astonished reporter put it, "strongly on both sides". Our policy in relation to this episode was apparently to keep out of trouble. There was a trenchant comment from an able critic two years later when he said: "Until this country is ready to take the whole consequence of membership in the League and take its whole part in the enforcement of its Covenants, we have no right to rejoice in membership at all."

An examination of what was said and done at Geneva is, however, rather a morbid undertaking, except to learn the lessons it conveys. Indeed, most member states of the League would like to forget those years. It was a time when

the world as a whole suffered from spiritual bankruptcy. Our faults, as we see them now, did not seem faults to us then. The fact is, as the author of a recent history of Canada has well said, "until the second world war became imminent, the vital aspect of external relations was not foreign policy, but the extension and completion of Canadian autonomy." Public opinion had not come to take foreign policy as a serious business. Our attitude, or lack of it, was based on the lazy assumption that peace had come to stay. How many of us demurred to this view—at least in the earlier years? And among those, how many took trouble to make known their dissent?

During this time, whatever one may think about how we employed it, our machinery in the international sphere grew steadily. If you like the "log-cabin-to-White-House" type of statistics, we have an interesting story to tell. Until twenty years ago, no country had exchanged diplomatic missions with Canada. In Ottawa today there are twenty-six representatives of foreign states and the nations of the Commonwealth. The formalities of our international position have rapidly taken shape. The war of 1939 clothed them with reality. When we come to the last seven years, we find that the statistics of our growth have deep significance. We are still perhaps too close to events to realize how much more important a country Canada is today than she was in 1939. Only the passage of time will bring this home to us. In Lord Balfour's famous Declaration you will remember there is drawn a very proper distinction between status and stature: "The principle of equality and similarity" (so the passage runs) "appropriate to status, does not universally extend to function." Our free and independent status is fixed and final and should be taken for granted, but our functions are steadily widening and the recognition of that fact has been altering our position in the world. Thus during the war Canada became a partner of Great Britain and the United States as a member of the great organizations concerned with industrial production and raw materials and food. The British Commonwealth Air-Training Plan has passed into history but the great part we played in it should remain alive in our minds. The end of the war did not interrupt the story of our growth. It was not accidental that the headquarters of such bodies as the International Labour Office and the one which deals with International Civil Aviation were established in a Canadian city, or that the first conference of the organization of the United Nations concerned with agriculture and food should meet in Canada under Canadian chairmanship. Canada made the largest contribution in supplies to UNRRA and was the third largest contributor in money. Atomic energy has made us a partner with Great Britain and the United States in that fateful field.

So much for some of the facts. They tell their own story. Our relation to the drama of world events in the last thirty years can perhaps be divided into three phases. Before the first World War we sat in the gallery and looked on as a spectator. Between the wars we moved down to the stage and became a member of the cast. But we watched the action for the most part from the wings. Now we are on the stage, not far from the centre, with an acting part of our own.

The drama itself is a confused and complicated one. It is hard to discover its leit motiv. Sometimes I think it is good for us to turn off the daily flood of news and in such a rare and blessed interval of quiet try to make up our minds what is really happening in the world about us. I would suggest that there are two major themes in the drama, with inter-play between them. One of these is, of course, the great experiment through which we hope to keep the peace. It was launched, not as was the League of Nations in the belief that the millennium had come; its authors faced facts with a sense of realism. They were under no illusions. The United Nations recognizes—as the League did not—that power and responsibility must be closely related. If the great nations cannot agree, no system will work. Hence that rule of the Security Council, not very happily referred to as "the veto", which in votes on important matters calls for the concurrence of all five of the

permanent members. The making and keeping of peace rests primarily on three nations. Two of these—the two great continental empires, the United States and Russia, both of them neighbours of Canada—have been left by the war with extended influence and increasing power. The third—Great Britain—in the war from the beginning, standing firm and almost alone over a desperate period when her resistance was vital, has been gravely weakened. Her moral stature is greater than ever and her spirit is undimmed, but today she is suffering from those hardships and retrenchments which are associated with defeat rather than with victory. Wise men the world over will pray for her full recovery, not only for her own sake but in the interest of all.

The test of the co-operation of these three nations will be the settlement of Germany, but this and all other such problems must be studied in terms of the other drama which holds the world's stage: the argument between two different ways of life—democracy and totalitarianism; between western civilization as we know it and the system of Marx and Lenin. They can live alongside each other with mutual forbearance, but there can be no compromise between these two philosophies. They are irreconcilable because the difference between them turns on our conception of human liberty. This ideological theme is the fundamental one today. We see it reflected in every international gathering. It influences a current issue in which we Canadians have a special interest — the position in international affairs of powers like ourselves of middle rank.

It is one of the plain realities of life that the influence of a nation in diplomacy is related to the force it can muster. It was therefore a revolutionary step, one of several at the time, when the authors of the League Covenant called all the small nations irrespective of their size and strength to the councils of mankind. The assembly of the United Nations also incorporates this principle. The League, of course, had gone too far. Small countries which can make little or no contribution to security must not be clothed

with disproportionate authority. There was an air of unreality in the debates of the League assembly when some little state, without the capacity or perhaps even the will to contribute a single gun to the necessary force, urged the League to undertake some dubious adventure, on the regrettable principle, "Here am I, Lord, send him!" The United Nations has gone some distance towards a solution of the problem in distinguishing between the great powers and the others, but we have still to find the right place in the scheme of things for states of middle rank. Our experience in the Commonwealth should help us to understand this question, for we recognize the difference between "status" and "function". It is always the British way to seek workmanlike solutions with little concern with mere logic. Thus there is no place where the problem of the smaller countries is better understood than in London with its long experience and accumulated wisdom. But from what we read in the press, their aspirations receive little sympathy in Moscow. The totalitarian is primarily concerned with power. Just as he has no interest in the freedom of the individual in relation to the "almighty state", he does not view with favour the demands of lesser countries that they should be allowed to play their part. His is a big-power world.

The question is now being debated in terms of the settlement of Germany. Canada, with dignity and firmness, has stated her views. Having made a distinguished contribution to the defeat of Germany, she rightly asks for a voice in the plans for her future, and she speaks for other middle powers as well. Our moral position is strong. It would, I think, be stronger if, like other smaller countries, we had continued to play even a modest part in the forces which at present police the German Reich. Our withdrawal at so early a date did nothing to enhance our prestige or give evidence of our readiness to assume responsibilities in peace as we had so willingly done in war. It is not likely, however, that the presence of Canadian soldiers or airmen in Germany would have influenced the

decision as to our part in the peace-making. That question will be settled on other grounds.

Canada is a good spokesman for the middle powers. She has no enemies. She nurses no ambitions which can conflict with those of others. She has already a reputation for objectivity and fairness. She encounters genuine good will. It is often accompanied by a friendly desire to know more about this relatively new member of world councils. Certainly knowledge of our life and institutions might well be extended. Far too little is known about us even yet. I remember when I was travelling in Eastern Europe between the wars, I was shocked to find that Canadian goods were being sold as American, because too many purchasers had never heard of Canada. I hope we have emerged from that obscurity. But there is still much ignorance of us. It is even true of our neighbours in the United States. Our American friends knows us as individuals; they know us as a friendly community on their borders; they are familiar with Canada as the objective of a holiday, but for the most part they know little of how we run our affairs, our form of government, our relations to the British Commonwealth. When our new Citizenship Act was proclaimed, the comments in American papers were revealing. One headline read: "Canadians end status as British subjects". Another ran: "Canada breaks all ties". In one editorial comment, as reported, we were told that as the result of the Citizenship Act, "Canada now joins two other independent members of the Commonwealth-Eire and South Africa". Another article talked about the "weakened" position of the British Empire.

When the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council in London gave its recent decision on the subject of appeals from Canada, this was referred to in American papers as leading to the "abolition of one of the strongest ties Canada still has with Britain." One writer said that with appropriate legislation "the old dependence upon London will be ended", and amiably suggested that Canadian nationality should be "developed and perfected" through the adoption

of a constitution modelled upon that of the United States. These are not the views of well-informed Americans, but there are many of their fellow-citizens who apparently find little strange in such observations. One can never expect an immense country to know as much about a smaller one on its borders as the latter does of its large neighbour, but we could have done much more in the past than we did to promote a better knowledge of Canada in the United States. When in conversation with an American newspaper proprietor not long ago I commented on the dearth of Canadian news in American papers, I was told that Canada was deficient in "news value". One must define the phrase. If it means sensational occurrences, then the remark was complimentary, and I think my friend meant it as such. The happiest nations, it has been said, are those which have no history. One might substitute "news value" for history. At all events, we should do what we can to avoid misinterpretation abroad of what we do at home. The Citizenship Act was a timely measure, much needed, indeed overdue, but as we know, it made no revolutionary break with the past. We were in effect Canadian citizens before the Act permitted us to say so. Also, we remain as it rightly declares, British subjects too. The Act makes us more consciously Canadian and we therefore acclaim it with fitting warmth, but it also preserves the continuity with the past and reminds us of our allegiance to the Crown as individuals, and our membership of the Commonwealth. Perhaps in our celebrations we have neglected this aspect of the matter and unconsciously invited misunderstanding beyond our borders.

As far as the Privy Council's decision is concerned, it should surely be approached and judged as a legal and constitutional matter. I feel it can be misleading to discuss the appeal in terms of sentiment. It can indeed be argued that at times, far from strengthening our relations with Great Britain, it has been actually unhelpful. The Privy Council is a great court. There is none with a higher tradition, but if it should be decided to abolish or limit our appeal—and there are strong arguments on both sides

of the question—our links with the Throne will not be affected, for our judges at Ottawa are the King's judges no less than are those in the Privy Council.

These are complicated problems. When we find ourselves confused about them it is not unnatural that others should be even more so. But it underlines the importance of making our national institutions better known abroad. In the first place it is essential that we should be understood to be what we are and have been for many years—a free and sovereign state. Secondly, it would be a service to the much abused British Commonwealth to which we Canadians belong and in which we believe, if the world could be brought to realize that our freedom has been fully achieved within its wide and generous bounds.

Publicity is a normal function of the modern state. Such activities can, of course, assume disquieting forms. The Soviet Ministry of Information is, I believe, officially styled the Department of Propaganda and Agitation. Its methods are not ours. But it is a privilege, and indeed a duty of a modern state to give to other peoples some knowledge of its institutions and affairs, and to maintain the machinery necessary to this end.

We belong to the international organization with a formidable title just established to deal with such matters. UNESCO, to use the alphabetical name it has assumed in accordance with the current (and, I hope, passing) fashion, was formed, as you will recall, especially to encourage interchanges between nations in the field of culture as a means of their mutual understanding. It has recently met in Paris and Canada was there. I was interested in a comment which a shrewd Frenchwoman made in a private letter in referring to this meeting of UNESCO: "Il régne encore un certain désordre avec beaucoup de bonne volonté". We can forgive the initial disorder if the good will remains. UNESCO is a gallant effort; we should wish it well. But I have no intention of discussing it tonight, except to suggest that it has a special importance to us because it will encourage us-indeed it will impel usto promise a greater knowledge of Canada abroad. No one can now say that an effort to make the world aware of our activities in the fields of science and literature and the arts is not a normal and seemly undertaking which can offend nobody. Canada still lags behind most countries in this sphere in which we must conform, as we have done in others, to the practice of modern states.

The machinery we require must be set up not only in the sphere of government, where indeed the foundations have already been laid, but in the non-governmental sphere. British experience will help us solve this problem. Many of you no doubt know of the body which exists to tell the world about the British way of life—a welcome and important undertaking when the air is so full of Communist propaganda; welcome and much needed. The world knows far too little of British achievement. Publicity does not come easily to a country given to understatement. For instance, how much knowledge is there of the vital contribution which the scientists of Britain made to victory? Those of you who worked with them will know. The British Council, which exists to tell the story of Britain, although it derives its funds from the public exchequer, is free from departmental control. Its budget is large and its prestige high. We need some such body here, and urgently.

Such efforts will not only help to show other nations what manner of folk we are, which they cannot learn simply from the exports of grain and pulp and metals. They will do something more. They will help us understand ourselves. There is I believe a sound pedagogical principle to the effect that you can learn a thing best by teaching it. As we tell the story of our own national life, its rich and varied texture will become plainer to ourselves. This is a good moment for self-examination. We have concluded a great effort which drew on all our resources to the fullest extent. We now ask ourselves what lies ahead of us. What is the next chapter to be? It is fitting that such a spate of books should be appearing today

with the object of appraising Canada. The psychiatrists of course always warn people against introspection. But the theologian, on the other hand, encourages a searching of soul. I have no wish to enter on the slippery ground of this controversy, but you will agree, I hope, that national soul-searching is no bad thing. Self-consciousness is to be avoided by individuals. But with a national community it is different, for without consciousness of itself it would cease to exist. So let us ask ourselves what we are, and why. The results will be usefully reflected in the conduct of our affairs abroad.

We can never afford to neglect the past. Joseph Howe told us only four years after Confederation was achieved that "a wise nation. . . fosters national pride and love of country by perpetual reference to the sacrifices and glories of the past." We can derive comfort and assurance from those Canadians of an earlier age who had faith in their future; a faith that has been justified. You can catch the glow of their vision even through the musty pages of Hansard. We can also find deep satisfaction in the speeches of their opponents—the men of little faith—in seeing how wrong they were. In the debates on Confederation there were many derisive references by persons who no doubt called themselves practical men, to the idea that Canada could ever become a nation. "Our new nationality", said one of them with scorn, "would be nothing but a name". Goldwin Smith was the prophet of the pessimists of a later period. His name may now be almost forgotten, for men of negative mind, however able, do not easily hold a place in the scroll of history. Smith, who could see no future for Canada as an individual country, took refuge, like so many of his cast of mind, in continentalism, the barren view that Canada's survival was a vain hope even if she had traditions that were worth preserving, and that absorption in the United States was foreordained. The building of the C.P.R.—an enterprise which we regard as a great expression of our faith in our own future—aroused Goldwin Smith's derision. As one historian says, "He believed that the taking into Confederation of the great distant stretches of western prairie and of the still more distant province of British Columbia had produced a geographical structure in which no real unity was possible, and that the attempt to bind these vast territories together by the C.P.R. would bankrupt the country."

So much for one Cassandra. But the faint-hearted and short-sighted were many. Lord Dufferin, who was here as Governor-General in the 70's felt moved to say: "It may be doubted whether the inhabitants of the Dominion are themselves yet fully awake to the magnificent destiny in store for them." Perhaps this was from one of Dufferin's speeches which Goldwin Smith politely described as "elegant flummery". But by the time the century closed, men saw the fulfilment of D'Arcy McGee's prophecy when he said: "I see in the not remote distance one great nationality, bound like the shield of Achilles, by the blue rim of ocean". We can accept the rhetorical language of that day when it expressed conviction and above all came true.

The vision which called forth so much scorn is now a matter of orthodox faith. We believe in Canada as a matter of course. It is well to remember, however, that a religion is always in danger when it is automatically taken for granted. So it is with political faith. While it has not to contend with foes from without, it may suffer from inertia within. McGee was bold enough to say in 1862may I quote him once more?—"When I hear our young men say as proudly, 'Our Federation', 'Our Country' or 'Our Kingdom' as the young men of other countries do, speaking of their own, then I shall have less apprehensions for the result of whatever trials the future may have in store for us". What are the tests of McGee's formula? I should be sorry if the celebration of our national festival was one of them. Why does the first of July seem to mean so much less to us than the fourth of July to the Americans or the fourteenth of July to the French? Was the event commemorated less dramatic? Are our people less given to demonstration? Have we a less active historical sense? Perhaps that is the reason. If we abandon the old name,

"Dominion Day" for some new and meaningless phrase will it be because we have forgotten the significance of that day in 1867 when we took that first great step towards full nationhood? In effect, we have of course long since outgrown the original meaning of the word 'Dominion', but why should we not duly honour the anniversary of the occasion when we became one—not necessarily with firecrackers but certainly with conviction? It can help us to understand our foundations and the influences which have given us shape.

The makers of Confederation were well aware of those influences—of our dual parentage, heredity and environment. Most countries are of course the offspring of a union between history and geography, but history plays a larger part with us than with many. Heredity in Canada modifies the effect of physical environment. It is a basic fact that we have two cultures-English and Frenchbut it is also true that we have one political traditionand that comes from Great Britain. Whatever language we speak, we are the heirs of that legacy. The two streams of influence which shape our thinking are very different not only in their origin but in their character. We are a North American nation and we derive many advantages from that fact. The fact itself is immutable and nothing can change it. We will always be a neighbour of the United States, living in the same physical climate and subject to the forces which belong to our neighbourhood. the other hand, the heritage we have received from Great Britain is only ours so long as we cherish it, and in this respect the facts of geography are always against us. It is a truism to say that Canada is vitally concerned with the relations between the United States and Britain. We have indeed a vested interest in Anglo-American friendship. It is natural that the role of interpreter between the two which we are called upon to play should have been the subject of much oratory over the years. But there is more in it than rhetoric. We know both better than either knows the other. But the fact is that we have less firsthand knowledge of Britain than we have of the United

States. It is therefore harder to be her interpreter than to be that of our neighbour. Yet if in a modest way we are to keep open a bridge between these two great countries we must concern ourselves with what goes on at both ends of the bridge, and Great Britain, let us remember, is at one of them.

But it is less important to interpret the views of other countries than to state our own, and to have views to state. If we keep alive in our minds the traditions we have from Britain, it will not only keep us a balanced interpreter, but it will help us to make our own natural and unique contribution as a national community. 'Traditions' is a a vague word. I am not referring only to those concrete institutions, parliamentary and judicial that we have inherited, which are lasting things, but to those more intangible ways of thinking that we also have from Great Britain, which will evaporate if we do not remain aware of them. M. Andre Siegfried in his book on Canada published just before the war, asked a very searching question: "With an American culture whose centre of gravity lies outside Canada's frontiers, is it possible to found a lasting Canadian nation?" My answer to that query is a confident 'Yes' but endless volumes could be written on the subject. How are we to preserve those subtle but very real differences which distinguish us from the United States and give us our own significance here in North America? How can we prevent an erosion of our Canadianism? Only by reason of constant and unremitting effort, and back of this effort must be the awareness of the differences. The lightest straw can show us the direction of the wind, as we can learn from certain recent incidents. In two places in Canada Negro citizens of this country have recently suffered from disabilities purely as a result of their racial origin. Not long ago the appeal judges in two Canadian murder cases made grave comments on the practices of the police in extracting statements from the accused which played an important part in both convictions. This is disquieting. There are many things we can learn from the United States, but race discrimination and certain

police methods are not on the list. There is a serious warning in these incidents for Canada and Canadians. It is wise to borrow ideas from the United States when they fit into our own pattern. It is foolish to imitate practices across the border or anywhere else without discrimination. Wise Americans—and I remember their advice when I lived in Washington—tell us to be ourselves; to carry on our own national experiment here in North America, from which they are kind enough to say they can learn, as we know we can learn from them. The advice of Polonius applies to nations as well as persons: "To thine own self be true".

Our attitude to affairs abroad will be firm and constructive in proportion to the interest which the average man and woman takes in the subject. In both wars our national sense of responsibility rose fully and splendidly to the challenge. But between the wars when danger seemed remote again, we reverted to our old easy-going habits. If our approach to world problems was generally negative and often fumbling, was it because we as a people had accepted only in theory the importance of these things to our daily lives? If we now want Canada to play a responsible part in the world at large, it is for us to play a responsible part as individuals at home. Many references have been made of late to the meagre time devoted in our parliament to consideration of foreign affairs—often little more than a hasty debate in the expiring hours of a long session. But we live in a democracy and if we deem these things important, that will be reflected in the parliament which represents us, not only through the men we send there, but also through the direct expression of our views as well. Thus also the quality of our thinking will be reflected-provided we think. The links between the individual and the community are very close, so is the parallel between them. Self-respect lies behind any person's influence in society. So it is with nations. The greater our pride and belief in this country, the greater the part we can play. And in thinking about Canada let me say again, we should not forget the background. There lies our inspiration. We cannot build our future without knowing and respecting the past. You remember what Antonio said in "The Tempest": "What's past is prologue". Prologue to what? you may ask as Canadians. I can only say this to the members of this college: We look to you and to those of your generation throughout this country to give us the answer.

MACDONALD COLLEGE
November 24, 1980

CREATING OUR OWN FUTURE

O. M. Solandt

I am greatly honored by your invitation to address the MacDonald Memorial Assembly. I expect that the usual address to a Memorial Assembly looks backward. It celebrates the great deeds of the past and remembers our heroes especially those from the two Wars. Canada has indeed many great deeds and heroes to remember and to celebrate but Professor Lawson assured me that I need not confine myself to this.

I did consider talking to you about Canada's past, present and future problems but found that comparing the past with the present for Canada was very discouraging. Things are just not what they were in the good old days. You are quite entitled to believe that that is just the view point of a person who is only a year from 70 but I do not think that my discouragement is due merely to age. Almost everyone in the country is unhappy about the trend of events in Canada today. This is very disheartening, not only to us, but to every nation in the world because if we in Canada cannot succeed with our abundant resources fine people and good neighbours what hope is there for most other Countries who are so much less well endowed than are we.

So I will not dwell on the problems of Canada nor on the present but rather on some of the global problems that will

affect man's future. I do this partly because you - the students - have to live in and try to mould the future and partly because I can see much that is challenging, exciting and even hopeful in the longer term future of man.

Scientists have long realized that the earth is a relatively small planet of finite size and with abundant but nonetheless limited resources. This reality came home to the man in the street quite suddenly when the first man stepped onto the mood and we became used to seeing views of the earth from outer space.

accustomed to the word ecology and began to understand it's meaning. They began to see that everything is related to everything else - that each system is a sub-system of a larger system. It became clear that one reason why man had not been successful in coping with many of his problems was that he tried to isolate them and deal with them separately. By solving one problem he often made others worse. He began to understand that even in tackling what appears to be a relatively simple problem it is necessary to understand how it is related to all the other problems that interconnect with it.

Unfortunately man's habits of thought almost inevitably lead him to try to isolate a problem before attempting to solve it and he understandably finds it necessary to divide the whole of life into sections for purposes of description. But we must

continually remember that when we isolate portions of a complex system for study or description we are not really severing the interconnections of the system.

For example; whether we start looking at the world population problem or the world food problem or poverty or disease or global pollution or any one of a host of other problems we always end up looking at the same group of interconnected problems from a different direction. Some experts in the field in fact just call this central mass the problematique.

The present state of the worlds is essentially due to a profound disturbance of the global ecosystem. Man - a relatively small, and if unarmed, vulnerable species has suddenly started to breed out of control and to dominate all other species. He is multiplying so rapidly that he is out running his food supply, devastating large areas by destroying forests and ground cover, polluting both is local environment and even the whole globe. If man does not himself try to deal with this profound ecological disturbance nature will solve the problem by starvation and disease but that is a grim solution. Man is beginning to hope that he can restore the ecological balance by his own planned and intelligent actions.

You will devote the rest of your lives to joining in this struggle in one war or the other. The struggle will not be easy but I do see real hope of making effective gains. The problem and the counter measures that man will take are really

one integral whole but for purposes of description I will give you three different views of the problems of the future from different points of vantage. The descriptions that I will give are each partial and certainly do not add up to the whole. I will call the areas that I will describe as frontiers since they are the edges of the problems or of our knowledge or of geography. Each is an area where action is now and will be centered. They are: (1) Social and economic frontiers or the frontier of starvation

- (2) Geographic frontiers
- (3) Scientific frontiers

First let me say that all that follows assumes that we will not have a total nuclear war. I do not think that this is necessarily true. The chances of a total nuclear war appear to be small at the moment but they are growing as the Russians continue to build new armaments and are now greater than they have ever been before. I see no likelihood of this threat diminishing in the forseeable future so man must not let is paralyze him. While striving to avoid nuclear war we must push on to improve mankind's lot in every way that we can.

If we do have a total nuclear war it will change many things but man will survive and will almost certainly recover his place as the dominant species.

THE SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC FRONTIER OR THE FRONTIER OF STARVATION

Already nature is at work holding down the population at the edges of our affluent society by famine, chronic under nourishment and disease. Life expectancy of the world's poor is about half what it is among the more privileged.

The issues are simple - reduct the rate of population growth and increase the available food supply and the lives of the rural poor and hence of the urban poor will improve.

Although the issues are a simple success will not come easily but we are making headway - rates of population growth are fropping in many countries as a result of declining birth rates. For many years it was believed birth rates would not decline until after the local standard of living had risen substantially. The most encouraging fact now is that declining birthrates are seen in some countries before there is any improvement in living standards. It is obvious that such a decline will greatly facilitate the economic progress of those who achieve it.

World food supply is just barely keeping pace with growing population. The battle is going a little better in recent years and we still have new weapons to bring into use.

Macdonald College has in the past made major contributions to the improvement of world food supply and I am sure will make even greater ones in the future. Many of your staff have actively participated in work in developing countries and I understand

Temporarily

that Howard Steppler is running the International Centre for Research in Agro Forestry.

In the past few years I have had the good fortune to become closely involved with agricultural research in several developing countries. Through this I have becom acquainted with what for me is a new world of international science — one in which there are surprisingly few Canadians — and one which holds the possibility for extremely exciting and rewarding careers for the young Canadian scientists. I hope that you will not ignore it when you are seeking careers after graduation.

I have dealt briefly and optpmistically with the problems of global food supply. But I don't want to leave you with the impression that feeding the expected world population of 8 billion will be easily accomplished. Food will continue to be one of the main pre-occupations of the world as far as we can see into the future.

GEOGRAPHIC FRONTIERS

The expanding race of man can only be fed, sheltered and clothed by making the most effective possible use of the entire globe. Therefore every part of the globe that is not at the moment being fully used can be regarded as a potential geographic frontier. Man must press forward to fully explore and develope these frontiers for the exploitation of solar energy in the form of forests and agricultural and other crops and in the search for other renewable and non-renewable resources.

Canada still has many exciting frontiers - the Arctic,
the Continental Shell, much of the sub-Arctic, the Borral Forest.

The major challenges at the moment are in forest management and
in the search for oil, gas and minerals in the frontier areas.

The tropics still have great untapped potential; the incidence of solar energy is high and available the year round so the possibilities for growth, forests, agricultural crops and other crops to supply bio-mass for energy production are very great. Unfortunately many problems still stand in the way of getting high and sustained yields but the problems are almost certainly soluble and will surely attract some of the best brains in the world in the coming years.

of food and forests are not limited to the remote and unaccessable parts of the world. The opportunities for reclaiming areas that man has already destroyed and for preventing the continuing destruction of aryable land are scattered throughout all the settled

areas of the world.

During the past five years I have spent a good deal of time in the Middle East. One route that I travelled frequently was from Tehran to Tabrip in Iran, a distance of about 1000 km. The landscape over almost the whole distance can be aptly described in one word - erosion. In such areas tree planting is the only answer and must preced any efforts to re-establish agriculture. The area that is now Syria, Lebanon is said to have supported almost 30 million people in the time of the Romans and was in addition the bread basket for Rome itself, now its forests are gone, the desert areas have expanded and with a population of only to 8 million the area cannot quite grow enough food for the local population.

In one of his books Herman Kahn pointed out that there was enough solar energy and water available in the valley of the Ganges in India to supply food to most of the world if the water and energy could be used in a modern hydroponies agricultural system. And so the list goes on, the possibilities for better management of our global habitat are tremendous.

SCIENTIFIC FRONTIERS

Science is defined in many ways, for this discussion I would like to define it as man's accumulated and organized knowledge about himself and his whole environment.

There have been times in the past when man felt that he had reached the limits of knowledge in many directions. Now we are convinced that we have only skratched the surface of knowledge and are probably not near the limits in any field.

Therefore we cannot predict the future with any certainty because we do not know what new knowledge will appear if we continue a diligent search.

A few years ago a book entitled "The Limits to Growth" agout mide We leadership of written by Professors Meddows and Forcester at N.T.T. and sponsored by the Club of Rome appeared to present a dismal picture of the future of man. It suggested that as population continued to increase rigid limits to growth would appear either through lack of energy, of non-renewable resources, of food or by growing pollution of the environment. The weakness in this argument was that it assumed that man would go on reacting in the future as he did at present and would accept limitations and even disasters without reacting to them and without seeking new knowledge to overcome them.

Herman Kahn in his book "The Next Two Hundred Years" took the opposite view and looked at the future on the assumption that man could organize himself to make effective use of all his present and future knowledge. The result was a future with no limitations. A world population of up to 30 billion could produce ample food and energy and a surplus of every conceivable physical good and more luxuries than we could imagine.

The weakness in this argument is that it is highly unlikely that man will succeed in organizing himself to make effective use of his available knowledge.

The probable future of the world lies somewhere in between these two extremes but before considering it let's see how science can help in some specific cases.

POPULATION CONTROL

The magnitude of the Population Explosion and its significance for the future is hard to comprehend. The history and probable future of world population and the impact of its growth on world food supply have recently been very concisely and lucidly portrayed in a small brochure entitled the Human Population Monster by Doctors Borlaug, Anderson and Sprague, the three leading plant breeders at Cimmyt - The International Centre for Wheat and Maize Improvement. In what follows I have borrowed heavily from that mine of information.

Man has existed in his present form for about three million years. About 12, 000 years ago he or some say she discovered agriculture and learned how to domesticate animals. The population was then 15 million. In the 10,000 years till the birth of Christ it had doubled 4 times to 250 million. The next doubling to 500 million was reached in 1650 - the one billion mark was passed in 1850 and then modern medicine began and the take-off occured. The third doubling since the birth of Christ occurred about 1930 in only 80 years and brought the population to two billion. With the help of sulfa drugs, anti-biotics and other advances in medicine the fourth doubling to 4 billion was reached in 1975 after only 45 years. It is now about 4.5 billion. If the former growth rate continues the next doubling will occur in 40 years and the world population will be 8 billion by 2015.

variety of methods of birth control and in recent years the ordinary people in many countries are beginning to use them. The next doubling will, unless there is a nuclear war, still occur but it may take 60 years not 40. Some optimists even put it at 80 years. We do have a little more time - thanks to our own efforts but the Human Population Monster is still breathing down our necks - ready to kill millions if we stumble.

FOOD AND AGRICULTURE

The agricultural problem posed by this population growth is quite easily defined. Between 1975 and some year between 2015 and 2055 - that is in 40 to 80 years depending on rates of population growth - food production must be increased by at least as much as it increased from 12,000 B.C. to 1975. If we are to eliminate malnutrition the increase must be even greater.

At first glance this seems to be impossible. If the food problem could be separated from the population, energy pollution etc. problems it would seem less formidable - but it cannot - we must face them all together.

A continued drive to reduce population growth is the first priority - many countries are still doubling in 20-25

years. More people add to the food problem not just by their requirement for food but by occupying land that could grow food and by destroying useful land by overgrazing and by cutting down forests.

The new food supplies will come partly from increased yields on existing farm land and partly from new lands and from revival of former farm land.

At present the loss of arable land by construction of roads and cities, erosion, silting of irrigation systems etc. just about balances new land coming into use. Extension of cultivated areas in the future will be very expensive. In many areas such as India and the fertile crescent extensive tree planting is essential to control erosion and run-off so that more water can be used effectively. The possibilities for the major river valleys of India alone are immense.

It is unlikely that the yield of highly developed crops such as wheat grown under ideal conditions can be increased much but there is still vast room for growth in bringing the yield on farmers fields up closer to that of the experimental farm. Also there are still many important crops such as maize in which major yield increases are foreseen and the possibilities of tissue culture and genetic engineering are extremely promising. It will almost certainly be possible to increase the genetic variability of existing crops such as wheat and rice and so start a new round of breeding and selection. It is also highly likely that completely new plants can be created. The main food

crops of 50 years hence may be very different from those of today.

This is not all in the future - a few examples will show that important new developments are going on all the time.

High yielding food plants such as wheat, rice and maize require large amounts of water and fertilizer, especially nitrogen. Nitrogenous fertilizers are now made from natural gas, require a large energy input and are often too expensive for the poor farmer. Many legumes have root nodules containing symbiotic bacteria that fix atmospheric nitrogen for the plant and also leave nitrogen compounds in the soil. A similar association is found in some grasses and possibly bacteria will be found that will team-up with wheat. At the International Rice Research Institute in Manila there have been very promising results using a fern called Azolla with its associated nitrogen fixing mechanism. Where grown with rich it can replace artificial nitrogen fertilizers.

In many countries legumes are more frequently included in crop rotations to supply both forage and nitrogen.

The Green Revolution due to new high yielding strains of wheat and rice is still progressing. In addition to increasing yields breeders are improving resistance to insects and disease and tolerance to cold, heat, drought, poor soil etc. and the new knowledge coming from tissue culture and genetic engineering promise even greater things for the future.

One man made food crop - triticale is just starting to catch on. In many adverse situations it gives a higher yield than the best wheat and has a higher protein content and good baking qualities.

With the new possibilities for direct genetic manipulation triticale will probably be followed by many other man-made food crops with greatly superior characteristics.

ENERGY

An assured energy supply to meet man's essential needs - not his past excessive demands - is as fundamental to man's future as is population control.

Future food supplies will depend on energy even more than in the past. Even if new farming systems are designed to minimize energy consumption much will be needed to create the increased infra-structure for food production - dams, irrigation systems, roads and railways, ships and vehicles.

There is no shortage of energy in the world - nor will there be as long as the sun shines - man is just slow in foreseeing and providing for inevitable changes in his energy systems such as the present threat of a future shortage of oil.

Experts have been predicting the end of the worlds oil supply for a long time but politicians and the rest of us have not listened and suddenly man is caught very in adequately prepared.

Several answers are available. For example it is very likely that improved Candu reactors will provide electricity at about half the present cost. This electricity can replace oil as a mobile fuel in many ways - storage batteries, fuel cells, hydrogen, synethetic hydrocarbons etc. The improved Candu will use much less uranium than the present ones and of course produce no carbon dioxide or acid rain.

The United States, the worlds largest energy user and our down-wind neighbour is going to be forced to burn coal to produce electricity. There will not be time, nor the will to clean up the emissions from these plants so all the lakes on the Laurentian Shield both in Canada and the U.S. will soon be so acid that few fish will survive. In addition the CO₂ from the burning coal will increase the risk of a long term warming of the earth due to the so-called greenhouse effect.

In fact if coal had only recently been as covered as an energy source it would be considered too hazardous to use.

The science needed to eliminate or at least greatly reduce all these hazards has been available for many years - it has just not been used.

Man must finally achieve an energy system that is non polluting and depends on everlasting sources - ultimately the sun. Even with present science we can see how to do this but it will cost a lot and take a long time - say 100 years.

In the meantime we must take steps to phase out oil, first as a general source of energy and then as a mobile source.

We certainly cannot wait for solar energy but must take intermediate steps. Throughout the world governments are being very slow to bite the bullet and get started.

For example, Ontario has no visible alternative to increasing dependence on electricity from nuclear reactors for at least fifty years - your timetable and options in Quebec may be quite different. It is highly likely that a new variant of the Candu using an organic coolant and thorium would produce electricity at little more than half the present real cost and would consume far less uranium.

Such a development will require 15-25 years from first order to full commercial use. The possibility has been known for several years but the order has not been given.

NON-RENEWABLE RESOURCES

There is not time to deal with this problem in detail. Fortunately the evidence is good that provided we act in time on conservation and re-cycling and provided that we have enough energy to make substitute materials the non-renewable resource problems forecast in the Limits to Growth are all soluble.

CONCLUSIONS

The outlook for the future - seen in terms of science - mans accumulated knowledge - seems challenging and full of perils but the possibility of success is high enough to lead a new generation to push on with lively optimism.

The human population Monster can be tamed.

The growing population can be fed, clothed and housed.

The future supply of energy can be assured.

Disastrous world pollution can be avoided.

Science shows that these things can be done but can mankind so organize himself as to achieve them in the time available.

The honest answer now seems to be that man's present course will not lead him to success. Even if we can avoid nuclear war we are not organized to accomplish the other tasks.

At almost every level of government from the municipality through state and national governments right up to the United Nations we seem to be unable to assign realistic priorities or to plan more than a few years ahead. No one is willing to contemplate making present sacrifices in order to achieve future necessities - (unless you put tightening up on the housekeeping budget to save for next summers trip to Europe in that category.)

If man is to have an assured future on planet earth 100 years from now many important actions must be taken now.

Unfortunately we have no mechanism for achieving a concensus on what needs to be done and then starting to work. We cannot even agree on spending money on obviously essential things like research in energy, agriculture, forestry etc. which are clearly needed and will begin to pay off in 10-15 years but probably not before the next election.

The things that must be done to ensure a good life for man on earth 100 years from now will not tax man's scientific knowledge but they will stretch his productivity - his ability to make things and his accumulation of capital to pay for them to the utmost. If we are to win out we must be well organized and industrious and have a long range plan with well-defined priorities. But we are not well organized or industrious and we do not have long-range plans and priorities.

We must find a system of social organization and government that will make these things possible. It cannot happen overnight but surely we can start to work toward it.

Instead of bickering over details of an outmoded constitution we should be striving to devise a new national structure that will enable us to make carefully thought-out decisions on the initiation of actions that are essential to our welfare fifty years from now and then seeing them through.

The Candu reactor is one of the few examples that we can point to with pride. Its success depends on decisions taken 30-35 years ago and without it Ontario - Canada's energy desert - would face a grim future - and its contribution to world energy supplies has just begun.

Japan seems to be one of the few countries in the world that displays the kind of decisive foresight that we need. For example at near Tokyo a huge multi-disciplinary university of a new kind, designed to bring science to bear on the problems of the future has been created over many years at a cost of several billion dollars. While we talk they act.

I should now end by giving you a magic formula for achieving the drastic social and political changes that are needed to realize man's future potential. I do not have such a formula. I am an action oriented gradualist. I would set great goals and then work toward them with the means at hand. That has not worked.

Canada is less well organized now to cope with the future than it appeared to be thirty or thirty-five years ago. Maybe it will require a revolution to get us started but start we must.

I hope that you see now the meaning of my title Creating
Our Own Future.

We have in Canada now all the physical requirements for continuing our own good life into the future and for helping others to solve their problems. With good organization and leadership we can create the enthusiastic drive that will make success possible. If we continue as we are going failure seems very likely. It is up to you - the new generation - to reject the attitudes of the "me" generation and to initiate the actions that will ensure a good way of life for future generations. You can Create Our Future.

I should now end by giving you a magic formula for achieving the drastic social and political changes that are needed to realize man's future potential. I do not have such a formula. I am an action oriented gradualist. I would set great goals and then work toward them with the means at hand. That has not worked.

Canada is less well organized now to cope with the future than it appeared to be thirty or thirty-five years ago. Maybe it will require a revolution to get us started but start we must.

I hope that you see now the meaning of my title Creating Our Own Future.

We have in Canada now all the physical requirements for continuing our own good life into the future and for helping others to solve their problems. With good organization and leadership we can create the enthusiastic drive that will make success possible. If we continue as we are going failure seems very likely. It is up to you - the new generation - to reject the attitudes of the "me" generation and to initiate the actions that will ensure a good way of life for future generations. You can Create Our Future.

