Canada-U.S. Relations (1945-1963)
JAN26th: Lecture Overview

- RECAP: Chronology
- Questions to explore
- Back to Geography
- Unequal relationship
- The North Atlantic Triangle
- “American exceptionalism”
- The rise of American power & the Cold War
- Anti-Americanism in Canadian history
- Chronology of political leadership

- WWII & Canada-U.S. relations
- RECAP: Cold War & Western Alliance
- President Eisenhower
- Dief the Chief
- Dief & Ike
- NORAD
- President JFK
- JFK vs Dief the Chief
- The Cuban Missile Crisis
- RECAP & Exam review
RECAP: Key dates *EXAM

1945
- UN Charter signed by 51 nations (San Francisco)
- German & Japanese surrender
- Gouzenko affair

1946
- First session of the UN opens in London
- Churchill’s “iron curtain” speech @ Foulton, Missouri
- Canadian loan to Great Britain $1.25 billion
- Royal Commission report on the Gouzenko spy ring
RECAP: Key dates *EXAM

1947
- St. Laurent delivers the Gray Lecture @U of T
- Discussions in Paris for the Marshall Plan

1948
- General Agreement on Tariff and Trade (GATT) signed in Geneva (Canada+22 countries)
- Discussions about the North Atlantic Pact in DC
- The Berlin Blockade begins
- Pearson becomes our external affairs minister & St. Laurent becomes our PM
1949: NATO signed (Canada a founding member)

1950: Outbreak of the Korean War (June 25th)

1951: Canadian troops to Europe for NATO

1953: End of the Korean War

1956: The Suez Crisis & UNEF
Our focus today: CA-US relations

1957: Diefenbaker becomes PM North American Air Defense Command
1958: US President Eisenhower visits Canada
1961: US President JFK visits Canada
1962: The Cuban Missile Crisis
1963: Pearson’s Liberals defeat the Conservatives
1) What kind of transformations do we see in Canadian-American relations in the Cold War era?
2) To what extent could we attribute the role of personal leadership in shaping Canadian-American relations? Discuss with reference to the 1945-1963 period.
Geography matters

- spreads over 3,000 miles from coast to coast
- 10 million sq. km, Canada is the second-largest political jurisdiction on earth
- Away from any immediate danger
- Also one of the emptiest (approx. 35 million in 2016), 95% of them live within 250 km of the US border
- Fragmented on north-south & east-west
- British heritage important but physical and cultural proximity to the U.S. also helped to distance Canada from Great Britain
An unequal relationship...

- **Population** ratio 10:1 (US:Canada)
- **GDP** ratio 12:1 (US:Canada)
- **Studies on CA-US relations** 10:1 (Canada:US)
- Sense of superiority vs self-righteousness

From the American perspective, **weather & sports** generally account for most of their reference to Canada!
### Per capita Annual Income 1940-1970

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<th>1940</th>
<th>1950</th>
<th>1960</th>
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<tr>
<td>United States</td>
<td>$754</td>
<td>$1,877</td>
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<tr>
<td>Canada</td>
<td>$535</td>
<td>$1,248</td>
<td>$2,232</td>
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The North Atlantic Triangle *EXAM

- David Haglund 1945
- the notion of “triangle” evolved over time
- The North Atlantic Triangle differentiated as well as unified its participants (room for balance or counter-balance)
- From 1950s onwards, Canadian govts talked of Europe rather than Britain and proclaimed an “Atlantic” destiny
- Economics mirrored politics throughout the Cold War; Cultural similarities continued to matter
American “exceptionalism”?

- “leader of the free world”
- “empire of liberty”
- “shining city on a hill"
- “last best hope of Earth”
- "indispensable nation."

Idea that the U.S. is inherently different than other nations, that it has a mission to transform the world, and that its history and its mission give the United States a superiority over other nations...
The rise of the U.S. & the Cold War

- ideology
- culture/propaganda
- military/strategy
- intelligence evolution & “covert ops”
- political spheres of influence
- economic expansion & affluence
- “American way of life” (progress + prosperity)

Louis Armstrong playing jazz music at the Giza Pyramids in Egypt during the Cold War
"I wonder why my relationship's so bad with all you nations that aren't as good as me."

"Wake up, America! Civilization calls every man, woman and child!"

"Pax Americana"
A new “operating framework”?
Canada & Anti-Americanism*

- Perpetual fear in the Canadian psyche?
- Love-hate relationship?
- Relationship of desire or necessity?
- Diplomacy of constraint?
- Gradual shift in the North Atlantic Triangle during the Cold War
“Living next to the U.S. is in some ways like sleeping with an elephant. No matter how friendly or temperate the beast, one is affected by every twitch and grunt.”

- Pierre E. Trudeau, National Press Club in Ottawa 1969
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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Canada</th>
<th>United States</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>W.L. Mackenzie King (35-48)</strong></td>
<td>Franklin D. Roosevelt (33-45)</td>
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<td><strong>Louis St. Laurent (48-57)</strong></td>
<td>Harry S. Truman (45-53)</td>
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<td><strong>John G. Diefenbaker (57-63)</strong></td>
<td>Dwight D. Eisenhower (53-61)</td>
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<td><strong>Lester B. Pearson (63-68)</strong></td>
<td>John F. Kennedy (61-63)</td>
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<td><strong>Pierre E. Trudeau (68-79)</strong></td>
<td>Lyndon B. Johnson (63-69)</td>
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<td>Richard Nixon (69-74)</td>
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<td>Gerald Ford (74-77)</td>
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CANADA-US Relations >>>

Key turning points....
REMEMBER: Military arrangements such as the Ogdensburg Agreement 1940 & the Hyde Park Declaration 1941 *EXAM

- American loan to Great Britain (45)$3.75 billion
- Canadian loan to Great Britain $1.25 billion
- Still not enough to restore the basic imbalance of British trade which CA-US trade expanded
- General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (47) did not really solve the problems of Europe, even with the Marshall Plan
- Canada and the US are enjoying an economic boom 1946-47...but imbalance in trade because imports from the US about 40% increase between 46-47.
“Canada is at the parting of the ways. Either she turns toward Europe or the United States. If she takes the former way she must undo the progress made during the war toward economic integration with the United States and, by controls and restrictions, force a permanent reorientation involving less dependence on trade with us. The present Canadian government would prefer the latter. They tend to view that Canada’s ultimate destiny is inevitably linked to ours.”

– Woodbury Willoughby, US. State Department
1948: CA-US trade pact?

- Canada’s imports from the US reached around $2 billion by 1947; worrisome situation!
- **By March 1948:** US/Canadian trade experts worked out a skeleton of a **free trade agreement, for the elimination of tariffs and quotas over 5 years**
- But Canadian PM King remembered the **1911 Reciprocity election** and feared the impact on his legacy; “I would no more think of at any time of my life and at this stage of my career attempting any movement of the kind than I would of flying to the South Pole”
- **Free trade was bad for Canada, bad for the PM, bad for the Liberal Party. FREE TRADE ABORTED!**
Containment: George F. Kennan 1947
- Generally used to characterize American policy toward the USSR (post-WWII)
- Called for a “long-term, patient but firm and vigilant containment of Russian expansive tendencies”

Truman doctrine (1947): the US pledges to provide economic/military/political support to societies under threat from authoritarianism

The Marshall Plan (1948): USD $13 billion for the rebuilding of Western Europe (about $130 billion in today’s terms)
NATO is committed to the principle that an attack against one or several members is considered as an attack against all.

This is the principle of collective defence, which is enshrined in Article 5 of the Washington Treaty (1949)

Article II of NATO: The Canadian Article

Economic recovery & military preparedness as part of the Western strategy during the Cold War
The Korean War & CA-US relations

- Korean War (1950-53) as a turning point in Canadian-Korean relations, the Cold War, and CA-US relations
- “Red menace” & NSC-68
- Issue of credibility
- Collective security through the lens of international communist menace & UN-authorized military involvement
- The war necessitated close collaboration with the US
- Truman: flexibility important for democracy
Eisenhower (53-61) & the “New Look” in the American Cold War

- Eisenhower: “We must not destroy what we are attempting to defend”
  >> security must be tied to permanent interests (shared w/ J.F. Dulles)
- “New Look”: strategy of deterrence, liberation – the use of political, psychological, economic and covert means to roll back existing areas of Soviet influence
- Massive retaliation & “asymmetrical response” + rise of propaganda
Hundreds of thousands of Canadians had served under Eisenhower’s command in WWII. Retained some of the attraction of his wartime accomplishments. Because of his military background, people may have expected an aggressive policy but not wildly aggressive. Did not want the U.S. to use the atomic bomb again and believed that American strength derived from economic strength.
“Dief the Chief” *EXAM

- 13th PM of Canada (57-63)
- Upbringing in pure Scottish tradition, from Saskatchewan, excellent student in his youth (gold medallist); charismatic speaker
- Successful defense lawyer, attractive, bright
- Nearly four decades in politics, worshipped King, but had to run a few times to win the national Conservative party leadership
- Wasn’t anti-American but very pro-British
- Left three volumes of memoirs (largely fictional) & a certain sense of insecurity
“Dief” & “Ike”

- Got along very well
- Generation of WWII
- Dief adored Eisenhower
Eisenhower visits Canada (1958)

EISENHOWER VISITS NEIGHBOR TO THE NORTH

Commentary by PETER ROBERTS
NEWS of the DAY
North American Air Defence Agreement (announced 1 August 1957)

Integrates the air-defence forces of the U.S. (USAF) & Canada (RCAF) under a joint command at Colorado Springs, Colorado

Controversial because of inadequate consultation in the early stage but generally successful

Controversial during the Cuban Missile Crisis
1957: North American Air Defense Command (NORAD) *EXAM
ENTER: John F. Kennedy

- JFK: 35th President of the US
- Elected in November 1960
- Youngest man elected to the office
- Irish descent, Harvard educated
- Served in the Navy & elite circles
- Democratic Congressman in Boston
- Wrote *Profiles in Courage* (1955) while recuperating from a back operation, which won the Pulitzer Prize
- Charming, vision of “a world of law and free choice, banishing the world of war and coercion.”
- Assassinated on Nov 22, 1963 (Texas)
Perhaps because of sensitivity about his Germanic name, Dief was even more Pro-British than most Conservatives, a firm supporter of the empire & ancient British connection

- Was vocally against Pearson’s action in Suez
- Even made a bogus promise about diverting 15% of Canada’s imports from the U.S. to Britain (did not consult anyone in the government = impossible idea)
JFK Visits Canada (May 1961)
President JFK’s State Visit to Ottawa (May 1961)
Diefenbaker really disliked all the attention that JFK & Jackie received in Ottawa

DIEF: JFK was too young to be successful

DIEF also did not like that JFK was pressuring him for the OAS

Presidential briefing memo left behind “Canada be ‘pushed’ to do certain things..’

References to “S.O.B.” => would not be returned to Washington (breach of protocol)
DIEF vs JFK: Policy issues

- JFK Administration disapproved Dief’s policy of selling Canadian wheat to China
- Feb 1961: Dief and Kennedy disagreed how Imperial Oil of Canada was selling bunker oil to ships taking Canadian wheat to China (violates American boycott of sales to PRC)
- US cut off trade with Cuba by early 1961; Canada was reluctant to follow
President JFK at a tree planting ceremony in Rideau Hall, Ottawa
TRAVEL TO: CUBA
Cuban Missile Crisis (Oct 1962)
Cuban-American relations very tense by the late 1950s & early 1960s
Popular belief that the US was way behind the Soviet Union on nuclear weapons, as well as “missile gap” on ICBM, IRBM, etc.
Khruschev wanted to place ICBM in Cuba, which would alter strategic balance btw the USSR & the United States
American U-2 photograph of the Russian med-range IRBM >> shared with Western allies
JFK opted to blockade Cuba
Dief is reluctant to believe this! Complete mishandling of the crisis....
PEAK OF TENSIONS

The Washington Post

Kennedy Orders Blockade of Cuba
As Reds Build Nuclear Bases There; U.S. Will Sink Defiant Arms Ships

The Lawton Constitution

Russia Says Blockade 'Step to Nuclear War'

President Calls Off All Campaign Trips
Crisis Sends Stock Prices Fluctuating

Russia Near Shutdown; Ships Toward Cuba

© Channel 5
A movie clip: “Thirteen Days”
JFK: “We are now in possession of clear evidence that the Soviets have secretly installed offensive weapons in Cuba and that some of them may already be operational.”

De Gaulle, MacMillan and others pledged support for the US, but Canada was indifferent

Instead of putting Canadian aircraft in NORAD on DEFCON 3 (state of alert), Canada did nothing

Dief told the parliament that the UN fact-finding mission must go and provide an “objective” evidence

In fact, Canadian NORAD aircraft had already gone to full readiness but Dief handled the crisis in the worst manner

More info available: http://microsites.jfklibrary.org/cmc/oct16/
From the Archives: President JFK & the Cuban Missile Crisis
Key terms: the North Atlantic Triangle, “American exceptionalism”, the New Look, Dwight Eisenhower, Dief the Chief, NORAD, John F. Kennedy, the Cuban Missile Crisis

Sample Qn: Compare and contrast PM Diefenbaker’s relationship with Eisenhower vs JFK. Do personalities matter in Canadian foreign policy? Discuss using specific examples.

NOTE: A closer integration of Canadian-American military relations, as well as moments of tension & disagreement

Next class: Atomic weapons & the Arms Race