

COMMENTATOR CHARLES TEMPLETON (left) discusses the controversial Arrow question with a special Star panel (right) including: Maj.-Gen. W. H. S. Macklin, former deputy ad's Economic Prospects; Prof. A. R. M. chairman of the Royal Commission on Can-Lower, historian, Queen's; Lt.-Gen. Guy chief of staff, Canadian army; Walter Gordon, Simonds, former army chief of staff; Dr. Gordon Schrum, defense research board



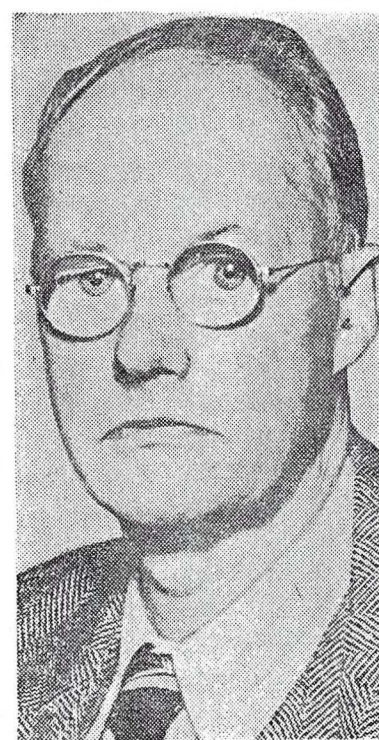
TEMPLETON
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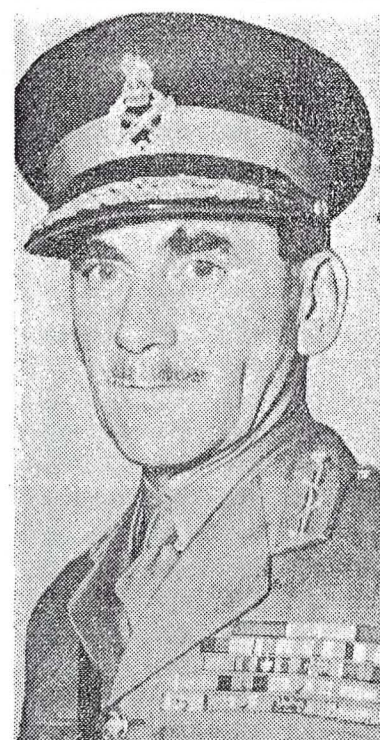
MACKLIN
"The whole concept of defence on this continent is phony. We haven't any defence; we never had any."



GORDON
"I question whether governments or corporations have a moral right to throw people out of work without planning re-establishment"



LOWER
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SIMONDS
"Defence costs have risen so much because the U.S. aircraft industry has so much Hollywood overhead"

When Canada gave up the Arrow, did it also forfeit national sovereignty and the right to its own defence policy? Five eminent Canadians discuss

What Junking The Arrow Could Mean To The Future Of Canada

TEMPLETON: General Macklin, with the abandonment of the Arrow, is there a loss of Canadian sovereignty in the fact that Canada will now be largely dependent on American defence instruments?

MACKLIN: Yes. It is one more step on a road we have been travelling for a long time. Certainly it has an effect on our national defence and on our sovereignty.

TEMPLETON: We have already surrendered a measure of our sovereignty in the DEW line and in plans to establish Bomarc bases. Will this be increasingly a problem in the future?

SCHRUM: So far as defence is concerned, it is absolutely necessary that we give up part of our sovereignty because after all we are in the battle zone and this is the territory over which the bombers going will have to pass. So far as I am concerned, if we use Bomarc against planes and these planes are on their way to Chicago or Cleveland, there is no reason why Americans shouldn't be up here to shoot them down where they have to be shot down.

TEMPLETON: Prof. Lower, if the surrender of sovereignty is unavoidable is it possible for Canada to have an independent defence policy?

LOWER: Canada never has had such a policy. Historically we have taken a policy dependent on that of Great Britain. We fought in World War I with the mother country and in World War II fought close to the mother country. Now we have become an adjunct of American power. I don't think we have ever had an independent defence policy. I don't see how a nation of our size can be independent.

TEMPLETON: Some people feel Canada should refuse to co-operate in joint defence planning in such things as NATO, NORAD, the DEW line and the Bomarc bases until she becomes an independent partner in the alliance. The feeling is there are restrictions imposed upon Canadians not imposed upon Americans.

LOWER: Most of these restrictions are pinpricks—not major things. In a situation such as we are in with respect to the U.S.—a relatively small group—we must assert our independence in as reasonable and yet in as firm a way as possible. Undoubtedly the big man is not going to be too fearful of the sensibilities of the small.

"We Should Have Left DEW in Hands of the Americans"

SCHRUM: We get too sensitive about these things. We should have left the DEW line bases in the hands of the Americans because they are there to defend, mainly U.S. citizens. They should be operated by the people most concerned.

LOWER: There is one question I would like to ask: Would we rather have the Americans there than the Russians?

SIMONDS: I don't believe we do give up our sovereignty: It is a fact introduced into the present controversy simply to have an emotional appeal. We, the British, the Belgians and others have had to surrender some measure of sovereignty, of course. As for proposals involving the use of Canadian territory for defence of the U.S., which are of doubtful military value, we shouldn't pay a penny.

TEMPLETON: We now pay one-third.

SIMONDS: We shouldn't pay anything. Our negotiations with the U.S. should be based on three principals: (1) The U.S. alone will pay for all costs except the pay of Canadian servicemen. (2) All construction and equipment, except for nuclear warheads and items impossible to manufacture in Canada, should be Canadian and made in Canada. (3) The installations should be under the command of and manned by Canadians.

"I Don't Think We Ever Had Much Sovereignty"

TEMPLETON: By the present arrangement, with NORAD, Canadian planes, manned by Canadian pilots can be ordered into action by U.S. decision with no prior conference with Canada.

LOWER: If you will think of the situation as being almost a wartime situation I wouldn't think it was very different from what occurred during the war when Canadians, if not Canadian planes were in some instances under the command of her allies. I

don't see how that is avoidable and I should add that any country that enters into an alliance must surrender part of its sovereignty.

SIMONDS: I have always taken the position that we in Canada would place ourselves in an invidious posture if we refuse to co-operate in the defence of the U.S.

TEMPLETON: In other words this loss of sovereignty is not, in fact, a new thing.

LOWER: I don't think we have ever had (much) sovereignty myself. Everybody would like to be independent but we are (bound) to accept limitations as they are.

TEMPLETON: In this alliance between the U.S. and Canada, is there any comparable loss of sovereignty on the part of the U.S.?

SCHRUM: No major power can lose sovereignty to a minor power.

LOWER: That doesn't mean that the minor power becomes a battle base. Everything depends on the nature of the people of the minor power. If they have the heart for independence and their own separate existence I think they will maintain it.

SCHRUM: In national security, we can't spend too much time arguing about sovereignty. We are living in an age of missiles, with weapons coming over distances of 4,000 or 5,000 miles in an hour and we haven't much time to debate these things in Parliament.

TEMPLETON: Has there been enough government debate on defence and foreign policy to make what is happening clear in the minds of Canadians?

SCHRUM: I would say not—

LOWER: I would agree. Canadians, I suspect, are going to have a let-down feeling after the Arrow. We haven't been kept abreast of why it was necessary for us to go into this seemingly expensive experiment.

MACKLIN: Defence debates in the House of Commons in the last six or eight years have been farcical.

GORDON: Quite a number of people are going to ask whether it makes sense for Canada to arm nine squadrons to be absorbed in the American defence forces or whether we shouldn't make our contribution in some other way.

"The Whole Concept of Our Defence Policy Is Wrong"

MACKLIN: I would heartily agree. The whole concept of defence policy on this continent is wrong, completely phony and is probably the biggest swindle that has ever been perpetrated. We haven't got any defence—we never had any defence. The security of this continent disappeared when the hydrogen bomb was made and the Russians made a means to carry it. We are never going to get that security back.

SIMONDS: The secretive policy of the U.S. in nuclear weapons has been stupid and continues to be stupid. It has only succeeded in handicapping the allies and hasn't stopped the Russians from forging ahead. When it comes to the technical application of thermonuclear or atomic weapons, the U.S. has got to treat its allies on a comparable basis to their own people.

TEMPLETON: What should the U.S. tell its allies?

SIMONDS: At the present time there is in reality no defence against thermonuclear attack—that is the ICBM and the missile-launching submarine.

TEMPLETON: Do the costs of modern armaments make it impossible for a nation of limited financial means, such as Canada, to arm itself adequately?

GORDON: I would think so. The only way you can keep the cost of most modern weapons down is to mass produce them. In Canada the number of units we need is limited and we can't therefore mass produce them.

SIMONDS: Costs have risen so high because, in a great many cases, the aircraft industry in the U.S. has too much of the Hollywood overhead about it.

TEMPLETON: If our present de-

fence policy is wrong what alternatives are there?

MACKLIN: My contention is quite simple. If there is a first-class nuclear war we are going to be destroyed. All these radar chains, jet interceptors and Bomarc missiles will not prevent us from being destroyed in a major nuclear war. Whatever survives will not be Canada and we will have to start over again. Now, we must accept that. We have to live with it.

"There Is No Defence Against Nuclear Missiles"

SIMONDS: There is no defence against thermonuclear missile attack. Because of bad judgment and planning in the past, the U.S., like ourselves, is involved in a difficult position; only they submit more to the pressure of lobbies than we have in the past or ought to in the future. Their SAGE system and their continued fighter program would mean tremendous unemployment if it were cut off.

TEMPLETON: If the danger of U.S. unemployment has been a reason for continuing the manufacture of obsolete aircraft, do you think this was also the reason why here in Canada the Arrow was planned and continued by two governments?

SIMONDS: At the time the Arrow was planned, Russian progress in missile development had not been revealed. That came last spring with the launching of the Sputniks. The West has seriously neglected the missile, and under the aegis of the American air force—and I think our own air force fell too readily into line—we fought for the manned aircraft and neglected the missile.

MACKLIN: I should like to interject one military note. None of these defences, none of these radar chains, interceptor squadrons and so on are defending the cities of North America. They are attempting to defend the bases of the U.S. strategic air force. That is what they are there for. Nobody can contend these things can stop a hydrogen bomb from falling on Montreal if the Russians decide to drop one. They are a deterrent.

TEMPLETON: General Macklin, what are they defending? The Bomarc, for instance, is no real defence against the missile is it?

MACKLIN: No the Bomarc is an anti-aircraft missile. A missile, to be of any use, has to be directed at Moscow or some enemy target, a missile directed against any enemy missile is of no use.

GORDON: I don't think many people would accept that—that you just drop your defence and put all your efforts into offence. That doesn't make sense.

MACKLIN: Perhaps it doesn't make sense to the up and coming. It makes sense to an old blimp like me who recognizes that the hydrogen bomb is the absolute weapon.

TEMPLETON: Is there no defence, whether by manned interceptors or missiles such as the Bomarc? Is our only realistic defensive planning to be based on ability to retaliate in terms of mass destruction?

SIMONDS: That is right. That is the reality.

"Closing Off Arrow Was Clumsy, Abrupt"

TEMPLETON: What is Canada's role to be in relation to the Western alliance? Is she to be an autonomous member or is she to become a satellite?

LOWER: A satellite to whom? TEMPLETON: Premier T. C. Douglas of Saskatchewan has suggested we are in danger of becoming a satellite of the U.S.

SIMONDS: I think that is a lot of ballyhoo. It is an emotional appeal.

LOWER: Are we in any greater danger of becoming a satellite than are Great Britain or France? Britain has American air stations on her territory and is going to arm herself to some degree with American weapons. In a sense, all the Western powers are dependent on the U.S.

Simonds' Plan For Canada Defence Policy

Lt.-Gen. Guy Simonds' proposals for Canadian defense policy with the U.S.:

"The U.S. should pay all defence costs of all defence installations except the pay of Canadian servicemen.

"All construction and equipment, except for nuclear warheads and items impossible to manufacture in Canada, should be Canadian and made in Canada.

"The installations should be under the command of and manned by Canadians."

but does that make them satellites? The major problem between the members of the Western group is to make some kind of reasonable adjustment and to arrive at good understanding.

TEMPLETON: Do you think the Canadian ego precipitated the present problem with the Arrow by going ahead with it when aeronautical experts warned it would be obsolete. Ten years ago the U.S. informed Canada we didn't have the technical know-how for advanced defence production?

GORDON: One thing I would like to say is that the closing off of this project was unnecessarily clumsy and abrupt. I am reminded of the way in which the very large program of Defence Industries was wound up at the end of the war. Management, government, labor leaders and their people all worked together and managed to re-establish nearly all workmen in other walks of life with the minimum of fuss and trouble. The thing that bothers me about this business of the last few days is this: I question whether governments or corporations have the moral right to throw large numbers of people out of work suddenly without any planning for their re-establishment elsewhere.

MACKLIN: I agree. It is dreadful. SCHRUM: Who was responsible for the planning? Was the government alone responsible? I thought the Avro people certainly knew that, when the Russians launched their Sputnik, manned planes were obsolete. If they didn't know it earlier they learned it overnight.

"Why Make This Mechanism As a Kind of Showpiece?"

GORDON: I am not prepared to get into this name-calling argument. I don't know who is responsible, but I would say that everybody who had any part in this program was responsible for letting personal relationships deteriorate to a point where many thousands of people were suddenly abruptly told that they needn't bother to come to work the following week.

SCHRUM: I would agree with that, Mr. Gordon. I just thought the responsibility was being placed only in one place.

GORDON: No, I don't say that at all.

TEMPLETON: Let me go on to the role of the Canadian defence industry. Do you think, Mr. Gordon, that Canada will be relegated to the role of manufacturer, and if this is true will it not drain off the skilled engineers and technicians who have been developed here?

GORDON: I had expected, after the announcement last September, that this decision was inevitable. I expected the planned reduction in the program would be worked out in a way which would ease the blow. We have to make up our minds in Canada about what we want. I don't think that is practical for this country to go into the manufacture of every single thing that is made but we have a very large percentage of our total working force engaged in the manufacturing industries and we have got to, I think, take that into account.

LOWER: May I ask why we undertook the most expensive and intricate type of all defence mechanisms as a kind of showpiece? I have found it difficult to understand why we were not a little less ambitious. For example, do we even make ordinary gas engines in this country? I don't think we do.

GORDON: Our economy is just about as far from being a complete economy as that of any country I know.

TEMPLETON: The automobile industry in Canada is a subsidiary of the U.S. industry—in most part, duplicating American designs in Canadian plants—is this to be the future role of the aircraft industry?

LOWER: Are there any Canadian designers?

TEMPLETON: Were there not some involved in the Avro plant? LOWER: Where they end up is questionable.

TEMPLETON: You think then that is a problem that Canada faces? LOWER: Yes I do.

TEMPLETON: On the matter of the mutual dependence forced on us by the nuclear age; if a threat to the security of the U.S. appeared, would Canada be forced to surrender her sovereignty completely and would this be the first step toward the union of the two countries?

MACKLIN: This country could not possibly remain neutral if the U.S. was attacked by a major power such as Russia. The influence of geo-

graphy is always powerful on the history of all people. What will happen after World War III is something I wouldn't want to predict. I think civilization would have to start over again.

SCHRUM: We have to have complete integration in defence because we need maximum efficiency, but I don't think this integration should be carried over into peacetime, certainly so far as the political considerations are concerned, I am sure that Canadians don't want any part of it.

MACKLIN: Neither do I.

SCHRUM: Economically, we have to look at what is going on in Europe. We need a larger unit so I think that North America will have to become one large economic unit. Therefore it may be necessary for more integration on the economic scene.

SIMONDS: You will hear, daily, bankers and economists expressing concern about Canadians pricing themselves out of world markets in the economic field. Unless North America adopts a sound and more realistic military posture in the face of the threat there won't be any world markets in a few years except those controlled by the Communists. That's a fact we face.

TEMPLETON: If there is a great deal more integration in the economic field does this leave any real political independence?

SCHRUM: We could still have political independence, but Lower is the best man to talk about that.

LOWER: Let's take a look at Europe. Do you suppose for a moment that the people like the Dutch, the

Belgians, the Swiss, the Swedes, the Norwegians think they are losing their political independence? They are not merging their identities with those of their neighbors. They are co-operating and what country has been more fought over than Belgium. Conquered time and time again but always emerging as a separate nation.

SCHRUM: Everything depends on ourselves.

LOWER: If we wish to remain free from other people's dominance we will remain that way. If we wish to become part of the U.S., I suppose we will, though somebody said to me not long ago, at present we couldn't fight our way into the American union with fixed bayonets. Maybe there's a certain amount of truth in that.