

HIS311 – Jan 26, 2015

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

RECAP: Key dates *EXAM

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**

Some questions to explore.. *EXAM

- 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!

CA-U.S. Economic Disparities *EXAM

■ Per capita Annual Income 1940-1970

	1940	1950	1960	1970
United States	\$754	\$1,877	\$2,788	\$4,808
Canada	\$535	\$1,248	\$2,232	\$3,725

All figures in U.S. Dollars. Source: Robert Bothwell, *Canada & the United States: The Politics of Partnership*, 26.

The North Atlantic Triangle *EXAM



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

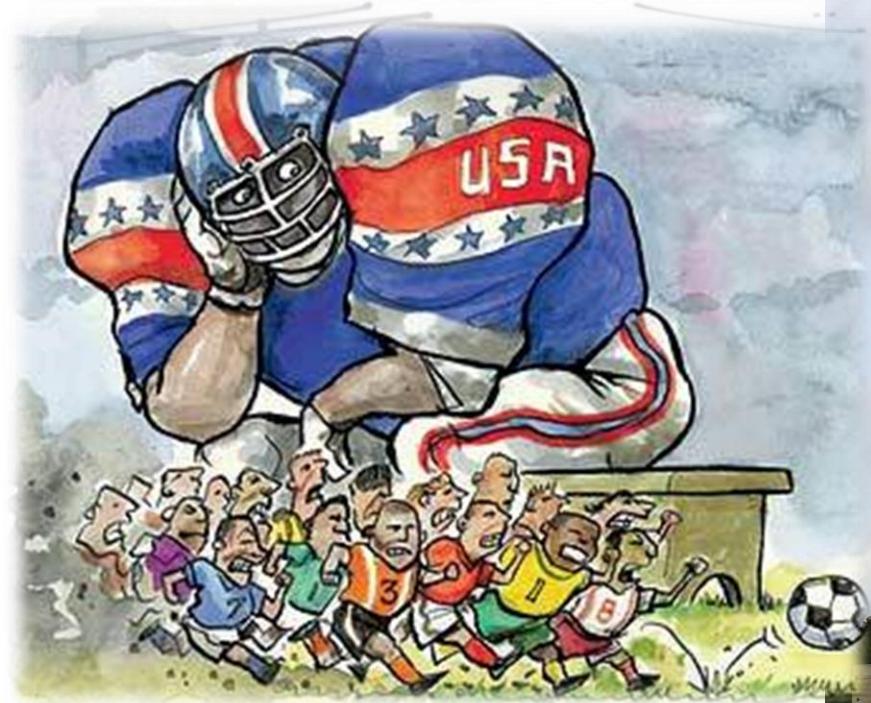




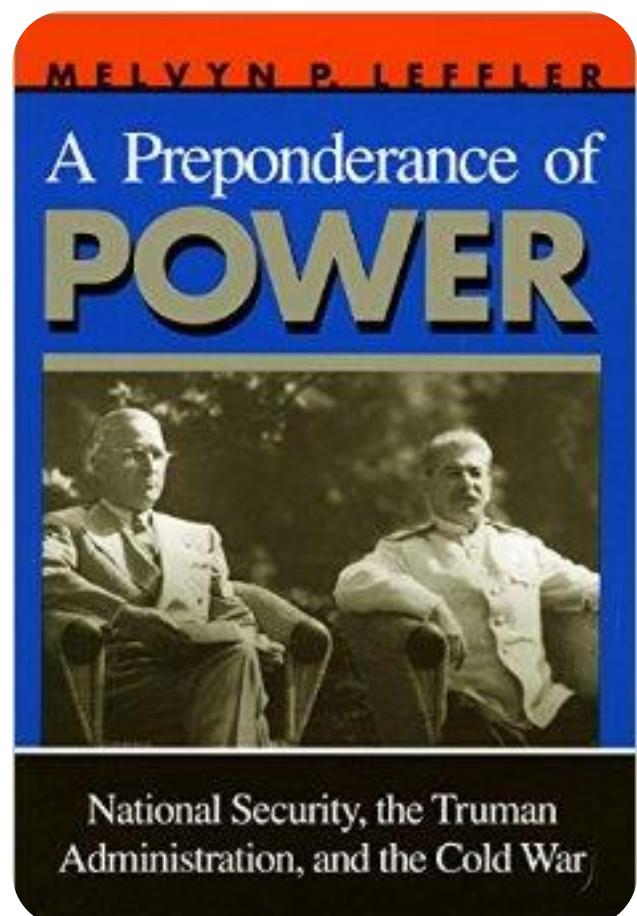
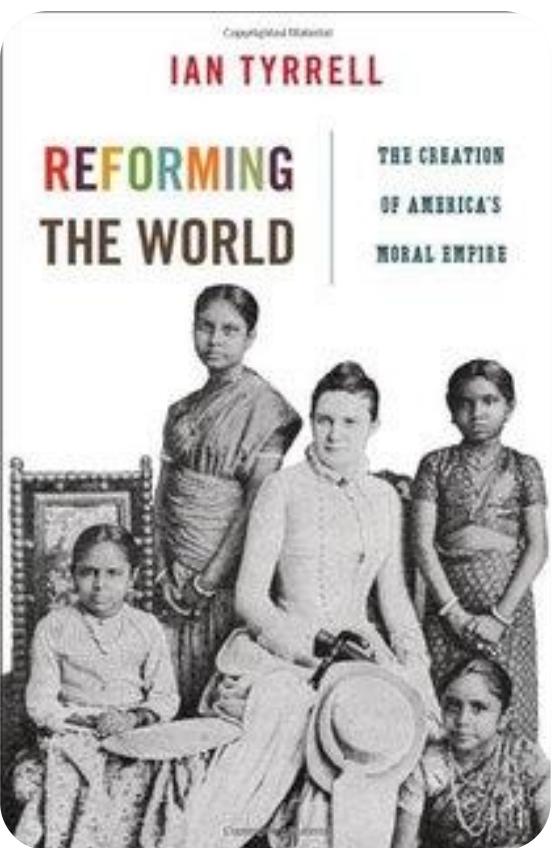
"I WONDER WHY MY RELATIONSHIP'S SO BAD WITH ALL YOU NATIONS
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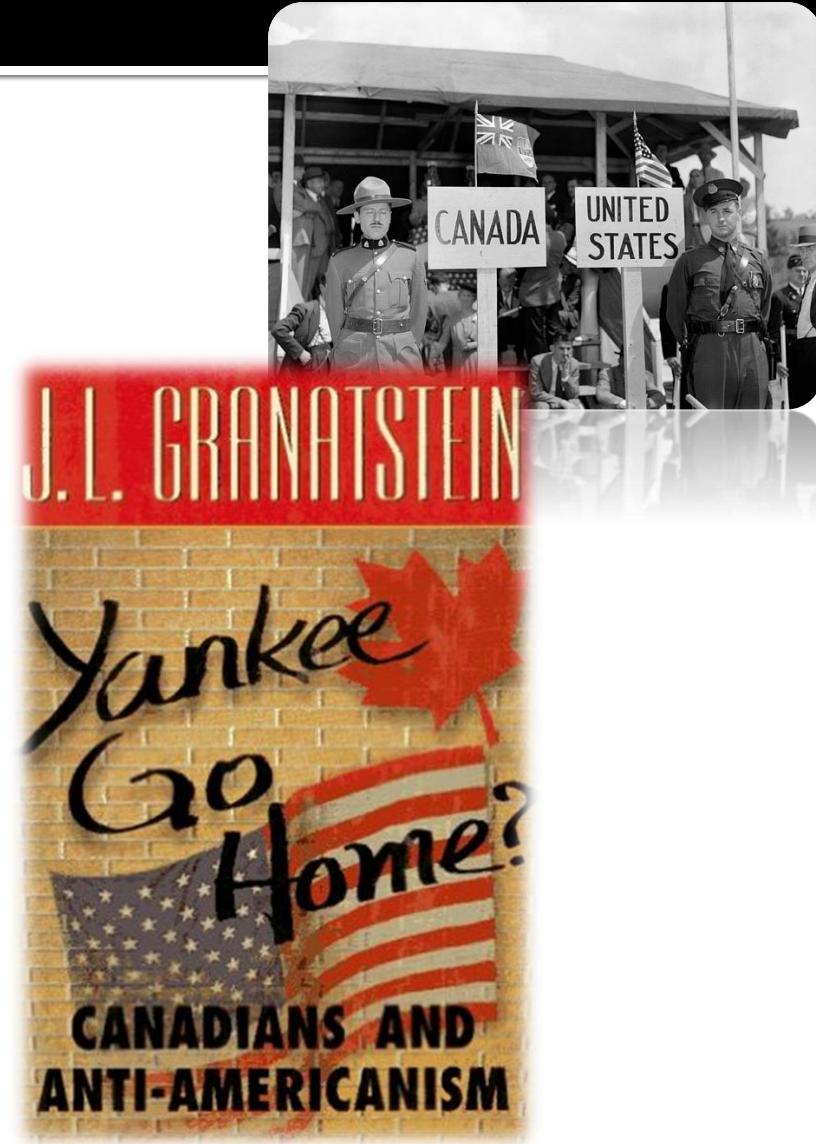


A new “operating framework”?



Canada & Anti-Americanism*exam

- 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



Canada-U.S. relations in quotes

**“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*



Chronology of leadership *EXAM

Canada	United States
W.L. Mackenzie King (35-48)	Franklin D. Roosevelt (33-45)
Louis St. Laurent (48-57)	Harry S. Truman (45-53)
John G. Diefenbaker (57-63)	Dwight D. Eisenhower (53-61)
Lester B. Pearson (63-68)	John F. Kennedy (61-63)
Pierre E. Trudeau (68-79)	Lyndon B. Johnson (63-69)
	Richard Nixon (69-74)
	Gerald Ford (74-77)

CANADA-US Relations >>>

Key turning points....



WWII & Canada-U.S. relations

- 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.

U.S. State Department 1948

“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!**

RECAP: Strategies of “Containment”

- **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** (47): the US pledges to provide economic/military/political support to societies under threat from authoritarianism
- **The Marshall Plan** (48): USD \$13 billion for the rebuilding of Western Europe (about \$130 billion in today's terms)



NATO & “Collective Defence”

- 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



Dwight D. Eisenhower & Canada

- 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

NORAD 1957 *EXAM

- 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)



JFK Inaugural Address (clip)



In the meanwhile in #CANADA

- 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)



JFK & Dief the Chief



**President JFK's State Visit
to Ottawa (May 1961)**

DIEF vs JFK: Personality issues

- 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

JFK & Dief the Chief

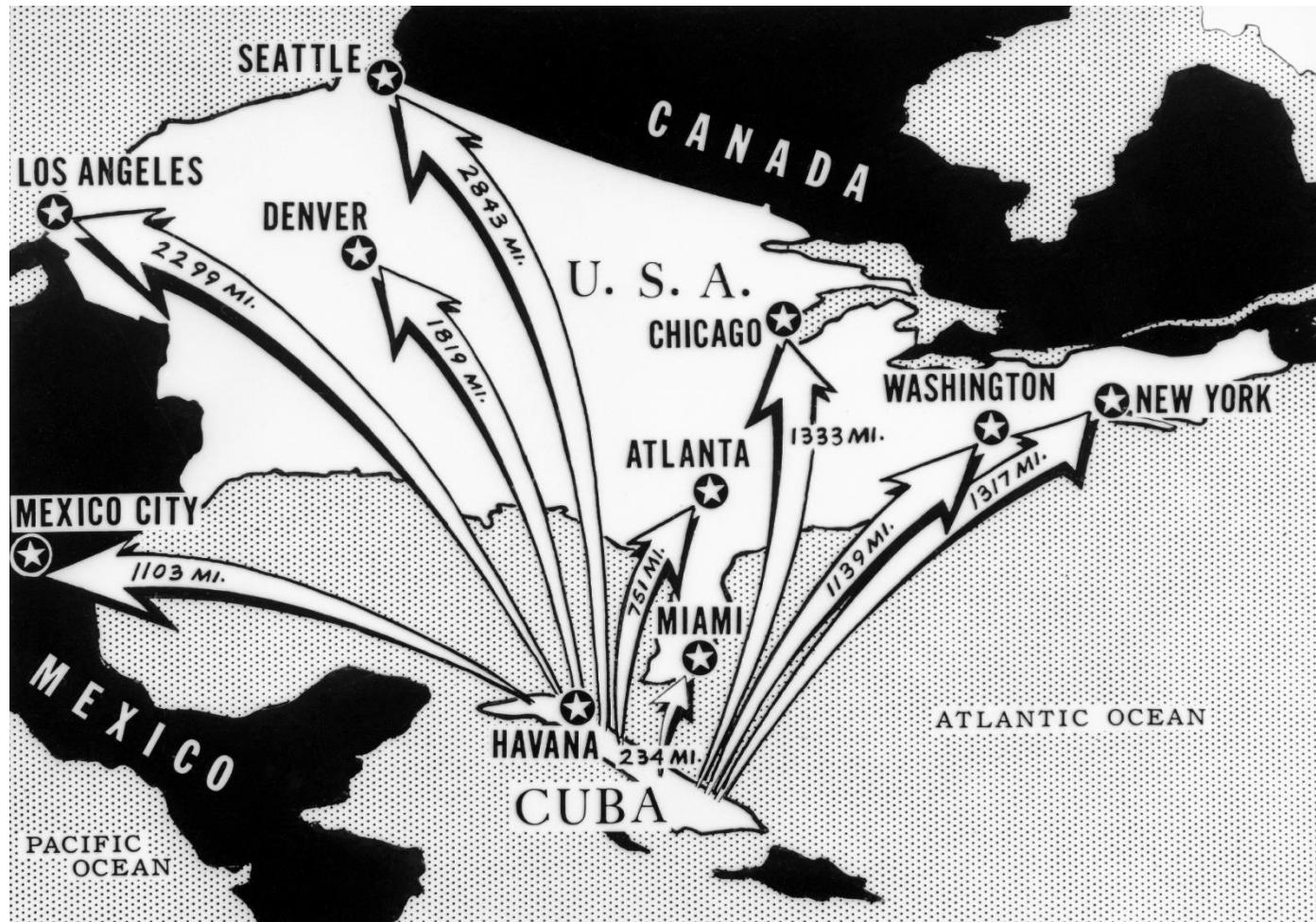


President JFK at a tree planting ceremony in Rideau Hall, Ottawa

TRAVEL TO: CUBA



Cuban Missile Crisis (Oct 1962)



The Cuban Missile Crisis

- 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



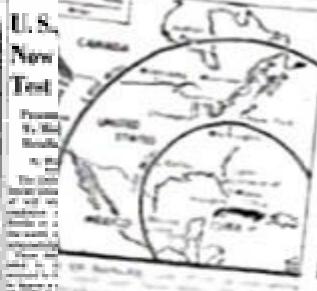
Kennedy Orders Blockade of Cuba As Reds Build Nuclear Bases There; U. S. Will Sink Defiant Arms Ships

Navy to Stop
And Search
Cargo Craft

Reds
Encroaching
On the American Side

On the Side

Reds
Sinking
American Ships



Russia Near
Down: Ships
Toward Cuba

President Calls Off
All Campaign Trips

Grids Sinks
Stock Prices
Plummeting

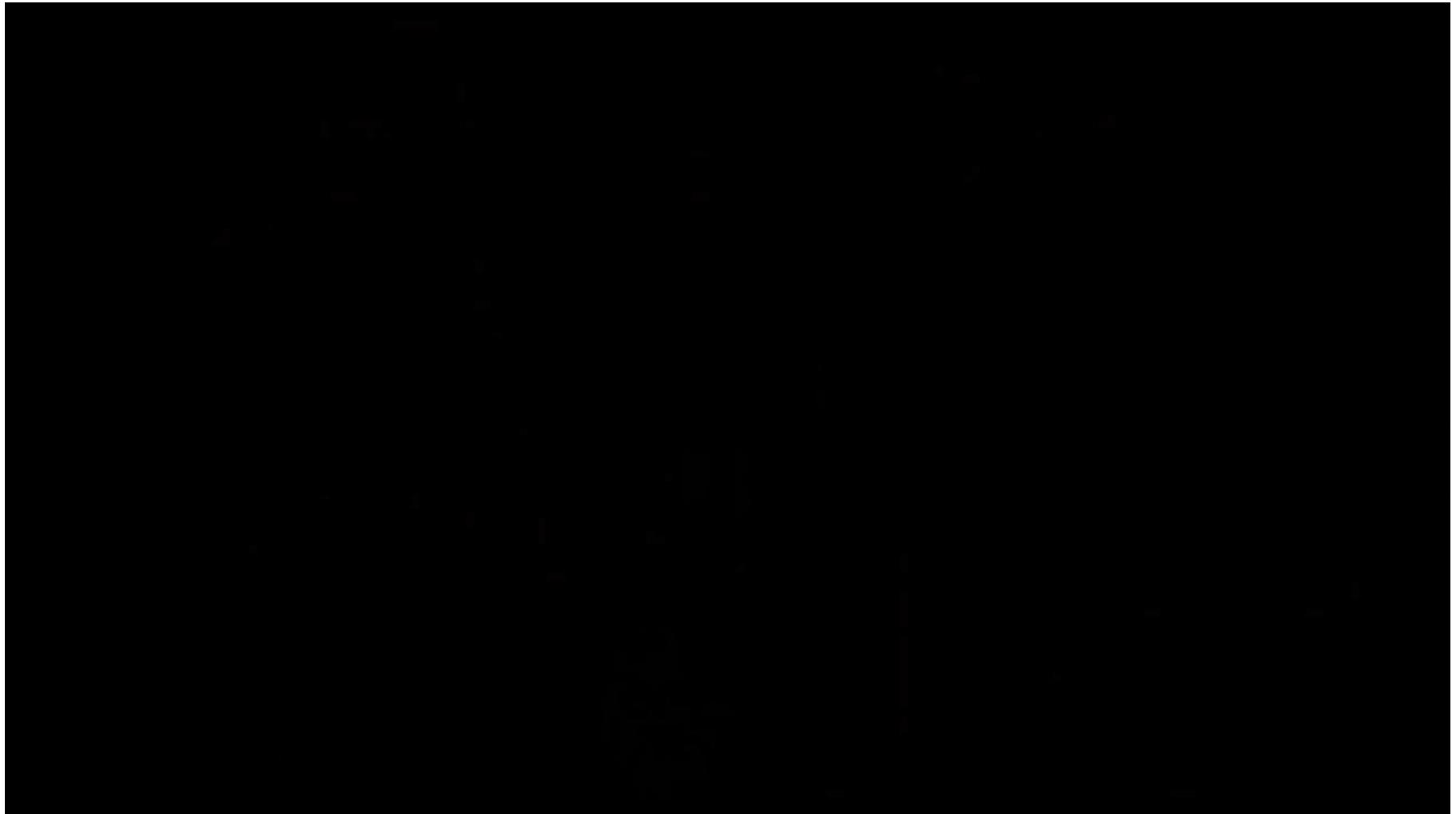
© Channel 5

THE LAWTON CONSTITUTION RUSSIA SAYS BLOCKADE 'STEP TO NUCLEAR WAR'



OAS Backs Up Soviet Servicemen
Plans To Curb Discharges Halted,
Cuba Buildup All Leaves Canceled

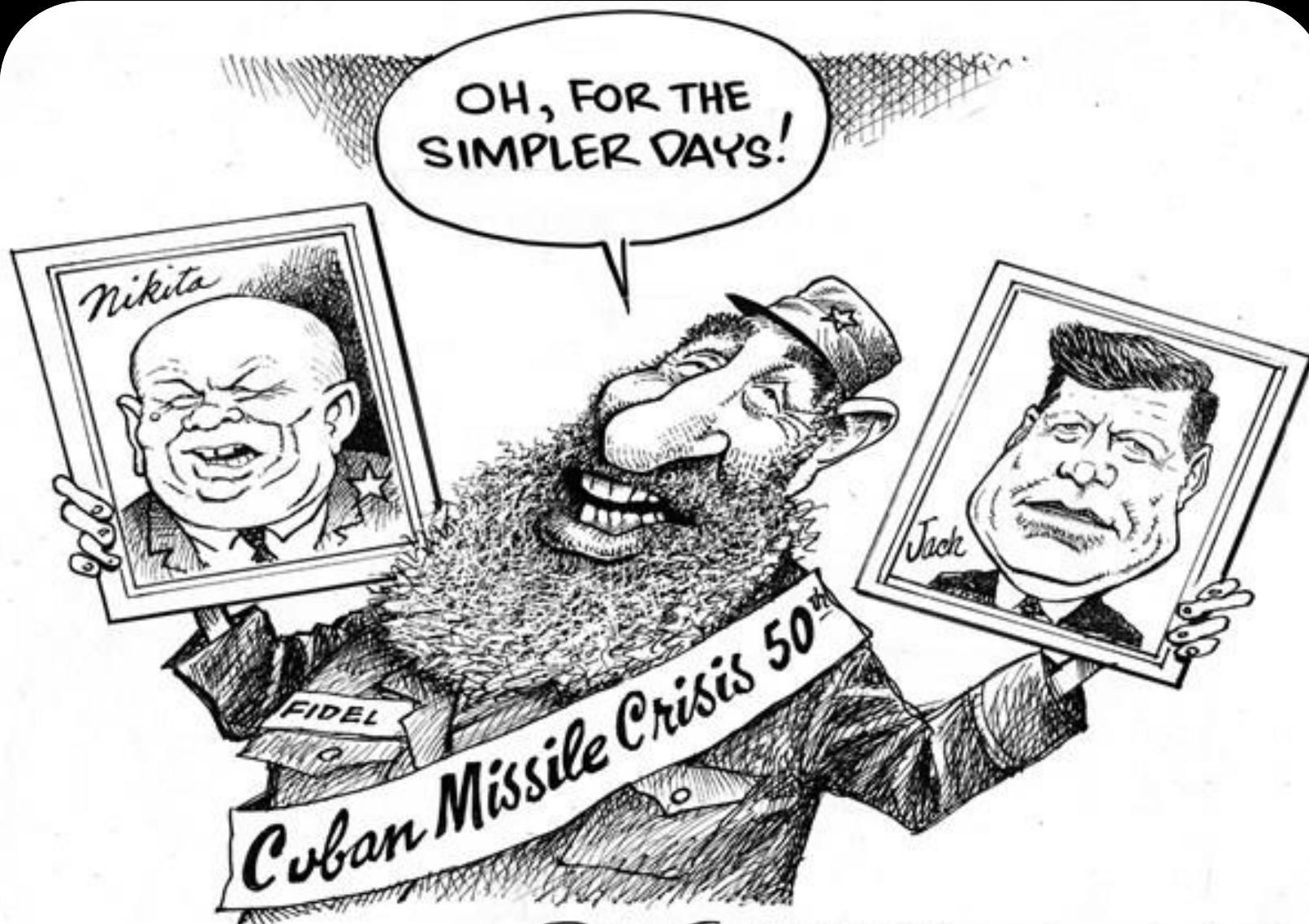
A movie clip: “Thirteen Days”



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



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RECAP for the Exam

- 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**