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EXTERNAL AFFAIRS

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Department of External Affairs
Ottawa, Canada

NORTH ATLANTIC COUNCIL MINISTERIAL MEETING, PARIS, DECEMBER 15-18, 1952

SINCE APRIL 1952, when the reorganization agreed to at Lisbon came into effect the North Atlantic Council has been meeting continuously in Paris. Member countries have appointed Permanent Representatives to speak for them at the Council, and from time to time some Ministers have attended Council meetings. In this way much useful work has been accomplished in strengthening the defences of the Alliance, particularly now that NATO has passed from the initial planning stages to the operational stage, where more attention must be given to the day-to-day problems that arise from integrating the national forces at the disposal of Supreme Commanders into an effective international defensive force. This growing defensive co-operation has brought with it a closer integration in other fields, and the Council has, therefore, had to deal with all manner of questions arising in the political, economic and social fields as well as problems of a more strictly military character. It has always been recognized, however, that there was great advantage in providing an opportunity for Foreign, Defence and Finance Ministers of the NATO countries to meet together to go over the many questions of common concern, and it had not been intended that such meetings of Ministers should only take place at critical times. There was general agreement that a meeting of Ministers would be useful before the end of 1952 and, consequently, one was called under the chairmanship of Mr. Kraft, Foreign Minister of Denmark, for the main purpose of hearing reports on the progress in the civil and military spheres and reviewing the operation of the organization and its plans for the immediate future.

Report of the Secretary-General

The Secretary-General, Lord Ismay, presented his first report to the Council. In this he outlined the organization of the International Secretariat, which was established after the Lisbon meeting, and reviewed the various activities in the civil field which had been undertaken by the Council. His report described the development of close working relations between NATO's civilian and military authorities, which is particularly necessary when it is realized that the responsibility for final recommendations to NATO members of all questions, military as well as civil, rests with the Council.

The Secretary-General's report also described the constructive work of the Council in the fields of civil defence, and of the non-military aspects of the Treaty covered by Article II. Under this heading, the Council had devoted particular attention to questions of over-population and to social, cultural and informational matters. The question of adequate public information on NATO subjects remains one of the most important, requiring continuous attention and development.

As has been their practice, the Ministers took the opportunity of their meeting to exchange views and information on political problems affecting their common interests. Particular attention was paid to the struggle in Indo-China, to the European Defence Community Treaty, and to the situation in Eastern Germany. These discussions had been carried out from time to time by Permanent Representatives in the Council and have proved to be one of the most useful developments in NATO. On this occasion it was noted in particular that, despite repeated declarations of the Soviet Union favouring a German peace treaty and German unification, no reply had been received to the proposals of the United Kingdom, France and the United States sent three months ago to the U.S.S.R.

In the military sphere, the Council approved several recommendations put forward by the Military Advisers. The European command structure for the defence of



NATO MEETING IN PARIS

A meeting of the North Atlantic Council was held at NATO Headquarters in the Palais de Chaillot December 15-19. Canadian representatives there included (front row, left to right): Mr. L. D. Wilgress, Under-Secretary of State for External Affairs; Mr. D. C. Abbott, Minister of Finance; Mr. Brooke Claxton, Minister of National Defence; Mr. A. D. P. Heeney, Canadian Permanent Representative to NATO.

the North Atlantic area was completed by the establishment of a Mediterranean Command. Admiral Lord Mountbatten, R.N., was appointed Commander-in-Chief Mediterranean under General Ridgway, the Supreme Allied Commander Europe.

The Council approved the Strategic Guidance drawn up by the Military Committee to take into account the accession of Greece and Turkey to NATO. When approving this paper, the Council reaffirmed their determination to defend, without qualification, all the territories and peoples of the North Atlantic Treaty area.

The Council had invited the two Supreme Commanders, General Ridgway and Admiral McCormick, to make statements regarding their commands. They both paid tribute to the high quality of the forces assigned to them and, while recognizing that the decision regarding the forces which would be placed at their disposal rested with the Council, they both stressed the necessity of continuing the force build-up in order to make it possible for them to carry out their responsibility.

Continuing Requirements

One of the continuing requirements of the NATO forces is for permanent installation such as aerodromes, jet-fuel facilities and signals for the common use of these forces. Programmes for financing these facilities, known as "infrastructure", had been approved by the Council on previous occasions, and they were already under construction. As more forces were put at the disposal of NATO commanders and as steps were taken to work them into an integrated operational defensive force, the lack of

adequate facilities of this kind became increasingly significant. The Supreme Commanders had therefore suggested to the Military Committee that an additional infrastructure programme should be undertaken by member countries in 1953. Funds could not be made available to provide all that had been recommended. However, Ministers were able to approve a programme costing approximately £80 million and deferred a decision on the rest of the recommended programme until a future meeting.

The Military Committee report showed that there had been a great advance in the training and effectiveness of the various national forces assigned to the Supreme Commanders and described the combined land, air and sea manoeuvres that had been carried out to improve the co-operation between units and the staff organization. It was agreed that, to the extent that resources may not be available to accomplish everything the military planners consider desirable, more emphasis should, in future, be given to increasing the effectiveness of the forces and of the support units rather than to the provision of greater numbers of divisions.

Annual Review

This point of view will be kept in mind when the Annual Review, which is now in progress, reaches its final stage in the Spring of 1953. This comprehensive study of national-defence programmes has been undertaken as a result of the successful review carried out in 1951-52 by a Temporary Committee of the Council set up by the Council meeting in Ottawa. That Committee had reported on the economic and political factors that influenced the various national defence programmes. Both civil and military authorities realize that the strength of the NATO alliance cannot be expressed solely in terms of troops. Its strength depends on the individual strength of each of the member countries, and they in turn must be economically healthy and politically stable in order to play their part in the defence of the Atlantic area. The Council therefore directed that the detailed study of defence programmes should be undertaken again in order to determine the best efforts members could make to meet all the requirements of the strong alliance.

The Annual Review (1952) is being carried out by the International Secretariat under the direction of the Council and with the assistance of national delegations. The first report, which was presented to the Ministers at Paris, disclosed that the force goals for 1952 have been substantially achieved. Plans indicate further individual and collective efforts will be made in 1953 to increase, improve and strengthen the forces now in being. By the time the Review is completed next Spring, the Supreme Commanders should have a more definite idea of the forces which will be put at their disposal during the coming period.

The Ministers decided that they should meet again in the Spring of 1953, when the final report on the Annual Review is ready in order to reach agreement on the best contributions each could make to the integrated forces. The text of the final communique issued at the conclusion of the Ministerial Meeting is given below.

NORTH ATLANTIC COUNCIL FINAL COMMUNIQUE

December 19, 1952.

The Ministerial Meeting of the North Atlantic Council ended in Paris today. The Chairman was Mr. Ole Bjorn Kraft, Foreign Minister of Denmark. It was attended by thirty-two Ministers of Foreign Affairs, Finance, Economics and Defence.

2. The Council received a progress report by the Secretary-General, which outlined the structure of the International Secretariat. It described the work accomplished in the last eight months by the Council, meeting regularly through the Per-

manent Representatives, and the development of close working relations between NATO's civilian and military authorities. It also dealt with the constructive work of the Council's Committee on Civil Defence, and of those concerned with non-military aspects of the Treaty covered by Article 2, such as over-population and social-cultural and informational matters.

3. After taking note of Lord Ismay's report, the Council adopted a resolution periodically to review the Organization's work under Article 2 of the Treaty.

4. In parallel with the Secretary-General's report, the Council considered a progress report prepared by the Military Committee. This report showed a great advance in the training and effectiveness of the various national forces assigned to the Supreme Commanders. Combined land, air and sea manoeuvres had shown a marked improvement in co-operation between units as well as at the staff level. The report also showed a substantial advance in the standardization of international military procedures, notably in signals.

5. The Council approved proposals from the Military Committee for the establishment of a Mediterranean Command, so completing the European Command structure for the defence of the North Atlantic area. Admiral Lord Mountbatten has been appointed.

6. The Council considered the Strategic Guidance submitted to them by the Military Committee, which took account of the accession of Greece and Turkey to NATO. In approving it the Council re-affirmed their determination to defend all the territories and peoples of the North Atlantic Treaty area.

7. The Council also had the benefit of statements from the Supreme Allied Commander Europe, and the Supreme Allied Commander Atlantic. General Ridgway paid tribute to the high quality of the forces under his command but emphasized that only by a continuing increase in the forces assigned to him would he be able to carry out his responsibilities. Consequently, there could be no relaxation; on the contrary, every effort must be made to increase NATO armed strength as rapidly as possible. Admiral McCormick spoke in similar vein.

8. Against this background the Council then considered the first report on the Annual Review for 1952. They noted with satisfaction that the increase in forces agreed to at Lisbon had been substantially achieved by the end of 1952, and that it was planned to make further individual and collective efforts in 1953 to increase, improve and strengthen the forces now in being. At the same time they recognized that strong defence requires a healthy economy.

9. For the future, the Council directed that more emphasis should be given to increasing the effectiveness of the forces of the alliance and the units necessary for their support rather than to the provision of greater numbers, to the extent that resources were not available for both tasks. The Council noted the progress being made in the co-ordination of production of defence equipment and directed that further study be given to this and to further standardization in this field. The Council also welcomed the assistance given to European production by United States off-shore procurement contracts.

10. Agreement was reached on the financing of a further portion of the Infrastructure programme for airfields, communications and jet fuel supplies, to the amount of approximately £80 million.

11. During the past eight months, the Council have regularly exchanged views and information on political problems affecting their common interests. At this meeting the Council paid particular attention to the struggle in Indo-China, to the European Defence Community Treaty, and to the situation in Eastern Germany. They noted in particular that, despite the Soviet Union's repeated declarations favouring

a German peace treaty and German unification, no reply had been received to the proposals of the United Kingdom, France and the United States sent three months ago. The Council also received a progress report upon the work of the Interim Commission of the European Defence Community. The Council adopted resolutions (the texts of which have already been released) on Indo-China and the European Defence Community.

12. It was agreed that the next Ministerial Meeting of the Council should be held as early as possible in the Spring of 1953, when its first task will be to consider the final report on the Annual Review for 1952.

13. In the course of the present Meeting, the Council considered the present situation of the Atlantic community and its prospects for the future. In the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, fourteen sovereign states have developed a degree of voluntary co-operation without precedent in history. By combining their resources and their knowledge, by sharing the material burden of defence, by the constant practice of mutual consultation and mutual assistance, member states have already increased their common strength, understanding and unity.

14. Member governments are more than ever convinced that the course they have chosen is the best way of protecting their free society from direct or indirect Communist attempts to overwhelm it. Such improvement as has taken place in the general international situation can be attributed to the efforts which member governments have made in increasing their collective strength since the foundation of the alliance. If there were any relaxation in these efforts, there would be a corresponding increase in the dangers to which they are exposed. The increasingly successful co-operation of the fourteen member governments is a clear proof that the avowed intentions of the Soviet Government to sow dissension in the free world will not succeed.

15. The Council re-affirmed the purpose of their alliance as being for defence, for peace, and for security, and their resolve to extend the scope of their joint action, and collectively to preserve their common heritage of freedom. The Council welcomed the sense of unity which is steadily growing among the peoples of the Atlantic community.

IMPRESSIONS OF A UNESCO CONFERENCE

Dr. Myrtle R. Conway

Miss Conway, President of the Canadian Teachers' Federation and a Director of the Canadian Education Association wrote this article about half way through the Conference. She did not intend it to be in any sense a report of the proceedings but rather a series of impressions received by a Canadian participant.

In Paris, the Hotel Raphael, a quiet and comfortable centre, about a block from the Arc de Triomphe, is the headquarters of the Canadian Delegation. It was here that General Eisenhower stayed when he was in France during the closing phases of the Second World War.

Across the street is UNESCO House, where the sessions are held. This building, formerly the Majestic Hotel, has been converted into offices and assembly rooms; the shining mirrors, glistening chandeliers and carved woodwork of the walls and ceiling remind us of the historic days of nineteenth century France.

Impressive Setting

The setting of the first full meeting was impressive. At the front of the chamber hung the flag of the United Nations, while at the sides, in two groups of 32 and 33, hung the 65 flags of the member states of UNESCO, forming a rich background of colour. There are, at present, actually 59 states with voting rights. Amid the blazing lights of film-cameras and the flashing bulbs of press-photographers, Mr. Howland Sargeant, the retiring president of UNESCO and head of the United States delegation, declared the General Conference open. Readers may be interested to know that Mrs. Sargeant, who followed the sessions closely as a spectator, is Myrna Loy, the film actress.

The presence of numerous interpreters and the use of special equipment for simultaneous translation made it possible for delegates to listen to addresses in English, French and Spanish. Mr. Sargeant said that UNESCO had enjoyed seven years of steady growth. Through the work of 61 national commissions, through the interest of non-governmental organizations and through its own efforts, the organization was becoming known to people throughout the world. We must continue, the speaker declared, the unremitting search for ways of educating people to live as citizens both of their own nations and of a world community. We must learn to devote the creative spirit of mankind to the achievement of peace and security. To give some notion of what UNESCO was doing to forward these purposes, Mr. Sargeant briefly reviewed some of UNESCO'S activities in Korea, the Middle East and other parts of the world.

Much of the time, delegates were engaged in planning and putting into operation a "World Good Neighbour Programme". In such an atmosphere, one became acutely aware of the broadening horizons of the world. On my left sat Princess Ping Peang Yukanthor of Cambodia, a good neighbour who, following the continental custom, shook hands with me at least four times a day. Occasionally she rose to address the assembly in French. Before important votes, she and I would consult together and she never failed to understand my few French phrases.

Election of President

H. E. Sir Sarvepalli Radhakrishnan, chairman of the delegation from India, was unanimously elected president of the Conference. Ten vice-presidents were elected by secret ballot. Fifty-five countries voted, and I am proud to report that Canada headed the list, with 54 votes, a tribute to both Dr. Doré himself, who is admired by his colleagues, and to Canada as a nation, which enjoys cordial relations with many countries throughout the world.

Mr. Torres Bodet, in the report of the Director-General, emphasized the importance of UNESCO'S work in fundamental education. Illiteracy is at the root of many problems in the under-developed areas of the world. A training centre for Latin America has been opened at Patzcuaro, and another for the Arab states is being set up at Sirs-el-Layan. This year a parallel campaign for free compulsory primary education will be sponsored by UNESCO. A regional conference for southern Asia will be held in December in Bombay.

Literacy alone is not enough. Basic problems in improving standards of living must be tackled at the same time. To this end, UNESCO co-operates with the International Labor Office, the World Health Organization and the Food and Agriculture Organization.

Four seminars were organized this year — two in Europe, on workers' education, and on teaching about the United Nations and human rights, one in the United States, on the role of museums in education, and one in south Asia, on the education of youth for living in a world community.

Sixty-five technical assistance missions are operating in twenty-nine countries of Africa, Latin America, Asia, Europe and the Pacific. Two-thirds of the world's population live in under-developed areas, in countries unable to use their resources because of illiteracy, disease and lack of technical skill. Standards of living in such areas can be improved through technical assistance. UNESCO operates within the Technical Assistance Programme of the United Nations. For example, experts have been sent to Afghanistan to work on oil development, cotton production, control of animal diseases, education, child-feeding, malaria control, and sanitation. In the West Indies, an expert from Iceland was asked to give advice on the use of natural steam from volcanic springs to produce electric power.

Higher living-standards in other countries will create new markets for goods and make new products available to developed areas. Countries of low economic status resent the fact that people in other lands enjoy comforts and necessities which they cannot obtain. The "World Good Neighbour Programme" is a global effort for the achievement of peace, freedom and prosperity.

Director-General's Report

Delegates from forty-seven countries spoke in the debate on the Director-General's report. They congratulated Mr. Torres Bodet on the achievements of UNESCO in 1952. Many countries, including Sweden, Norway, Canada, Afghanistan, the United Kingdom, Australia, China, Philippines, South Africa, Israel, Korea, the United States and others, stressed the need for greater concentration of UNESCO'S activities and felt that priority should be given to certain important fields of work, in particular the fundamental education and technical assistance programmes.

From this point the work of the conference began to gain momentum. A Legal Committee of 15 members was set up to deal with matters requiring expert advice. Mr. Gerin-Lajoie was appointed to represent Canada on this committee.

One of the first questions to be faced was the right of the Chinese Republic (Formosa) to vote. The Nationalist Government has been in arrears of its payments to UNESCO, and, according to the constitution, it cannot enjoy the right to vote unless special authority is granted. It was decided to recommend to the General Conference that China be permitted to vote during the present session.

The admission of new member states (specifically, Spain) caused lively discussion and for a time the even tenor of the Conference was somewhat disrupted. Protests from both individuals and organizations against the admission of Spain had been received. However, the vote resulted in 44 countries in favour and 4 against, and Spain became a member. There were 7 abstentions and 3 absent. At the moment the result was announced, a shower of leaflets fell from the gallery and a French anarchist shouted "Down with Franco!" He was immediately removed from the



SEVENTH GENERAL UNESCO CONFERENCE

The Seventh General UNESCO Conference was held in Paris November 12-December 10 with H. E. Sir Sarvepalli Radhakrishman of India acting as chairman. Left to right: Professor E. Carneiro, Brazil; Mr. Torres-Bodet, Mexico, Director-General; Sir Sarvepalli Radhakrishman; and Mr. Howland Sargeant, United States of America, Secretary of the Plenary Conference.

building. The President, Sir Sarvepalli Radhakrishman, urged that this assembly be "conducted with decency and decorum". Then the names of Libya and Nepal were presented and both countries were admitted as new members by the unanimous vote of all countries present.

Uruguay had extended an invitation to UNESCO to hold the Eighth General Conference at Montevideo. There was disagreement on this matter. The United Kingdom, India and some others felt that, although it would help to interest Latin American countries in the work of UNESCO, the expenditure of \$550,000, the interruption of the Secretariat's work, and the inability of governments to send large delegations would offset the advantages of a session in Montevideo. Nevertheless, Brazil, China, Belgium, Pakistan, Lebanon and Italy strongly supported the resolution. They felt that the Conference was under a moral obligation to accept this invitation since in the past the Conference had been held in centres other than Paris, notably Beirut and Florence. The resulting vote was 28 for and 13 against with 12 countries, including Canada, abstaining.

Debate on Budget

On November 21, strong opposition to the budget estimate for the proposed programme for 1953-54 resulted in the debate continuing for two plenary sessions. The Director-General advocated "development" and felt that "stabilization" meant decay. He proposed a maximum assessment level of \$20,439,104. Switzerland, India, the Netherlands and Indonesia supported the increased budget.

The United Kingdom considered that the 1952 level should be maintained and the maximum assessment level should be \$17,436,000. This proposal was supported by Australia, Norway, Sweden, Denmark, and the United States, New Zealand, Canada, Cambodia, South Africa, and others.

"One would think UNESCO was being sold at auction", declared Mr. Carneiro of Brazil in an eloquent appeal. He was strongly supported by the delegation from Colombia, which argued that "those who do not step forward step backward", as well as Liberia, the Philippines, the German Federal Republic, Lebanon, Mexico and Burma.

France suggested a compromise figure of \$19,000,000 and Belgium and Greece suggested \$18,000,000.

A fifteen-minute suspension of the meeting to allow delegations to consult with each other was prolonged to 50 minutes. Finally the vote was taken on the United Kingdom's proposal and it was rejected by 32 votes to 19, with 3 abstentions. A vote was then taken on the Belgian compromise proposal of \$18,000,000 and adopted by 29 votes to 21, with 4 abstentions.

Resignation of Director-General

Although a compromise had been achieved, the decision of the Conference regarding the budget gave rise to new problems. The very next day, November 22, the Director-General feeling that he could not undertake a programme of development without increased finances, tendered his resignation. Mr. Carneiro, Chairman of the Executive Board, and Mr. Rikorikar (Yugoslavia), a member of the Executive Board, also resigned. Several speakers, including representatives of Colombia and Switzerland, urged that these resignations should not be accepted, but the Director-General stated that his decision was irrevocable.

The Director-General's resignation caused both surprise and consternation. Some delegates felt that it symbolized the growing tensions and disunity in the world. Unlike the United Nations, UNESCO has no member from the Soviet bloc, so that the main issues did not divide themselves into the usual East-West pattern.

At the time this article is being written (that is, well before the General Assembly has ended), the Conference is seeking to find a solution to the crisis. Since President Radhakrishnan has left for India, one of the vice-presidents, Mr. Sharif of Pakistan, has been chosen as acting president of the Conference. He has proved a tactful and even-tempered chairman, and through his efforts some of the bitter feelings aroused by the budget debate are being calmed.

In the meantime, the main work of the Conference, which consists of the Commissions (notably the Programme Commission, which is broken down into working groups on specific subjects) is continuing. Groups are meeting to discuss natural science, social science, mass communications and culture, and their recommendations will be made known to the General Conference in due course.

Considerable time having been devoted to general discussion of the section on education, the Programme Commission has set up a Working Party to discuss the proposed programme and resolutions and to report to the Commission at the end of the week. Long hours are being devoted to studying detailed plans for UNESCO'S educational programme; but we are encouraged by the remarks of Mr. Muang Pin Malakul of Thailand, who says: "Philanthropy in education is the best philanthropy. Education is the basis of a lasting peace." He reminds us also that the best things cannot always be accomplished quickly: "Education is a big undertaking and a slow process. Teaching is like the cultivation of an orchid. It takes time, but the flower it bears surpasses all others. We hope our efforts will bear flowers sooner than we expect."

In spare moments between sessions and during the noon hour at UNESCO House, delegates manage to gain much first-hand information. One may visit the Documents and Publications Division and discuss with Mr. Vranek the problems of the distribution of material. At lunch in a nearby restaurant, the Gift Coupon plan

is explained. In the corridor of UNESCO House, the model for UNESCO's permanent headquarters is on display.

On the sixth floor, one may see a series of films entitled "Knowing the World". "Geneological Tree", the Canadian film on the list, shows the origins of the Canadian people and the cultural and social contribution made by each ethnic group. Some others are: "Enfants de Hollande", showing the education, amusements and life of children in the Netherlands; "Antarctica 1948", showing the Australian expedition of the Antarctic, and one describing the main volcanoes of Japan.

Especially interesting is the exhibit showing the work in fundamental education at Patzcuaro, Mexico. Photographs, posters and textbooks for new literates tell the story of the effort being made to bring literacy to a region comprising 20 villages and populated by 10,000 people. Simple readable materials have been prepared on health, agriculture and citizenship. In this area 10 percent are literate; 40 percent are beginning to read, and 50 percent are illiterate. At first, people are suspicious of the specialists and student teachers, but gradually their attitudes change. In pictures made before the work was introduced children appear thin, untidy and miserable. Pictures made afterwards show clean and tidy children neatly dressed. Older girls learn how to make clothing. Sports and games are introduced. Tractors are being used instead of oxen. What an effect a world network of fundamental education centres would have on the millions who need them!

Personal Contacts

Not the least important among the many activities of the Conference are the human contacts. Bridges are built each time friends arrive at mutual understanding. Among the outstanding personalities present is Senator G. Pecson of the Philippines, who champions the cause of fundamental education and the education of women in Asiatic countries. When she returns to Manila, she will have circled the globe by plane on her trip to this assembly. The charming young Princess Souvanna Phouma heads a delegation of three representatives from Laos. Mr. J. King Gordon, well known in his home city, Winnipeg, and in other parts of Canada, is here as United Nations representative from New York. Dr. Francisco Villagran, delegate from Mexico, is trilingual, and says he considers himself part Canadian, as he spent two and a half years in Montreal a short time ago.

There are, of course, many distinguished and able figures here whom I do not know personally but have seen in action. H. E. Sir Sarvepalli Radhakrishnan, with his warm smile and wise words, won the confidence of the assembly completely. This scholarly Indian is the first representative of an Eastern nation to occupy the post of president of the General Conference. Author of several books on Eastern religion and philosophy, he has lectured in America on comparative religion and is Spaulding Professor of Eastern Religions and Ethics at Oxford.

Professor P. E. Carneiro of Brazil, formerly chairman of the Executive Board, is an eloquent and forceful speaker. He described his great vision of what UNESCO might accomplish in the future as follows: "It is incumbent upon the entire human race to safeguard the future of mankind by heeding the wisdom of the past, and enabling new peoples and new social classes to enter, through the door of science, education and culture, into the universal fraternity of mankind." Mr. René Cassin, of France, of the French Delegation, is a philosopher who looks like Victor Hugo and has something of his fire.

Many problems remain to be considered. Delegates realize that this conference is of no small account in the present state of world affairs. As member states of UNESCO, our countries have a responsibility, a trust to keep and maintain. Each year the importance of that trust increases. No matter how great the difficulties, we shall surmount them. We are not solitary adventurers. We are members of a growing brotherhood and the power to grow is one of the greatest forces in the world.

CO-ORDINATION OF CANADIAN POLICY AT THE UNITED NATIONS

In response to a request from the Secretary-General of the United Nations, the Secretary of State for External Affairs forwarded a special report on the formation of Canada's policy in United Nations matters. The text, which follows, may be of broad interest, since the processes it describes are similar to those followed in the shaping of Canada's foreign policies in other spheres.

Ever since the United Nations was established Canada has emphasized that, because of the autonomous character of each of the Specialized Agencies and because of the differences in the membership of the United Nations and the Agencies, effective co-ordination between the programmes, budgets and administrative practices of these organizations could be achieved only if each country took steps to ensure that its delegations to the meetings of the organizations pursued co-ordinated and mutually consistent policies. Such co-ordination on the national level is all the more necessary as the activities of the United Nations and its Agencies cover practically every aspect of the modern state's preoccupations and therefore involve, directly or indirectly, almost every department of national governments.

The essence of the Canadian system of government is the responsibility of the Cabinet to Parliament — and through Parliament to the Canadian people — for the policies of the Government on all national and international issues. Thus a study of the machinery for formulating, implementing and co-ordinating Canadian policy on United Nations matters, or indeed on any subject, must begin by emphasizing the paramount importance of the Canadian Cabinet. It is the chief instrument of co-ordination because it bears the ultimate responsibility for co-ordination. This is not to say that Cabinet alone can propose policy, or that Cabinet unaided must co-ordinate policy. Broad responsibility for proposing, interpreting, implementing, and co-ordinating policy, through procedures which are described in detail in the following paragraphs, is vested in the different government departments. The task of Cabinet is facilitated to the extent that consultation takes place and agreement is reached between interested departments before a submission to Cabinet is made. Cabinet's final responsibility however, cannot be delegated.

As the department of the Canadian Government entrusted with the conduct of foreign policy, the Department of External Affairs has general responsibility for Canadian relations with United Nations organizations. It exercises this responsibility in close co-operation with the other departments of the Canadian Government, the specialized functions and interests of which extend into the international field.

Allocation of Responsibility Among Departments

In respect of the recommendations of the United Nations on economic and social matters, the Department of External Affairs performs the following general functions:

- (a) it keeps the Government informed of major developments in the United Nations and the Specialized Agencies in order to enable it to assess the situation and determine the necessary action;
- (b) it formulates, either singly or with other departments, recommendations on policy for consideration by the Government;
- (c) it makes recommendations, either singly or with other departments, to the Government for Canadian representation at international conferences and for the briefing of Canadian delegations;

- (d) it consults with the foreign ministries of other governments and with the Secretary-General on United Nations matters, through Canadian missions abroad and through the Canadian Permanent Delegations to the United Nations in New York and Geneva;
- (e) it provides general guidance and political advice to other departments and government agencies having special interest in specific aspects of the work of the United Nations, and acts as an agency co-ordinating their activities.

The Department of External Affairs has primary responsibility for advising the Government on international political questions and on the international political aspects of other questions discussed at meetings of United Nations bodies. It also deals in the first instance with a number of other questions which are not the direct concern of other departments, in particular constitutional and legal questions pertaining to United Nations bodies. The Department of External Affairs is also entrusted with making recommendations to the Government concerning Canadian relations with the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization. There is no department in the Canadian Government responsible for educational questions: provincial government have sole jurisdiction in this field.

The Department of External Affairs usually assumes primary responsibility for consultation with other government departments, for the preparation of recommendations on policy, and for the subsequent interpretation and presentation of policy at international meetings. However, on matters of a technical or highly specialized nature falling directly within the jurisdiction of other departments, this responsibility may be shared with, or vested in, the interested departments. For example, the Minister of Finance, as Canadian member of the Boards of Governors of the International Bank and of the International Monetary Fund is responsible for Canadian policies in these Agencies. The special interests of other departments or agencies of the Canadian Government are reflected by their participation in the formulation and presentation of Canadian policies in respect to the following United Nations bodies:

| <i>Canadian Department</i> | <i>United Nations Body</i> |
|---|--|
| Agriculture | Food and Agriculture Organization |
| Citizenship and Immigration | Office of the High Commissioner for Refugees |
| Civil Service Commission | All United Nations bodies (personnel questions) |
| Dominion Bureau of Statistics | Statistical Commission of the Economic and Social Council Population Commission of the Economic and Social Council |
| Finance | All United Nations bodies (administrative and budgetary questions) Fiscal Commission of the Economic and Social Council |
| Finance (in consultation with the Bank of Canada) | International Bank for Reconstruction and Development International Monetary Fund |
| Justice | Human Rights Commission of the Economic and Social Council <i>Ad Hoc</i> Committee on Restrictive Business Practices of the Economic and Social Council |
| Labour | International Labour Organization |

| | |
|-----------------------------|---|
| National Defence | Disarmament Commission Collective Measures Committee United Nations Military Observers (for example, in Kashmir) |
| National Health and Welfare | World Health Organization United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund Social Commission of the Economic and Social Council Narcotics Commission of the Economic and Social Council |
| Post Office | Universal Postal Union |
| Transport | International Civil Aviation Organization International Telecommunications Union World Meteorological Organization Transport and Communications Commission of the Economic and Social Council. |

The above list is not exhaustive. It is intended merely to indicate which Canadian departments have major and continuing functions with respect to various units in the United Nations system. In some instances, however, more than one department is involved. It is obvious, for instance, that the health and social security aspects of the work of the International Labour Organization require the attention of the Department of National Health and Welfare as well as that of the Department of Labour. Other United Nations problems are of almost equal concern to several departments. International discussions of such broad economic and political questions as the annual review of the world economic situation, full employment and the economic development of under-developed countries usually involve consideration of important policies affecting more than one department of the Canadian Government. It is the duty of the Department of External Affairs to bring questions of this sort to the attention of the interested departments in order to ensure that the views of those departments are taken fully into account when Canadian policies are decided upon. At the same time, the Department of External Affairs itself must provide guidance on the international political aspects of the questions.

Functions of UN Division

The many United Nations subjects for which the Department of External Affairs accepts initial responsibility — and they are the majority of United Nations subjects — are assigned, for the initial preparation of policy recommendations, to appropriate divisions within the Department. The Department's divisions are either "area" divisions or "functional" divisions and each United Nations subject usually falls logically within the competence of one division. Thus, the United Nations action in Korea is a question for the American and Far Eastern Division, the question of the Greek children is the concern of the European Division, the United Nations Disarmament Commissions is handled by one of the Department's two Defence Liaison Divisions, the proposal for an international development fund is dealt with by the Economic Division, the question of reservations to multilateral conventions is a matter for the Legal Division, and so on. Co-ordination in matters of policy on *all* United Nations questions is the primary responsibility of the United Nations Division. It keeps the area and functional divisions of the Department of External Affairs and other government departments informed on problems arising in the United Nations which are of particular interest to them. With their assistance and upon their advice, it drafts replies to communications from the Secretary-General and prepares reports requested

by United Nations bodies. It compiles instructions for Canadian delegations to sessions of the General Assembly, of the Economic and Social Council, and of some of the Specialized Agencies, and it reviews, in its function as co-ordinator, the instructions for delegations to other United Nations bodies. It also prepares, for the information of Parliament and of the Canadian public, periodic reports on Canadian activities in the United Nations and the Specialized Agencies, for example, the annual publication *Canada and the United Nations*, and the section on the United Nations in the Department's monthly bulletin *External Affairs*.

The main function of the United Nations Division, therefore, is one of co-ordination rather than one of recommending policy. Nevertheless, there are several sorts of matters in which the United Nations Division itself accepts initial responsibility. These include preparations for international meetings and the selection of delegations (in co-operation with the Department's International Conferences Section), elections to United Nations bodies and the election of officers within those bodies, the constitution of the United Nations and its membership, various administrative and financial questions (in conjunction with the Department of Finance), and a wide variety of incidental short-term matters. Of the Specialized Agencies, three have been assigned directly to the United Nations Division: the World Health Organization, the International Labour Organization, and the Universal Postal Union. (Six other agencies — the Bank, the Fund, the Food and Agriculture Organization, the International Civil Aviation Organization, the International Telecommunications Union, and the World Meteorological Organization — have been assigned to the Economic Division of the Department of External Affairs, while the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization comes under the Information Division.)

Inter-departmental Consultation

Inter-departmental consultation is carried out in a number of ways. In addition to the usual exchange of correspondence and telephone calls, the following devices have been developed:

(a) **Ad Hoc Meetings**

These are convened at the suggestion of External Affairs, or of any other interested department, to deal with specific problems. Officials of each department dealing with those problems attend. Much use is made of this device, particularly when questions are being first explored. It has the great advantage of being flexible and capable of producing speedy action.

(b) **Inter-Departmental Committees**

These are usually established by Cabinet direction and are composed of deputy ministers or their representatives. Only a few such committees have been set up as a direct result of Canadian participation in the United Nations; an example is the Inter-Departmental Committee on the Food and Agriculture Organization. In general, however, United Nations questions are referred whenever necessary to existing inter-departmental committees whose responsibilities are not confined to United Nations matters. Examples are the inter-departmental committees which deal with external trade, civil aviation and immigration.

(c) **Inter-Departmental Group on Technical Assistance**

All Canadian activities with regard to technical assistance, either under the programme of the United Nations and its Specialized Agencies, under the Colombo Programme for Technical Co-operation, or in response to direct requests from foreign governments, are co-ordinated by a Technical Co-operation Service. This Service is a part of the International Economic and Technical Co-operation Division in the Canadian Department of Trade and Commerce. The Director of the Division reports to an Inter-Departmental

Group on Technical Assistance, which supervises all Canadian technical assistance activities. Members of the Group are drawn from interested government departments and its chairman is an official of the Department of External Affairs.

Conclusion

The Canadian system for arriving at co-ordinated and mutually consistent policies in United Nations matters has two main features: responsibility and flexibility. Ultimate responsibility rests with a single body — the Canadian Cabinet — which approves and accepts responsibilities for the policies which are to be advocated by Canada in United Nations bodies. Below this level, responsibility for a number of subjects is assigned to the different departments which have an interest in those subjects. Residual responsibility rests with the Department of External Affairs and, within it, with its United Nations Division, for dealing with subjects which are not the direct concern of any other department, and for ensuring that subjects which were not foreseen in the inter-departmental division of responsibility are dealt with in the appropriate place. The same department and division have primary responsibility for co-ordination of policy on all United Nations subjects, and for ensuring that all interested authorities are consulted before decisions are taken. Within this framework of responsibility, procedures have been developed whose object is to provide the greatest possible degree of flexibility — to ensure that prompt, intelligent and consistent decisions are taken on the multitude of questions which arise as a result of Canada's association with the United Nations.

CANADA AND THE UNITED NATIONS

Seventh Session of the General Assembly

General

The seventh session of the General Assembly, which opened on October 14, was suspended on December 22 to meet again on February 24 or possibly earlier, at the call of the President. Since there is still an agenda of ten items to be discussed, a final assessment of the work done by the seventh session must be postponed to a later issue of *External Affairs*. But in view of the very important international problems already dealt with, the work of the first part of the session by itself deserves at least an interim evaluation.

Speaking as President of the General Assembly, Mr. L. B. Pearson, the Secretary of State for External Affairs, on December 22 issued a statement printed elsewhere in this number¹. In it the President touched upon the major issues so far dealt with: (1) the Korean question and the attempt to bring the fighting in Korea to an end on honourable terms; (2) the colonial and racial issues implicit in the terms on the agenda relating to race conflict in South Africa, the Moroccan and Tunisian questions, the problem of the Palestinian refugees and the establishment of peaceful relations between Palestine and the surrounding Arab states. An account of these matters is given below. On the whole, as appears from the President's statement, the discussions that took place and the resolutions adopted as a result represent an honest and constructive attempt to face some of the most serious of the world's problems, and have shown that the United Nations "remains — in spite of everything — our best hope for the establishment of peace and orderly progress".

Political Committee Topics

The topics discussed here in detail are chiefly those handled by the two political committees of the Assembly. In the economic, financial, social, legal and trusteeship fields, there is likely to be more continuity, and much basic and preparatory work is done in various organs and subsidiary bodies of the United Nations, such as the following: the Economic and Social Council; the Social Commission and Commission on Human Rights and other functional commissions of the Council; the Regional Economic Commissions; the Trusteeship Council, and the International Law Commission. The present session of the Assembly did not here strike out on any new path but contributed its share to this continuing task by reviewing the work of all these bodies. In the economic field the Assembly confirmed a proposal submitted by the Economic and Social Council for an expanded programme of \$25,000,000 for technical assistance during 1953. The United Nations, United States and Commonwealth programmes of technical assistance are the subject of an article in the December 1952 issue of *External Affairs*². The Fourth (or Trusteeship) Committee had a full schedule of work covering not only the regular reports presented to the Assembly on dependent territories but also certain specific problems in regard to trust and non-self-governing territories. During its deliberations, the Committee heard representatives of the inhabitants of several of the trust territories, who made statements concerning conditions that they believed required corrective action by the administering states. Much time was spent in debating the role that should be played by the natives of dependent territories in the work of the Trusteeship Council and of the Committee on Information from Non-Self-Governing Territories. This latter Committee examines and reports to the Assembly on the information transmitted by member states concerning the colonial territories under their administration. It is not a

¹ See p. 27.

² See *External Affairs*, December 1952, p. 398.

permanent Committee of the Assembly and, at the seventh session, it was decided to continue its life for a further three-year period. Another item regarding colonial territories, of considerable interest to both administering and non-administering states, concerned the study of factors that might be taken into account in determining whether a territory has become independent or self-governing. The Assembly approved the formation of an *ad hoc* committee to continue the study of this problem and to report to the eighth session on its findings.

When the session resumes, probably on February 24, the agenda before it will contain a number of items calculated to emphasize the contentious issues dividing the members of the United Nations — such, for instance, as the item proposed by the Soviet Union regarding the alleged interference of the United States in the internal affairs of other states, and the item sponsored by the United States calling for an impartial investigation of charges of bacteriological warfare. The Assembly will also have to deal with the very serious domestic problems created for the United Nations by the resignation of the Secretary-General and the recent review of personnel policy in the Secretariat. It cannot be said, therefore, that the seventh session of the General Assembly has yet finished dealing with the difficult and important questions brought before it; but the work of the early part of the session, some of which is described more fully below, indicates that at least a good beginning has been made.

Korea

On October 8, the armistice negotiations at Panmunjom were adjourned by General Harrison, on behalf of the United Nations Command, after the Communist representatives had rejected the compromise proposals on the prisoner-of-war issue put forward by the UNC on September 28. Shortly afterwards the seventh session of the General Assembly opened and the Korean question was taken up as the first item on the agenda of the First (Political) Committee. In the course of a debate lasting almost six weeks, a number of draft resolutions were submitted. They centred for the most part on the disposition of prisoners of war who did not wish to return home. This is the principal issue preventing the completion of an armistice agreement, since the Communist Chinese and North Korean Governments insist on repatriation of all prisoners and the United Nations Command has refused to accept an obligation to force repatriation on prisoners who are unwilling to return home.

The first resolution was sponsored by twenty-one powers (including Canada and the United States) and called for approval of the "principle followed by the United Nations Command with regard to the question of repatriation of prisoners of war". It also called on the Peking Government and the North Korean authorities "to avert further bloodshed by having their negotiators agree to an armistice which recognizes the rights of all prisoners of war to an unrestricted opportunity to be repatriated and avoids the use of force in their repatriation". In agreeing to co-sponsor this resolution, the Canadian representative stated our willingness to consider any other suggestions or courses of action which might lead to an honourable settlement.

A draft resolution sponsored by the Mexican delegation provided in effect for the immediate release of all prisoners of war who wished to return home, and called upon members of the United Nations to agree to give asylum to those prisoners who had refused to be repatriated. On October 29, the Soviet representative introduced a vaguely-worded resolution calling for the establishment of a commission "for the peaceful settlement of the Korean question". In its final form, after revisions, the Soviet resolution proposed a commission of eleven members: Burma, Communist China, Czechoslovakia, France, India, North Korea, South Korea, Switzerland, the Soviet Union, the United Kingdom and the United States. Decisions of the commission were to be a two-thirds vote, thus giving to the group of four Communist states

a veto on decision. As finally revised, the resolution would also have referred to this proposed commission "the question of the complete repatriation of prisoners of war".

During debate it became apparent that none of these resolutions was likely to receive a large majority vote in the Assembly. In an effort to break the deadlock, the Indian delegation introduced a resolution providing for the repatriation of prisoners of war in accordance with the Geneva Convention, and stated that force should not be used either to prevent, or to effect, the return of prisoners to their homelands. It called for the establishment of a repatriation commission, to consist of four states already agreed upon in the Draft Armistice Agreement as being members of the Neutral Nations Supervisory Commission — namely, Czechoslovakia, Poland, Sweden and Switzerland. In addition, an "umpire" was to be appointed who would normally act as chairman of the commission. If the commission proved unable to agree on the selection of an "umpire" within a period of three weeks, the matter was to be referred to the General Assembly. The main tasks of the proposed commission were to receive the prisoners of war from the detaining powers, to supervise their classification according to nationality and domicile, and to arrange for their release and repatriation in accordance with the Geneva Convention. After classification, all prisoners would be free to return to their homeland if they wished to do so.

India Resolution

The Indian resolution was the subject of considerable discussion, particularly regarding the disposition of those prisoners of war who did not wish to return home. In its final form, as amended in debate, the resolution provided that, at the end of a period of 90 days after the armistice agreement had been signed, the question of the disposition of such prisoners would be referred to the political conference to be called under Article 60 of the Draft Armistice Agreement. If the political conference could not reach agreement on the disposition of these remaining prisoners within a further period of 30 days, it was provided that "the responsibility for their care and maintenance and for their subsequent disposition shall be transferred to the United Nations which, in all matters relating to them, shall act strictly in accordance with international law".

A decision to grant priority of consideration to the Indian resolution was taken on November 26 by the Political Committee, which adopted the resolution on December 1 by a vote of 53 in favour, 5 against, and 1 abstention. On December 3, 1952, it was adopted by the Assembly by a vote of 54 in favour (including Canada), 5 against (the Soviet bloc), and one abstention (Nationalist China).

On December 5, the President of the Assembly transmitted the resolution to the Foreign Ministers of Communist China and of North Korea, with an appeal asking the two governments to accept the resolution "as forming a just and reasonable basis for an agreement which will serve to bring about a constructive and durable peace in Korea".

On December 14, Chou En-lai, Foreign Minister of the Peking Government, replied, rejecting the Assembly's resolution as being "illegal and void", and charging that it supported "the United States Government's position of forcibly retaining in captivity prisoners of war in contravention of international conventions". After attacking in violent terms alleged terrorism by United States forces in Korea, this reply concluded by asking the Assembly to rescind its resolution and to call upon the United States Government "to resume immediately the negotiations at Panmunjom" on the basis of the Draft Armistice Agreement. A similar reply was received from the North Korean authorities a few days later.

The Assembly took no action on these replies before the seventh session was temporarily suspended on December 22. Just before the session was suspended, the Assembly rejected by an overwhelming vote a Soviet draft resolution calling for con-

demnation of the United States for the alleged "mass murder" of prisoners on Pongam Island during the riots which took place on December 14. The vote against this resolution was 45 to 5 (the Soviet bloc), with 10 abstentions (Asian and Arab states). The Canadian representative spoke and voted against the Soviet resolution.

Race Conflict in South Africa

The item entitled "The question of race conflict in South Africa resulting from the policies of *apartheid* of the Government of the Union of South Africa" was proposed for inclusion on the agenda of the seventh session of the General Assembly by Afghanistan, Burma, Egypt, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Lebanon, Pakistan, the Philippines, Saudi Arabia, Syria and Yemen. In an early plenary session, South Africa moved that the item should be excluded on the ground that the United Nations was not competent to deal with or even discuss the matter. But by an overwhelming vote the General Assembly decided, on October 17, 1952, to place the question of race conflict in South Africa on its agenda.

When the question came before the *Ad Hoc* Political Committee for consideration, South Africa introduced a motion whereby the Committee, having regard to the provisions of Article 2, Paragraph 7, of the Charter, would find that it had "no competence to consider" the item. This motion was rejected on November 20 by a vote of 6 in favour, 45 against (including Canada), with 8 abstentions. The same day the Committee passed two resolutions:

- (1) An 18-power resolution, submitted by the Arab-Asian states, calling for the establishment of a commission "to study the racial situation in the Union of South Africa in the light of the Purposes and Principles of the Charter, with due regard to the provisions of Article 2, Paragraph 7 . . . and the resolutions of the United Nations on racial persecution and discrimination and to report its conclusions to the General Assembly at its Eighth Session".
- (2) A resolution, submitted by the four Scandinavian states, calling upon "all Member States to bring their policies into conformity with their obligation under the Charter to promote the observance of human rights and fundamental freedoms".

Eighteen Power Resolution

The 18-power resolution as a whole was carried by a vote of 35 to 2, with 22 abstentions. The Scandinavian resolution was adopted by a vote of 20 to 7, with 32 abstentions. Canada voted for the Scandinavian resolution and abstained on the 18-power resolution.

Speaking before the Committee on November 19, Mr. Paul Martin said that, in the Canadian view, a distinction must necessarily be drawn between the right of the Assembly to discuss any matters within the scope of the Charter and its competence to intervene. He did not believe that the provisions of the Charter were to be interpreted in such a way as to exclude discussion of an item once it had been placed on the agenda. Canada would therefore vote against the South African resolution on competence because competence to discuss an item is included in the broader term "competence to consider".

Turning to the 18-power resolution and the Scandinavian resolution, Mr. Martin stated that Canada would support the Scandinavian resolution because it endeavoured to find language which would unite rather than divide the United Nations, and tried to achieve a reconciliation between, on the one hand the domestic jurisdiction of sovereign states, particularly those with responsibilities for the administration of dependent peoples in their progress towards self-government and, on the other, the legitimate interest of the United Nations in human rights and freedoms for all peoples regardless of race, creed or colour.

In plenary session of the General Assembly, South Africa introduced a new resolution under which the Assembly would find that it was unable to adopt the proposals on this item. The South African resolution was defeated on December 6, by a large majority including Canada. The 18-power resolution passed by a vote of 35 to 1, with 23 abstentions including Canada, while the Scandinavian resolution was adopted by a vote of 24 to 1, with 34 abstentions. The Canadian delegation again supported the Scandinavian resolution.

At the final meeting of the Assembly, before it was adjourned for Christmas, the President of the Assembly named Dr. Ralph Bunche, Dr. Hernan Santa Cruz of Chile and Dr. Jaime Torres Bodet of Mexico as members of the commission which is to study the racial situation in the Union of South Africa under the provisions of the 18-power resolution and to report its conclusions to the General Assembly at the Eighth Session.

Tunisia and Morocco

At its Sixth Session in 1951, the General Assembly postponed the question of including the Moroccan problem on its agenda, and interested African and Asian states later filed to have the Tunisian question brought before the Security Council in April 1952 or before a proposed special session of the General Assembly in June. Both these problems were however included on the agenda of the seventh session of the General Assembly and thoroughly debated.

When M. Robert Schuman, chairman of the French delegation, addressed the Assembly in the general debate on November 10, he maintained that great progress had been made in Tunisia and Morocco under French guidance in the fields of agricultural and industrial development, public health, education, and labour relations. France intended to honour fully her obligations under the Charter with respect to non-self-governing territories. France alone, however, was in a position to decide the stages and the rhythm of the political evolution of Tunisia and Morocco in consultation with their duly qualified representatives. Any attempt by the United Nations to intervene would encourage instigators of disorder, would do harm to the United Nations and would not be tolerated by France. The French delegation absented itself during the subsequent discussion of the Tunisian and Moroccan questions in the First Committee in which African, Asian, Commonwealth, Soviet, and Western European nations took part.

Pakistani Motion

The First Committee rejected by a vote of 26 (including Canada, the United Kingdom and the United States) to 24 (including African, Asian and Soviet states) with 7 abstentions, a Pakistan procedural motion inviting the Bey of Tunis to depute a representative to take part in the discussion. On the substantive issue, member states were divided into three groups. African, Asian, and Communist representatives favoured a proposal made by 13 African and Asian states urging the Government of France to establish normal conditions and normal civil liberties in Tunisia and providing for the establishment of a United Nations Committee of Good Offices to assist in negotiations between the French and the "true representatives" of the Tunisian people. African and Asian speakers took a very serious view of disturbances in Tunisia, maintaining that international peace and security were thereby being endangered. They contended that by abusing its role as a protecting power, France appeared to be determined to keep Tunisians in a permanently inferior position, since representative government had not been established in Tunisia in spite of the wishes of the Bey and the Tunisian people. Tunisia, which had fought on the side of the allies in two world wars, should not be denied its freedom when so many less-developed countries in Africa and Asia had achieved their indepen-

dence. The United Nations had a right and a duty to try to reconcile the dispute over the interpretation of the protectorate treaties, which were valid international instruments.

The representatives of Australia, Belgium, South Africa, and the United Kingdom, rejected this argument and supported the French view that the United Nations was not competent to examine the Tunisian and Moroccan questions. They referred to the specific prohibition in Article 2 (7) of the Charter regarding domestic jurisdiction, to the terms of Article 6 of the Treaty of Bardo between France and Tunisia, and to the records of the San Francisco Conference which, it was argued, made it clear that the framers of the Charter did not wish the United Nations to assume direct responsibilities in respect of non-self-governing territories.

Canada, New Zealand, the United States, and the Scandinavian countries were among the nations favouring a resolution put forward by eleven Latin-American states which urged the parties to continue negotiations with a view to bringing about self-government for Tunisians and to refrain from acts likely to aggravate the present tension. The states which favoured this proposal broadly took the view that, although the situation in Tunisia was not a threat to international peace, the United Nations was nonetheless competent at least to discuss it. These states underlined the publicly expressed intentions of the French authorities to bring Tunisia progressively toward self-government and considered that it would be unwise for the United Nations to attempt to intervene, both because the best solution would be one achieved by mutual agreement and because the United Nations represented a moral authority and could not impose solutions except in the case of threats to the peace.

Latin-American Proposal Approved

After the Committee had rejected an Indian amendment designed to "strengthen" the Latin-American draft, African and Asian states gave their support to this proposal which was finally approved by the General Assembly in plenary session by a vote of 44 in favour, including Canada, 3 against and 8 abstentions, including the Soviet bloc.

The Moroccan debate followed closely the pattern established in the debate on the Tunisian item. African and Asian states, supported by the Soviet bloc, were strongly critical of French administration and submitted a resolution by which the United Nations would specifically recognize Moroccan sovereignty. The powers responsible for the administration of dependent territories contended that the whole discussion was outside the competence of the United Nations. The eleven Latin-American states again put forward a compromise proposal which was supported by Canada, New Zealand, the United States, and the Scandinavian countries. This resolution referred to the developing of "free political institutions" in Morocco rather than "self-government" — the phrase used in the Latin-American proposal on Tunisia. The sponsors explained this difference in drafting in terms of the more intricate racial structure in Morocco and the relative lack of experience of Moroccans in the processes of democratic government. An attempt was made by the Pakistan delegation to introduce a reference to "self-government", but this did not receive conclusive support and the resolution on Morocco finally adopted by the General Assembly was that originally put forward by the Latin-American and Asian states except Pakistan and carried by a vote of 45 including Canada to 3 against with 11 abstentions. Since the Assembly adjourned, the Bey of Tunis has enacted two draft laws for municipal and regional representative institutions in Tunisia which were put forward by the French authorities. Although agreement on similar proposals has not been achieved in Morocco, the situation in that territory has been relatively quiet since the United Nations discussions of this problem.

Palestine

At its seventh session the General Assembly complied with a request of Arab members that the work of the Palestine Conciliation Commission should be reviewed on the ground that Assembly resolutions relating to the Palestine problem had not yet been implemented. The Commission's terms of reference, drawn up in December 1948, had been: (a) to assist the parties to achieve a final settlement of all questions outstanding between them; (b) to facilitate the economic development of the area, helping to open up transportation and communication; (c) to facilitate the repatriation, resettlement and economic and social rehabilitation of the refugees and their compensation for abandoned property, and (d) to prepare detailed proposals for a permanent international regime for the Jerusalem area, a function which was later transferred to the Trusteeship Council.

A chief concern of the Arab states was that a boundary settlement in Palestine should not perpetuate the temporary territorial arrangements made under the 1949 armistice agreements. By virtue of these agreements Israel controls roughly three-quarters of the former mandated territory of Palestine, instead of sharing it on a fifty-fifty basis with the Arabs as the General Assembly recommended in 1947. Arab delegates argued that to restore the balance which the Assembly had considered just in 1947 would enable a large proportion of the refugees to return to Palestine, even if they still continued to be excluded from Israel in spite of the repeated requests of the Assembly that they should be repatriated. Israel, on the contrary, desired a permanent peace settlement to grow out of the 1949 armistice agreements, not only because of the more advantageous territorial arrangements these provided but because they made no reference to repatriation of Arab refugees. The Assembly was thus confronted with a situation in which Israel was pressing for direct negotiations unless Israel agreed to be bound by these resolutions.

Draft Resolution

Both Israel and the Arab states were hesitant to put forward draft resolutions of their own, while the states composing the Palestine Conciliation Commission (France, Turkey and the United States) considered it inappropriate to present a resolution when their own work was under general review. The initiative was therefore taken by delegations of eight states not directly concerned with the Palestine question. Under the leadership of the delegate of Norway, the delegations of Canada, Cuba, Denmark, Ecuador, the Netherlands, Panama and Uruguay proposed a simple draft resolution urging that direct negotiations for a peace settlement should be undertaken, the Conciliation Commission being available to help the negotiations along if so desired. This draft resolution was later revised in the light of conferences with representatives of seven Latin American states which had offered amendments and with the representatives of four Asian states which had asked in effect for a reaffirmation of past Assembly resolutions, enlargement of the Conciliation Commission and a discussion of its work at the eighth session of the General Assembly.

What resulted from these conferences was an eight-power draft resolution considered by its authors to be a fair compromise between the Israeli and Arab positions. It neither reaffirmed past Assembly resolutions specifically, as the Arab delegations wished, nor proposed that direct negotiations should be free and untrammelled, as Israel had asked. Instead it proposed that the negotiations should be without prejudice to the respective rights and claims of the parties, who were asked to bear in mind "the resolutions as well as the principal objectives of the United Nations on the Palestine question, including the religious interests of third parties". The Conciliation Commission, moreover, was asked "to continue its efforts to fulfil the tasks entrusted to it under General Assembly resolutions" as well as being available to assist in the negotiations if so desired. Israel agreed to the revised draft, but the Arabs opposed it on the ground that the phrase "bearing in mind" past resolutions of the United Nations would mean in practice that the resolutions would be

brushed aside. They said they could not enter into direct negotiations with Israel until they had clear assurances on this point.

Philippine Amendment

In the plenary meeting on December 18 an effort was made by the delegation of the Philippines to secure a stipulation that peace negotiations must be "on the basis of" past United Nations resolutions, including in particular the principle of the internationalization of Jerusalem. This amendment received support from a number of countries with the result that the resolution as a whole failed to secure a two-thirds majority, and no resolution on the Palestine Conciliation Commission was adopted by the Assembly. Canada, which has consistently supported the principle of international supervision of the Holy Places, abstained with eleven other members of the Assembly in the vote on the portion of the amendment relating to the internationalization of Jerusalem, since this phrase has come to be associated with the Trusteeship Council's Jerusalem Statute which has proved to be inoperable. The Canadian spokesman, in explaining Canada's vote, made it clear that Canada continues to favour effective international supervision of the Holy Places.



HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR CANADA IN INDIA

Mr. Escott Reid, High Commissioner for Canada in India, with the Prime Minister of India, Mr. Neru, on the occasion of the presentation of Mr. Reid's Letter of Commission to the President of India, on November 27.

EXTERNAL AFFAIRS IN PARLIAMENT

Statements of Government Policy

The purpose of this section is to provide a selection of statements on external affairs by Ministers of the Crown or by their parliamentary assistants. It is not designed to provide a complete coverage of debates on external affairs taking place during the month.

Canada-U.S. Air Relations

Lease to United States Air Force at Goose Bay

On December 16, the Acting Secretary of State for External Affairs, Mr. W. F. Harris, Minister of Citizenship and Immigration, opened the deliberations of the House of Commons with the following statement:

I beg leave to table copies of notes exchanged by the Acting Secretary of State for External Affairs and the United States Ambassador on December 5. The notes constitute a lease to the United States of certain parcels of land within the Royal Canadian Air Force station at Goose Bay in the Province of Newfoundland. The lease, which is to enable the United States Air Force to replace wartime construction and to construct some additional facilities, involves approximately 7,000 acres of land which is less than ten per cent of the area of the base. The field will continue to be under the over-all command of the RCAF.

Goose Bay airport was built by Canada in 1942 — before Newfoundland entered Confederation — as a stepping-stone along the North Atlantic and Arctic airways. During the war thousands of aircraft put down there on ferry flights from the United States and Canada to Europe. Since the war Goose Bay has been used by the RCAF and the United States Air Force to support certain northern weather stations, and it has served also as a centre for search and rescue operations in the area.

In view of the increased international tension during the last three years, the RCAF and United States Air Force facilities at Goose Bay have been considerably expanded. The base is, in effect, a joint defence installation, and is being used by both air forces for the co-operative defence of North America. Its use by both countries is essential for the fulfilment of their responsibilities under the North Atlantic Treaty.

The lease is for a period of 20 years, with the proviso that any United States request for an extension will be considered by Canada in the light of the common defence interests of Canada and the United States.

When the lease has expired, all buildings on the leased area will become the property of Canada, but removable improvements may be taken away by the United States Air Force.

Flights Over Canada by U.S. Military Aircraft

On December 1, in response to a question by Mr. M. J. Coldwell (Rosetown-Biggan, CCF) as to the authority under which aircraft of the United States might cross the Canadian border to investigate unidentified planes flying over Canadian territory, Mr. Brooke Claxton, Minister of National Defence and Acting Secretary of State for External Affairs, replied:

... The defence of North America must be regarded as a single operation, and, in consequence of recommendations of the Permanent Joint Board, an arrangement has been worked out related to the defence of North America against attack. The important element in this arrangement is that air defence identification zones have been set up along both sides of the international border and along both coasts. Civil aeronautical regulations require that any aircraft operating in these zones should file flight plans.

Any unidentified aircraft flying in an air defence zone near the international border and apparently heading toward the border is liable to interception for purposes of identification by military aircraft of the country towards which the unidentified aircraft is believed to be headed. For this purpose United States Air Force aircraft may cross the border into Canada and RCAF aircraft may cross into the United States. Interceptor aircraft must obey the rules of interception procedure laid down by the country over which the interception is made. United States aircraft when flying over Canada are not permitted to order any aircraft to land . . .

Religious Persecution in Bulgaria*

Replying, on December 8, to a question by Mr. J. H. Dickey (Halifax, L.), concerning reports of religious persecution behind the Iron Curtain, the Secretary of State for External Affairs, Mr. Pearson, spoke as follows:

During the past few years the civilized world has been repeatedly shocked by the brutal persecution of religious leaders which has taken place behind the Iron Curtain. Protests have been made by this Government in this House and in the General Assembly of the United Nations against these attacks.

Recently 40 members of a religious order in Bulgaria were brought to trial charged with subversive activities. The trial followed the usual horrible and grotesque Communist pattern, and death was decreed for the principal defendants, in this case on four priests, including Mgr. Eugene Bossilkoff, Passionist Bishop of Nicopol.

I am sure I am reflecting the view of every member of this House when I express our detestation and condemnation of this additional and shocking case of religious persecution. It is our intention at the first opportunity to voice our protest in the General Assembly of the United Nations.

* See statement on p. 28 made at the United Nations General Assembly by the Acting Chairman of the Canadian Delegation, Mr. Paul Martin.

ADJOURNMENT OF SEVENTH SESSION

Statement by the Secretary of State for External Affairs, and President of the United Nations General Assembly, Mr. L. B. Pearson, on the Adjournment of the Seventh Session, December 22, 1952.

The seventh session of the General Assembly has just adjourned, to be resumed on February 24 next, or earlier at the call of the President. When I was elected to the Presidency on October 14, I was under no illusion that it would be anything but a difficult session, or that our tasks would be easy of accomplishment. I said then that the issues facing us would impose as severe tests on our world organization as any in its history. This has been borne out in our work of the past two months. The agenda has been crowded with problems of great importance and complexity, but the General Assembly in its deliberations, and in its decisions, has neither evaded the crucial issues of our troubled world, nor sought solutions which ignore the hard realities of the international situation. The task which confronted it, then, has been not an excuse for inaction, but a challenge to effort.

Korea

The main question before the Assembly has been that of Korea. At the beginning of this Session it was agreed unanimously that the Korean question should be given priority. That was done because it is the first responsibility of the United Nations to do what it can to bring the fighting there to an end on honourable terms. In the Korean discussions, the debate centered around the one remaining obstacle to the achievement of an armistice — the question of the repatriation of prisoners of war.

The Resolution on Korea, which 54 members of the General Assembly approved on December 3, represented an important and constructive move to solve this question. It reflected a full and free exchange of views between members of the United Nations, and was a consensus of these views arrived at after lengthy negotiation and discussion. If it had been accepted, it could have brought the fighting in Korea to an end without delay.

In my capacity as President of the Assembly, and under the terms of the Resolution, I communicated the Assembly's proposals to the Foreign Minister of the Central People's Government at Peking, and to the North Korean authorities. At the same time, as President of the Assembly, I made an appeal to the Chinese and North Korean authorities to accept these proposals as a basis of an armistice which could bring peace.

Proposals Rejected

The Central People's Government and the North Korean authorities have now rejected the United Nations initiative in terms which make it clear that they are not prepared at

this time to join in the task of bringing the war in Korea to an end on terms considered acceptable to the United Nations and in conformity with international law.

In speaking to the General Assembly on October 14, the opening day of the present session, I said:

"Our task will not be easy, for the General Assembly of 1952 faces its own crisis. The effort by the United Nations to bring about an armistice in Korea on honourable terms — which would be the only ones acceptable — remains frustrated and unsuccessful. The United Nations, therefore, has not been able to move forward into the positive phases of peaceful settlement and reconstruction in that area which should be possible, on the basis of decisions already taken by us, once the aggression has been stopped and the fighting ended. Those who prevent this armistice — the first step in the process of healing and restoration — bear a heavy responsibility before history and humanity."

Despite the reply from the Central People's Government and the North Korean authorities, I am convinced that the efforts which we have made have not been in vain and that they represent a major achievement in the history of the seventh session. For one thing, we would have failed in our responsibility to this world organization and its principles had we not made the attempt. For another, it has been demonstrated that nearly all our members were prepared to agree on a proposal which, consistent with United Nations principles, provided the basis for an eventual peace in Korea.

To bring the fighting in Korea to an end and to move forward into the positive phases of reconstruction and peaceful settlement is still, therefore, the great challenge which faces the United Nations. I have no doubt that, through our Organization we shall persist — and we shall succeed — in our joint effort to achieve this objective, which remains our *only* objective (in Korea).

Colonial and Racial Problem

The other major problem which has occupied our attention arises from colonial and racial issues. The problem here has been to achieve a reconciliation of the principle of the domestic jurisdiction of sovereign states and the responsibility of some of them for the administration of dependent peoples in their progress toward self-government, with the legitimate interest of the United Nations in human rights and freedom for all peoples. Under several items on the Assembly's agenda, these issues have been fully and freely

discussed, and on the whole with moderation and a high sense of responsibility. We have come to see that our differences rest more on questions of means than of ends, more on the pace of progress than on our destination, about which we are in general agreement.

An Important Assembly

I have no wish to attempt to assess in detail the work of the Assembly. For one thing, it is not finished. I wished only to touch on one or two examples to show why I think that this has been an important and not unproductive Assembly so far. If we have failed to find answers to the big questions, if we have seemed to be substituting resolutions for solutions, and if we have at times laboured long for results that did not measure up to our hopes, this is not primarily the fault of the United Nations. I believe that, in the world in which we live — not the one in which we should like to live — this Assembly has made an honest attempt to come to grips in a constructive and responsible manner with some of the major problems of our day.

I should like also to take this opportunity of paying a very well deserved tribute to the Secretariat and to its distinguished leader,

the Secretary-General. The continuity and effectiveness of the General Assembly's work must depend very largely on the integrity and efficiency of our international civil servants. The Secretariat have once again served us loyally and well, and I should like to express the Assembly's appreciation for their extremely hard work and devotion to what is often a thankless and difficult task; and to what is often a misunderstood ideal, that of international service.

Best Hope for Peace

The work of the seventh session is not completed, and we shall be carrying on in the New Year. During these recent weeks I have received, as President of the General Assembly, a great many letters from men and women everywhere which deal with matters before our Organization. They reflect the deep interest and anxious concern with which the whole world follows the deliberations of the United Nations, and the hopes and prayers for the achievement of the purposes to which this Organization is dedicated. They reflect too the conviction that in the twentieth century we cannot dispense with the United Nations, which remains — in spite of everything — our best hope for the establishment of peace and orderly progress.

HUMAN RIGHTS

Statement made on December 17, 1952, by the Acting Chairman of the Canadian Delegation to the United Nations General Assembly, Mr. Paul Martin, made in the Third Committee, on Chapter V of the Report of the Economic and Social Council on Human Rights.

Once more the Third Committee of the General Assembly is called upon to review the work accomplished by the various agencies of the United Nations in the field of human rights. I do not believe it necessary for me to stress here that the question of human rights has become one of primary interest for the United Nations. The various agencies of this organization, taken together, devote close to half of their discussions to questions directly or indirectly related to this problem. Close to half of the resolutions adopted each year by the General Assembly and by the other agencies of the United Nations deal with the question of human rights. The delegation of Canada is in complete agreement with those delegations which insist that such a fundamental question can never receive too much attention. The question of human rights, after all, is the cornerstone of our Charter and has been proclaimed all over the world through the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

Principle Accepted

✓ The numerous speeches that have been made within the United Nations since 1945 on this subject should not leave any doubt

that the principle of the observance of human rights is accepted and recognized, without qualification, by all member states of the United Nations. The speeches made in this Committee in the course of the present session should, in fact, be sufficient in themselves to eliminate any doubt that could have existed as to the good intentions of governments in the field of human rights. In other words, the United Nations has been deluged with professions of faith, and to ascertain this, one has only to read, for example, the summary records of the Commission on Human Rights and of the sub-commission on the prevention of discrimination and the protection of minorities.

And yet, if we glance at the introduction to the Report of the Economic and Social Council for the year 1951-52, we read the following:

"In the field of human rights, in spite of the progress achieved, the United Nations cannot be satisfied with the present situation. There are large areas of the world where the observance of essential human rights, personal liberty, freedom of expression, freedom from discrimination are regressing".

The President of the General Assembly was referring to that same tragic problem when he stated recently, on the occasion of Human Rights Day, that the objectives and purposes of the United Nations would never be achieved until all discriminatory measures have been eliminated and persecution ended.

Unfortunate Dilemma

In the opinion of my delegation the President of the General Assembly has touched on one of the most unfortunate dilemmas presently facing the United Nations. For indeed if we compare some of the statements which are still being made within the United Nations with the events that are taking place in certain countries, we cannot help but think about that part of the New Testament which refers to the man who would take the mote from his neighbour's eye but could not see the beam in his own. To put it in plain language I want to refer to those representatives in this Committee who have busied themselves in the last two months with depicting the most gruesome pictures of the manner in which their neighbours have practised the observance of human rights while they themselves have shown by all evidence available that they are guilty of the most flagrant discriminations and of the most inhuman persecutions.

It is because of this ever-deepening gulf between the words spoken by these representatives and the actions of their governments that my delegation finds it necessary today to draw the attention of the members of this Committee more particularly to Section V of the chapter of the report under consideration. This section deals, as we know, with the question of the prevention of discrimination and the protection of minorities, and the events which have occurred in the course of the last year in certain countries do not allow us to pass it without notice.

Canadian Protests

It is not the first time that the representative of Canada at the United Nations considers it necessary to make a statement of this kind. For myself, I have personally had occasion to protest, in the name of the people of Canada, at the *Ad Hoc* Committee of the fourth session of the General Assembly, against a venal disregard of human rights and of the fundamental principles of freedom which was then current in Bulgaria, Hungary and Roumania. Since then, at practically every session of the General Assembly and even of the agencies of the United Nations, we have heard the voices of many delegates raised in protest against the fate dealt behind the Iron Curtain to these basic principles of justice and liberty. One would have hoped that under such a pressure of protest, the governments concerned would have lent an ear and that the wishes of the free people would have been heard in some degree at least.

Alas, as we all know, the reaction was quite different and is still quite different. Not only have discriminatory measures continued to exist in the three countries which I have just mentioned but they have even spread to the other countries of the Soviet bloc. Not only has the intensity of the discriminatory measures and of the persecutions not decreased but it has reached such a level of frenzy that it can easily be compared to that which existed in the darkest hours of the Nazi and Fascist regimes.

1949 Proposal

I think it is important, in order to understand the extent of the responsibility which weighs on these governments, to recall the efforts of the United Nations in the course of the last three years in an attempt to put an end to the suffering of those who have had the misfortune to become victims of these persecutions. Let us recall, first, the proposal submitted in 1949 in the course of the second part of the third session of the General Assembly by Bolivia and Australia, the title of which read as follows:

"Having regard to the provisions of the Charter and of the peace treaties, the question of the observance in Bulgaria and Hungary of human rights and fundamental freedoms including questions of religious and civil liberties with specific reference to recent trials of church leaders".

Discussed at Fifth Assembly

The *Ad Hoc* Committee on this occasion studied many draft resolutions which might have provided a solution to these problems of persecutions if only good faith had existed on the part of the Governments of Hungary, Roumania and Bulgaria. It was soon discovered, unfortunately, that this good faith was lacking and the General Assembly had to limit itself to a resolution which expressed the hope that measures would be applied in accordance with the peace treaties which might tend to rectify the situation which everyone deplored. In his declaration in support of the item tabled by Bolivia and Australia, the Canadian representative made a specific reference to the trial of Cardinal Mindszenty, to the persecution suffered by the Calvinist Church in Hungary and to the discriminatory measures taken against fifteen Protestant pastors in Bulgaria. The Canadian representative did not hesitate to explain further that, in the opinion of the Canadian Government, these persecutions were the natural outgrowth of Communism.

This same question was considered at the fourth session of the General Assembly in the fall of 1949, when the Assembly's attention was drawn to a similar situation existing in Roumania. The Governments of Bulgaria, Hungary and Roumania had rejected completely the charges made by the Allied Governments that they had violated the Peace Treaties. It was, therefore, necessary to ap-

peal to the International Court of Justice for an advisory opinion on a number of specific questions which arose jointly from the articles of the Peace Treaties and from the refusal by the countries mentioned to answer to the accusations made against them.

The opinion handed down by the International Court of Justice left no doubt that an international dispute had arisen within the meaning of the peace treaties and that the Governments of Bulgaria, Hungary and Roumania were legally bound to appoint representatives to the Commission provided for by the treaties. We all know that the Governments of Bulgaria, Hungary and Roumania ignored completely the advisory opinion of the International Court of Justice.

The *Ad Hoc* Political Committee again discussed the question at the Fifth Assembly at New York in 1950. Unfortunately, it had become evident by that time that, without the voluntary co-operation of the governments concerned, little progress could be expected in the efforts of the United Nations to put an end to the crying injustices which prevailed in those countries.

The last resolution of the General Assembly on this question was adopted at its fifth session. In more ways than one, this resolution was — and we have to recognize it — one of resignation and despair. At the same time, it left no doubt as to the feelings of world public opinion towards those governments which refused to recognize the principle of respect for human rights and which challenged in the most flagrant manner the authority of the United Nations and of the International Court of Justice.

Bad to Worse

This history of discriminatory measures and of persecutions which I have just outlined, I regret to say has gone from bad to worse since the last resolution was adopted by the General Assembly. It is now with the greatest regret that we realize that the good faith and the goodwill of those governments responsible for these persecutions have not shown any improvement. On the contrary, if there has been any change, I would say that it has been towards a greater absence of goodwill and of good faith. In the light of these considerations, my delegation is painfully aware of the futility at this moment of placing before the General Assembly any draft resolution or of inviting the United Nations or the Secretary-General to take specific action on the problem.

But the Canadian Delegation, nevertheless, desires to protest formally and with all its energy, before this Committee and before the United Nations, against the systematic persecutions which rage practically everywhere behind the Iron Curtain and which are disposing in the most horrible manner of millions of human beings whose only crime has been their desire to be free.

Like my own, a number of governments of the free world will no doubt wish, at this session, to raise their voices in protest against the deplorable, if not incomprehensible, actions of these governments and they will be able to cite much evidence in support of their allegations. I would not wish, therefore, to delay this Committee unduly by a detailed recital of everything that has taken place behind the Iron Curtain in violation of human rights since 1950.

Many delegates around this table have probably read the documentation recently submitted by the United Kingdom on the human rights violations in Bulgaria, Hungary and Roumania. Many among you, no doubt, have also had the opportunity of studying the well-documented reports periodically published by such organizations as the National Committee for a Free Europe. The reading of these various reports is frightening, inasmuch as the picture they give is one of brutality and inconceivable cruelty.

Trial in Bulgaria

I should like, however, to say a few words about a trial which took place very recently in Bulgaria, the story of which will confirm the fact that the wave of terror which we deplored in 1949 is still persisting in those unfortunate countries, more implacable than ever. It is true that there will be little that is new or unexpected in the description which I am about to give you, since the trial followed a pattern which is unfortunately too well known. It followed the pattern designed to terrorize satellite regimes, to punish them for their shortcomings, to compel greater sacrifices under the shadow of fear, to produce scapegoats and to provide an opportunity for the Soviet Union's favourite propaganda of hatred against states, organizations and individuals of the free world.

The particular trial of which I am about to speak took place this year from September 29 to October 3 and forty persons were brought before the tribunal. Among the six principal defendants were Dr. Evgen Bossilkov, Bishop of Nikopol and Senior Bishop of the Church in Bulgaria, and several leading educators. These six principal defendants were charged with having created an organization for the purpose of overthrowing the Bulgarian Government by means of a *coup d'état* and with the help of foreign intervention. The other defendants were accused of having aided their efforts in varying degree. All defendants, without exception, were found guilty. Four were sentenced to death; two, to twenty years' imprisonment.

These, in brief, are the facts of the case. Fortunately, in spite of the tight censorship which surrounds Bulgaria, there is available further evidence as to the way in which the trial was conducted which enables us to judge for ourselves how little the trials resemble the proceedings of a civilized court conducting an impartial enquiry.

Guilt Assumed

From the beginning, the guilt of all the defendants was assumed by the Bulgarian press, in the speeches of Communist leaders and in the very wording of the indictment. The following statement by the Bulgarian Minister of the Interior, made just before the trial, is typical of the tone of the entire proceedings: "Let all who oppose the Communist regime know", he said, "that the People's Rule, through the divisions of the Ministry of the Interior, is able to put everywhere where he belongs, and to deal mercilessly with all who try to hinder our efforts. Neither God nor their imperialist masters can help them".

The entire trial lasted only five days. On the first day all preliminary procedural questions were disposed of and the interrogations of the first fifteen defendants were completed. The witnesses, thirty in all, were all heard on the morning of the last day, when the Court not only heard the speeches of the counsels for the prosecution and the defence, but also delivered its verdict. And this in a trial in which there were no fewer than forty defendants!

No attempts was made to establish a convincing case on the basis of adequate evidence. Apart from the so-called confessions of some of the accused and the testimony of witnesses, many of whom were themselves prisoners, the material evidence produced to show that the defendants were preparing an underground resistance movement consisted of two small radio transmitters, one automatic carbine, two revolvers, one old hunting gun and some medical supplies. I believe the members of the Committee will agree with me that this is hardly the armament for a revolution!

Relentless Persecution

This so-called trial was clearly another calculated attempt similar to those which have been made in other countries behind the Iron Curtain to crush the Christian churches in Bulgaria and reduce them to complete subservience to the state. It was the culmination of the relentless persecution to which the Catholic Church as well as the other churches have been subjected during the last six months. By now, it is generally recognized that almost eighty per cent of the Cath-

olic priests, for instance, in Bulgaria have been arrested or otherwise persecuted, and the one remaining Bishop, the Bishop of Sofia and Plovdiv, has finally been arrested as a result of the latest "revelations" which the Bulgarian Government has pretended to have obtained during the course of the trial which I have just described.

We are still uncertain as to the ultimate fate of all those persons who were judged at this trial. According to certain rumours which have reached us, some of these unfortunate victims have already been hanged. At the same time, we have reason to believe that some of them are still alive. In the present circumstances, we cannot afford to be too optimistic about the success of our representations; but, in the event that the Government of Bulgaria and its leaders still have a minimum sense of justice and humanity, we like to hope that our appeal will be heard and that it will be possible to save the lives of those persons who have been so crudely tried and so unjustly condemned to death.

Attack on Freedom of Conscience

This example I have just cited, like earlier persecutions, deportations and purges, is a further example of a ruthless attack upon that most precious of all freedoms — the freedom of conscience — which is, after all, the cornerstone of our civilization. For, indeed, we should never forget that the only crime of these people was to practice their religion and, in so doing, perhaps to oppose Communism spiritually and morally. The government responsible for this latest act of suppression of freedom of conscience is not represented in the United Nations and it is unlikely that the censored and controlled press will give the Bulgarian people an adequate or, indeed, any idea of the indignation and anger with which the freedom-loving world regards such mockeries of injustice which I have just described. For this reason, my delegation wishes to call upon those governments which are members of the United Nations and which still maintain diplomatic or consular missions in Bulgaria to inform the Bulgarian authorities of these protests which are coming from all the peoples of the free nations, including the Canadian people, against this flagrant violation of the most elementary principles of humanity. Those who are guilty cannot close their eyes to the clamour of justice and of liberty.

APPOINTMENTS AND TRANSFERS IN THE CANADIAN DIPLOMATIC SERVICE

- The Honourable R. W. Mayhew was posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Embassy, Tokyo, as Canadian Ambassador to Japan, effective December 16, 1952.
- Mr. H. G. Norman, C.M.G., was posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Embassy, Caracas, effective December 5, 1952.
- Mr. J. F. X. Houde was posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Embassy, Brussels, effective November 27, 1952.
- Mr. S. H. Nutting was posted from temporary duty Tokyo, Japan, to Ottawa, effective December 6, 1952.
- Mr. W. F. Stone was posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Embassy, Bonn, effective December 7, 1952.
- Mr. L. V. J. Roy was posted from home leave (Buenos Aires) to Ottawa, effective December 8, 1952.
- Mr. O. W. Dier was posted from home leave (Caracas) to Ottawa, effective December 13, 1952.
- Mr. C. F. W. Hooper was transferred from the Canadian Embassy, Caracas, to the Canadian Embassy, Buenos Aires, effective December 31, 1952.

CANADIAN REPRESENTATION AT INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCES

(The Department of External Affairs, through its International Conferences Section, is responsible for co-ordinating all invitations to international conferences. It should be noted, however, that the decision as to the participation of the Canadian Government at such conferences is made by the Secretary of State for External Affairs or, where appropriate, by Cabinet upon the recommendation of the department of government functionally concerned.)

Standing International Bodies on Which Canada is Represented

(Published annually; this listing as of December, 1952. Date of establishment of each body given in brackets.)

1. CANADA-UNITED STATES

1. *International Joint Commission* (1909). Canadian Section: Chairman: Gen. A. G. L. McNaughton; Commissioners: J. L. Dansereau and G. Spence. External Affairs; Secretary: W. H. Barton, Department of External Affairs.
2. *International Boundary Commission* (1912). J. E. R. Ross, Dominion Geodesist, Department of Mines and Technical Surveys.
3. *Permanent Joint Board on Defence* (1940). Canadian Section: Gen A. G. L. McNaughton; Rear-Admiral H. G. DeWolf, Vice-Chief of the Naval Staff (to be replaced by Rear-Admiral W. B. Creery, effective January 30, 1953); Maj. Gen. H. A. Sparling, Vice-Chief of the General Staff; Air Vice-Marshal F. R. Miller, Vice-Chief of the Air Staff; R. A. MacKay, Assistant Under-Secretary of State for
4. *United States-Canada Industrial Mobilization Planning Committee* (1949). Canadian Section: Chairman: C. D. Howe, Minister of Trade and Commerce and Defence Production; S. D. Pierce, Minister, Canadian Embassy, Washington.
5. *International Fisheries Commission* (Halibut) (1923). G. R. Clark, Assistant Deputy Minister of Fisheries; G. W. Nickerson, Department of Fisheries.
6. *International Pacific Salmon Fisheries Commission* (1947) Senator T. Reid; H. R. MacMillan, Vancouver; A. G. Whitmore, Department of Fisheries.

2. CANADA-UNITED KINGDOM

1. *Canada - United Kingdom Continuing Committee on Trade and Economic Affairs* (1948). W. F. Bull, Deputy Minister of Trade and Commerce; Dr. J. G. Taggart, Deputy Minister of Agriculture; J. J. Deutsch, Department of Finance; L. D. Wilgress, Under-Secretary of State for External Affairs; (N. A. Robertson, High Commissioner for Canada in the United Kingdom is Chairman of the Committee when it meets in London).

3. COMMONWEALTH OF NATIONS

1. *Commonwealth Shipping Committee* (1920). N. A. Robertson, High Commissioner for Canada in the United Kingdom, London.
2. *Commonwealth Economic Committee* (1925). F. Hudd, and D. A. B. Marshall, Office of the High Commissioner for Canada in the United Kingdom, London.
3. *Commonwealth Agricultural Bureaux* (1928). Executive Council: J. G. Robertson, Office of the High Commissioner for Canada in the United Kingdom, London.
4. *Commonwealth Telecommunications Board* (1948). J. H. Tudhope, Office of the High Commissioner for Canada in the United Kingdom, London.
5. *Commonwealth Air Transport Council* (1945). J. H. Tudhope, Office of the High Commissioner for Canada in the United Kingdom, London.
 - i. *Committee on Navigation and Ground Organization*. F. Hudd and H. R. Horne, Office of the High Commissioner for Canada in the United Kingdom, London.
6. *Commonwealth Advisory Aeronautical Research Council* (1947). A/V/M D. M. Smith, J. H. Parkin and Dr. J. J. Green, Department of National Defence; R. J. Brearley, Office of the High Commissioner for Canada in the United Kingdom, London.
7. *Commonwealth Liaison Committee* (1948). L. Couillard and J. Grandy, Office of the High Commissioner for Canada in the United Kingdom, London.
8. *Imperial War Graves Commission*. Col. D. C. Unwin-Simpson, Canadian Embassy, Paris.
9. *Imperial Institute* (1888). N. A. Robertson, High Commissioner for Canada in the United Kingdom, London.
10. *Commonwealth Committee on Mineral Resources and Geology*. Dr. G. S. Hume, Department of Mines and Technical Surveys.
11. *British Commonwealth Scientific Office* (1944). (Specialists from the Canadian Government Departments concerned attend the meetings of the Office.

4. NORTH ATLANTIC TREATY ORGANIZATION (1949)

1. *North Atlantic Council* (1949). Permanent Representative. A. D. P. Heeney; Minister, A. F. W. Plumptre; Military Adviser, Maj. Gen. J. D. B. Smith; Counsellor, M. Cadieux.
2. *North Atlantic Military Representatives Committee* (1949). Rear-Admiral H. G. DeWolf.

5. UNITED NATIONS (1945)

1. *General Assembly* (Canada, as a member of the United Nations, is represented in the General Assembly which meets at regular annual sessions. Its representatives are appointed by the Government for each session).
 - i. *Interim Committee of the General Assembly* (1947). Representative: L. B. Pearson, Secretary of State for External Affairs; Alternate: D. M. Johnson, Permanent Delegate of Canada to the United Nations, New York.
 - ii. *Board of Auditors*. Watson Sellar Auditor General of Canada.
 - iii. *Collective Measures Committee* (1950). D. M. Johnson, Permanent Delegate of Canada to the United Nations, New York; Alternate: J. George Permanent Delegation of Canada to the United Nations, New York.
2. *Security Council*. (Canada is not at present a member of the Security Council).
3. *Economic and Social Council* (Canada's membership in the Council expired on December 31, 1952).

Functional Commissions:

 - i. *Fiscal Commission*. A. K. Eaton, Assistant Deputy Minister of Finance.
 - ii. *Statistical Commission*. H. Marshall, Dominion Statistician, Bureau of Statistics.
 - iii. *Social Commission*. R. B. Curry, National Director, Family Allowances Division, Department of National Health and Welfare.
 - iv. *Commission on Narcotic Drugs*. Col. C. H. L. Sharman, c/o Department of National Health and Welfare.

4. *Special Bodies of the Principal Organs*

- i. *United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund (1946) Executive Board*: Mrs. D. B. Sinclair, Executive Assistant to the Deputy Minister of Welfare, Department of National Health and Welfare.
- ii. *Permanent Central Opium Board (Supervisory Body)*. Col. C. H. L. Sharman c/o Department of National Health and Welfare.
- iii. *United Nations Korean Reconstruction Agency Advisory Committee (1950)*. Delegate: D. M. Johnson, Permanent Delegate of Canada to the United Nations, New York; Alternate: W. M. Olivier, Permanent Delegation

of Canada to the United Nations, New York.

5. *Headquarters Advisory Committee*. C. D. Howe, Minister of Trade and Commerce and Defence Production; Alternate: K. A. Greene, Canadian Consul General, New York.

6. *International Court of Justice*. (The parties of the Statutes of the Court automatically include all members of the United Nations. The Court consists of fifteen judges, in no way representatives of their country of origin, elected for a nine year term of office by the General Assembly and the Security Council voting independently. A Canadian citizen, John Erskine Reid, presently sits on the Court, his term of office due to expire in 1958).

6. UNITED NATIONS SPECIALIZED AGENCIES

1. *International Labour Organization (1919)**

- i. *General Conference*. (Canada sends delegations comprising two Government Members and one Member each representing management and labour together with their advisers to each session of the Conference which meets at least annually. Delegations to the conferences are not permanent and are appointed for each session).
- ii. *Governing Body*. Dr. A. MacNamara, Deputy Minister of Labour. (Canada holds a seat as one of the States of chief industrial importance).

2. *Food and Agriculture Organization (1945)*

- i. *Conference*. (Canada, as a member of FAO sends a representative, together with his alternate and advisers to each session of the Conference which meets bi-annually. Canada's representative is not permanent and is appointed by the Government for each session).
- ii. *Council*. (Also known as World Food Council) (Canada has always been a member and was re-elected at the 1951 Rome Conference for a further term of membership).

3. *United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (1946)*

- i. *General Conference*. (Canada sends delegates to each session of the General Conference. Delegations comprising delegates, alternates and advisers are not permanent and are appointed by the Government for each successive session).

4. *International Civil Aviation Organization (1947)**

- i. *Assembly*. Brig. C. S. Booth, Permanent Delegate of Canada to ICAO; H. A. Pattison, Deputy Delegate.
- ii. *Council*. Brig. C. S. Booth, Permanent Delegate of Canada to ICAO

5. *International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (1946)*

- i. *Board of Governors*. Governor: D. C. Abbott, Minister of Finance; Alternate: J. J. Deutsch, Department of Finance.

- ii. *Executive Directors*: Director: L. Rasminsky, Bank of Canada.

6. *International Monetary Fund (1945)*

- i. *Board of Governors*: Governor: D. C. Abbott, Minister of Finance; Alternate: G. F. Towers, Governor of the Bank of Canada.

- ii. *Executive Directors*: Director: L. Rasminsky, Bank of Canada.

7. *Universal Postal Union (1875)*

- i. *Universal Postal Congress*. (Canada, as a member of the UPU, is represented at each meeting of the Congress, usually held at intervals of five years. Canadian Delegations are appointed by the Government for each meeting. The next (14th) Congress of the UPU will be held in Ottawa in 1957).

* The Specialized Agencies marked with an asterisk set up from time to time, through their main organs, standing bodies, committees or commissions, in which Canada may or may not be invited to participate. Because of the large number of such bodies, committees or commissions to which Canada is a party, and their relative importance, it has been felt that they might be excluded from this list.

8. *World Health Organization (1948)**

- i. *World Health Assembly.* (Canada, as a member of the WHO, sends delegations to each annual session of the Assembly. Delegations are not permanent and are appointed by the Government at each session).
- ii. *Executive Board.* Dr. O. Leroux, Department of National Health and Welfare, serves as an independent expert and does not receive instructions from the Canadian Government).

9. *International Telecommunications Union (1947)*

- i. *Plenipotentiary Conference.* (Canada, as a member of ITU, is represented at the Conference which meets every five years. Canadian Delegations to the Conference are appointed by the Government for each session).
- ii. *Administrative Council.* C. J. Acton, Department of Transport.
- iii. *Administrative Conferences.* (These meet in principle at the same time and place as the Plenipotentiary Conference and, as a rule, every five years. Canadian representatives at the Ad-

ministrative Conference usually form part of the Delegation appointed by the Government to represent the country at the Plenipotentiary Conference).

10. *Inter-Governmental Maritime Consultative Organization***

11. *International Trade Organization***

- i. *General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (1947).* (The General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade is an international trade agreement. It is not a specialized agency of the United Nations, but is serviced by the Secretariat of the Interim Commission of the International Trade Organization (ICITO). The regular sessions of the contracting parties are, as a rule, held once a year and these sessions are supplemented by intersessional meetings at the call of the Secretariat. Canada is one of the original contracting parties).

12. *World Meteorological Organization*

- i. *Executive Committee:* A. Thompson, Department of Transport.
- ii. *Regional Association 1:* President: A. Thompson, Department of Transport.

7. MISCELLANEOUS

1. *Inter-Allied Reparation Agency (1946).* A. C. Smith, Canadian Embassy, Brussels.

2. *International Whaling Commission (1949).* G. R. Clark, Assistant Deputy Minister of Fisheries.

3. *International Commission for Northwest Atlantic Fisheries (1951).* S. Bates, Deputy Minister of Fisheries; R. Gushue, President, Memorial University College, Newfoundland; S. H. MacKichan, United Maritime Fisheries Board.

4. *Organization for European Economic Co-operation (1948).* Representative: A. D. P. Heeney; Minister: A. F. W. Plumptre; Counsellor: M. Cadieux.

5. *International Materials Conference (1950).* Representative: J. H. English; Alternate: S. V. Allen, both of the Canadian Embassy, Washington.

6. *Permanent Committee of the International Copyright Union (1948).* Dr. V. Doré, Canadian Minister to Switzerland.

7. *International Wheat Council (1949).*

Delegations vary from meeting to meeting but are usually headed by a senior official of the Department of Trade and Commerce or by one of the Commissioners of the Canadian Wheat Board).

8. *Consultative Committee on Co-Operative Economic Development in South and Southeast Asia ("Colombo Plan", 1950).* (Annual sessions attended by Government-appointed delegates).

- i. *Council for Technical Co-Operation in South and Southeast Asia* Paul Sykes, Canadian Government Trade Commissioner, Colombo.

9. *International Hydrographic Bureau (1921).* R. J. Fraser, Dominion Hydrographer.

10. *International Committee on Military Medicine and Pharmacy (1921).* Correspondent: Brig. W. L. Coke, Department of National Defence.

11. *Inter-American Statistical Institute (1940)*

* The Specialized Agencies marked with an asterisk set up from time to time, through their main organs, standing bodies, committees or commissions in which Canada may or may not be invited to participate. Because of the large number of such bodies, committees or commissions to which Canada is a party, and their relative importance, it has been felt that they might be excluded from this list.

** Canada has indicated its willingness to become a member of each of these Organizations once they have been formally established, and is at present a party to the principal preparatory organs of these proposed agencies set up at the instigation of the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations in 1946 and 1947 respectively

12. *Postal Union of the Americas and Spain* (1921)
13. *Inter-American Social Security Conference* (1942)
14. *International Bureau of Weights and Measures* (1875)
15. *International Criminal Police Commission* (1923)
16. *International Union for the Protection of Industrial Property* (1883)
17. *International Cotton Advisory Commission* (1939)
18. *International Wool Study Group* (1947)
19. *International Rubber Study Group* (1944)
20. *International Tin Study Group* (1947)
21. *Inter-American Radio Office* (1937)
22. *International Union for the Publication of Customs Tariffs* (1890)
23. *International Union for the Protection of Literary and Artistic Works* (1886)
24. *Commissions on Geography and Cartography of the Pan-American Institute of Geography and History* (1928)
25. *Intergovernmental Committee for European Migration* (1952, succeeded the Provisional Intergovernmental Committee for the Movement of Migrants from Europe, established in 1951).

Conferences Attended in December

1. *2nd Plenipotentiary Conference of the International Telecommunications Union (ITU)*, Buenos Aires, October 1-December 15.
2. *7th Regular Session of the General Assembly of the United Nations*, New York, October 14-December 22.
3. *7th Session of the General Conference of UNESCO*, Paris, November 12-December 10.
4. *Commonwealth Economic Conference*, London, November 27-December 11.
5. *ILO Committee of Experts on Labour Productivity*, Geneva, December 1-11.
6. *World Congress of Journalists*, Santiago, December 2-6 (Observer).
7. *6th Session of International Study Conference on Child Welfare*, Bombay, December 5-12 (Observer).
8. *North Atlantic Military Committee*, Paris, December 8-13
9. *International Conference on Social Work*, Madras, December 14-19 (Observer).
10. *Ministerial Meeting of NATO Council*, Paris, December 15-19.
11. *Resumed 14th Session of ECOSOC*, New York, December 16-18.

CURRENT UNITED NATIONS DOCUMENTS

A SELECTED LIST

This list of United Nations documents recently received in the Department of External Affairs contains the titles of those documents which may be of general interest. It consists of reports by subsidiary bodies of the United Nations on the more important current activities of the organization, research activities of the organization, research notes by the Secretariat and general surveys of the work of the United Nations. The following list has been divided into two sections, section (a) — printed publications — which may be obtained by the general public from the Canadian Sales Agent for United Nations Publications, The Ryerson Press, 299 Queen St. West, Toronto (English), and Les Presses Universitaires Laval, Quebec, (French); and section (b) — mimeographed United Nations documents — which can only be procured by the general public, by annual subscription from the United Nations Secretariat at New York. They are available to university staffs and students, teachers, libraries and non-governmental organizations,

from the United Nations Department of Public Information, United Nations, New York. UNESCO documents may be procured from the University of Toronto Press, Toronto, Ontario (English), and Le Centre de Publications Internationales, 4234 Rue de la Roche, Montreal, P.Q. (French). The publications and documents listed below may be consulted at the following places in Canada:

- University of British Columbia (English printed and mimeographed documents).
- Provincial Library of Manitoba (English printed and mimeographed documents).
- University of Toronto (English printed and mimeographed documents).
- Library of Parliament, Ottawa (English and French printed documents and English mimeographed documents).
- McGill University (English printed and mimeographed documents).

Laval University (French printed documents).

Dalhousie University (English printed and mimeographed documents).

University of Montreal (French printed documents).

Canadian Institute of International Affairs, Toronto (English printed and mimeographed documents).

(a) Printed Documents:

Report of the Committee on Information from Non-Self-Governing Territories; New York, 1952; document A/2219; 26 pp.; 30 cents; General Assembly Official Records: Seventh Session, Supplement No. 18.

**United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund - Report of the Executive Board (6, 7 and 10 October 1952)*; 27 October 1952; document E/2337, E/ICEF/212; 63 pp.; 60 cents; Ecosoc Official Records: Fifteenth Session, Supplement No. 2.

**Economic Survey of Asia and the Far East 1951*; 13 August 1952; document E/CN.11/345, 400 pp.; \$2.50; Sales No.: 1952.II.F.2 (Department of Economic Affairs).

**Government Accounting and Budget Execution*; November 1952; document ST/ECA/16; 90 pp.; 75 cents; Sales No.: 1952.XVI.2 (Department of Economic Affairs).

**Comparative Survey of Juvenile Delinquency. Part I. North America*; 18 September 1952; document ST/SOA/SD/1; 132 pp.; \$1.00; Sales No.: 1952.N.13 (Department of Social Affairs).

**A general economic appraisal of Libya*; 22 September 1952; document ST/TAA/K/Libya/1; 55 pp.; 60 cents; Sales No.: 1952.II.H.2.

Fifth World Health Assembly, Geneva, 5 to 22 May 1952; Geneva, November 1952; 452 pp.; \$2.50; WHO Official Records, No. 42.

(b) Mimeographed Documents:

Question of South-West Africa - Report of the Ad Hoc Committee on South-West Africa to the General Assembly; 21 November 1952; document A/2261; 101 pp.

**Handbook on the Legal Status, Privileges and Immunities of the United Nations*; 19 September 1952; document ST/LEG/2; 575 pp.

CURRENT DEPARTMENTAL PRESS RELEASES

| Number | Date | Subject |
|--------|-------|--|
| 78 | 4/12 | Announcement that exchange of missions between Canada and Uruguay would be of Embassy rank and that Maj.-Gen. L. R. LaFlèche, D.S.O., had been appointed Canadian Ambassador to Uruguay. |
| 79 | 5/12 | Canadian delegation to the December 15 Ministerial Meeting of the North Atlantic Council. |
| 80 | 5/12 | Announcement that Canada is extending most-favoured-nation tariff treatment to Egypt on a reciprocal basis. |
| 81 | 5/12 | Appointment of A. J. Andrew as resident officer in Vienna. |
| 82 | 5/12 | Presentation of Letters of Credence of Mr. Cavat Ustun as Turkish Ambassador to Canada. |
| 83 | 19/12 | Canada-United States preliminary talks on fishing problems in the Great Lakes. |
| 84 | 30/12 | Recognition accorded to Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia. |

* French version not available until noted in a future issue of "External Affairs".

STATEMENTS AND SPEECHES

(Obtainable from the Information Division, Department of External Affairs, Ottawa, Canada)

The following serial numbers are available abroad only:

No. 52/50—*Government Policy in Economic Matters Relating to Aviation*, an address by the Minister of Transport, Mr. Lionel Chevrier, made at the annual meeting of the Air Industries and Transport Association of Canada at the Seignior Club, Montebello, P.Q., November 10, 1952.

No. 52/57—*Canada's Economy in 1952*, the text of a press release issued by the Minister of Trade and Commerce, and Defence Production, Mr. C. D. Howe, December 29, 1952.

The following serial numbers are available in Canada and abroad:

No. 52/51—an address delivered by the President of the Seventh Session of the United Nations General Assembly, Mr. L. B. Pearson, at the dinner of the American Association for the United Nations, New York City, October 23, 1952.

No. 52/52—*The Colombo Plan*, an address by the Administrator of the Canadian Participation in the Colombo Plan, Mr. R. G. Cavell, of the International Economics and Technical Co-operation Division, Department of Trade and Commerce, delivered at the Empire Club, Toronto, December 4, 1952.

No. 52/53—*Indian Resolution on Korea*, statement by the Acting Chairman of the Canadian Delegation to the United Nations General Assembly, Mr. Paul Martin, made in the First (Political) Committee, on November 27, 1952.

No. 52/54—*Report to Parliament*, statement by the Secretary of State for External Affairs, Mr. L. B. Pearson, made in the House of Commons during the debate on the Speech from the Throne, December 8, 1952.

No. 52/55—*Adjournment of the Seventh Session*, statement by the Secretary of State for External Affairs, and President of the United Nations General Assembly, Mr. L. B. Pearson, on the Adjournment of the Seventh Assembly, December 22, 1952.

No. 52/56—*Tunisia*, statement by the Acting Chairman of the Canadian Delegation of the United Nations General Assembly, Mr. Paul Martin, made in the First (Political) Committee (Agenda Item No. 60).

No. 52/58—*Human Rights*, statement made on December 17, 1952, by the Acting Chairman of the Canadian Delegation to the United Nations General Assembly, Mr. Paul Martin, made in the Third Committee (Social, Humanitarian and Cultural), on Chapter V of the Report of the Economic and Social Council on Human Rights.

CANADIAN REPRESENTATIVES ABROAD

| Country | Designation | Address |
|---------------------|--|--|
| Argentina..... | Ambassador..... | Buenos Aires (Bartolome Mitre, 478) |
| Australia..... | High Commissioner..... | Canberra (State Circle) |
| "..... | Commercial Secretary..... | Melbourne (83 William Street) |
| "..... | Commercial Counsellor..... | Sydney (City Mutual Life Bldg.) |
| Austria..... | Minister (Absent)..... | Vienna 1 (Sacher's Hotel, Philharmonikerstrasse 4) |
| Belgian Congo..... | Trade Commissioner..... | Leopoldville (Forescom Bldg.) |
| Belgium..... | Ambassador..... | Brussels (35, rue de la Science) |
| Brazil..... | Ambassador..... | Rio de Janeiro (Avenida Presidente Wilson, 165) |
| "..... | Consul and Trade Commissioner..... | Sao Paulo (Edificio Alois, Rua 7 de Abril, 252) |
| Ceylon..... | Trade Commissioner..... | Colombo (Galle Face Hotel) |
| Chile..... | Ambassador..... | Santiago (Bank of London and South America Bldg.) |
| Colombia..... | Trade Commissioner..... | Bogotá (Calle 19, No. 6-39 fifth floor) |
| Cuba..... | Ambassador..... | Havana (Avenida de Las Misiones No. 17) |
| Czechoslovakia..... | Chargé d'Affaires..... | Prague 2 (Krakowska 22) |
| Denmark..... | Minister..... | Copenhagen (Osterbrogade 26) |
| Egypt..... | Trade Commissioner..... | Cairo (Osiris Building, Sharia Walda, Kasr-el-Doubara) |
| Finland..... | Minister (Absent)..... | Helsinki (Borgmästorbrinken 3-C. 32) |
| "..... | Chargé d'Affaires a.i. | |
| France..... | Ambassador..... | Paris 16e (72 Avenue Foch) |
| Germany..... | Ambassador..... | Bonn (Zittelmannstrasse, 22) |
| "..... | Head of Military Mission..... | Berlin (Lancaster House, Fehrbelliner Platz) |
| Greece..... | Ambassador..... | Athens (31 Queen Sofia Blvd.) |
| Guatemala..... | Trade Commissioner..... | Guatemala City (28, 5a Avenida Sud) |
| Hong Kong..... | Trade Commissioner..... | Hong Kong (Hong Kong and Shanghai Banking Corporation Bldg.) |
| Iceland..... | Minister..... | Oslo (Fridtjof Nansens Plass 5) |
| India..... | High Commissioner..... | New Delhi (4 Aurangzeb Road) |
| "..... | Commercial Secretary..... | Bombay (Gresham Assurance House) |
| Ireland..... | Ambassador..... | Dublin (92 Merrion Square West) |
| Italy..... | Ambassador..... | Rome (Via Saverio Mercadante 15) |
| Jamaica..... | Trade Commissioner..... | Kingston (Canadian Bank of Commerce Chambers) |
| Japan..... | Ambassador..... | Tokyo (16 Omote-Machi, 3 Chome, Minato-Ku) |
| "..... | Chargé d'Affaires a.i., | |
| Luxembourg..... | Minister..... | Brussels (c/o Canadian Embassy) |
| Mexico..... | Ambassador..... | Mexico (Paseo de la Reforma No. 1) |
| Netherlands..... | Ambassador..... | The Hague (Sophialaan 1A) |
| New Zealand..... | High Commissioner..... | Wellington (Government Life Insurance Bldg.) |
| Norway..... | Minister..... | Oslo (Fridtjof Nansens Plass 5) |
| Pakistan..... | High Commissioner..... | Karachi (Hotel Metropole) |
| Peru..... | Ambassador..... | Lima (Edificio Boza Plaza San Martin) |
| Philippines..... | Consul General and Trade Commissioner..... | Manila (Tuason Bldg., 8-12 Escolta) |
| Poland..... | Chargé d'Affaires..... | Warsaw (31 Ulica Katowika, Saska Lepa) |
| Portugal..... | Minister (Absent)..... | Lisbon (Rua Rodrigo da Fonseca, 103) |
| "..... | Chargé d'Affaires a.i. | |
| Singapore..... | Trade Commissioner..... | Singapore (Room D-5, Union Building) |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Spain..... | Trade Commissioner..... | Madrid (Avenida José Antonio 70) |
| Sweden..... | Minister..... | Stockholm (Strandvagen 7-C) |
| Switzerland..... | Minister..... | Berne (Thunstrasse 95) |
| Trinidad..... | Trade Commissioner..... | Port of Spain (Colonial Bldg.) |
| Turkey..... | Ambassador..... | Ankara (Müdafaayi Milliye Caddesi, No. 19, Cankaya) |
| Union of South Africa..... | High Commissioner..... | Pretoria (24 Barclay's Bank Bldg.) |
| " "..... | Trade Commissioner..... | Cape Town (Grand Parade Centre Building, Adderley St.) |
| " "..... | Trade Commissioner..... | Johannesburg (Mutual Building) |
| Union of Soviet Socialist Republics..... | Ambassador..... | Moscow (23 Starokonyushny Pereulok) |
| " "..... | Chargé d'Affairs, a.i. | |
| United Kingdom..... | High Commissioner..... | London (Canada House) |
| " "..... | Trade Commissioner..... | Liverpool (Martins Bank Bldg.) |
| " "..... | Trade Commissioner..... | Belfast (36 Victoria Square) |
| United States of America..... | Ambassador..... | Washington (1746 Massachusetts Avenue) |
| " "..... | Consul General..... | Boston (532 Little Bldg.) |
| " "..... | Consul General..... | Chicago (Daily News Bldg.) |
| " "..... | Consul..... | Detroit (1035 Penobscot Bldg.) |
| " "..... | Trade Commissioner..... | Los Angeles (510 W. Sixth St.) |
| " "..... | Consul and Trade Commis- sioner..... | New Orleans (201 International Trade Mart) |
| " "..... | Consul General..... | New York (620 Fifth Ave.) |
| " "..... | Honorary Vice-Consul..... | Portland, Maine (443 Congress Street) |
| " "..... | Consul General..... | San Francisco (400 Montgomery St.) |
| Venezuela..... | Consul General..... | Caracas (2º Piso Edificio Pan American) |
| Yugoslavia..... | Ambassador..... | Belgrade (Proliterskih Brigada 69, formerly Moskovska) |
| North Atlantic Council..... | Permanent Representative..... | Paris 16e (Canadian Embassy) |
| *OEEC..... | Permanent Representative..... | Paris 16e (c/o Canadian Embassy) |
| United Nations..... | Permanent Representative..... | New York (Room 504, 620 Fifth Avenue) |
| " "..... | Secretary..... | Geneva (La Pelouse, Palais des Nations) |

*Organization for European Economic Co-operation.



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Department of External Affairs
Ottawa, Canada

Education for Palestine Arab Refugees

JOHN E. ROBBINS

In December 1951, Dr. John E. Robbins, Director of the Education Division of the Bureau of Statistics, Ottawa, began a seven-month period of service as the director of an educational programme for Palestine Arab refugees jointly sponsored by the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East and the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization. He was succeeded as Chief of the Education Division of the Relief and Works Agency by Dr. Robert Westwater, Chief Inspector of Ottawa Public Schools. When he left Canada for the Near East, Dr. Robbins held the offices of Vice-President of the Canadian Association for Adult Education and of the Canadian Citizenship Council, Treasurer of the Canada Foundation and Secretary-Treasurer of the Humanities Research Council of Canada. He had attended UNESCO conferences in 1945, 1947, 1948 and 1950 at London, Mexico City, Beirut and Florence.

Since his return from the Middle East, Dr. Robbins has been kind enough to contribute to *External Affairs* the following account of the educational work being done under United Nations auspices for Arab refugees, both children and adults.

THE displaced Palestine Arab population of nearly one million is now in its fifth year of refugee status outside the borders of Israel. Since their flight to avoid the disorders in Palestine in 1948, the refugees have been living mainly in Jordan, Lebanon and Syria and in the so-called Gaza Strip in Southwestern Palestine, which is administered by Egypt. Over 850,000 of them are dependent on international support, the bulk of which is provided under United Nations auspices.

Long Range Plans

At first this aid was considered to be purely an emergency operation. Later, however, it became necessary to plan for the maintenance of the refugees for a longer period than a matter of a few months, pending the conclusion of a peace settlement, which has not been negotiated yet, to take the place of the existing armistice regime. On May 1, 1950, the United Nations Relief and Works Agency, familiarly known as UNRWA, came into being. It was to continue administering direct relief as its predecessor in the field had done, but it was instructed also to develop works projects that would enable the refugees to become self-supporting as soon as pos-

sible. The first Director of UNRWA was Major General Howard Kennedy of Ottawa, Chairman of the Eastern Rockies Forest Conservation Board.

• Even before UNRWA was established, however, efforts had been made by the earlier relief administration to provide for the education of some of the 200,000 Arab refugee children of school age who were living in the refugee centres in idleness in the latter part of 1948. Emergency arrangements in 1949 provided at least part-time schooling for 27 per cent of the children between 6 and 14 years of age. When UNRWA took over responsibility for refugee maintenance, educational work was continued as part of the direct relief programme. In the first fourteen months of the Agency's activities, \$282,388 was allotted to education. This relatively small sum, amounting to less than eight-tenths of one per cent of total expenditures, would have meant an outlay of little more than a dollar per child for the whole period had all children of school age been served. The soap which helped to keep refugees in good health accounted for 1.13 per cent.

Even though the funds available for education were inadequate, it became possible for 42 per cent of the Arab refugee children between the ages of 6



MAR ELIAS CAMP

The Mar Elias UNESCO School for Palestine Refugees, where the older boys receive gardening lessons as vocational training.

and 14 to attend elementary schools before the end of June 1951. Almost half of them were in schools jointly supported by UNRWA and UNESCO. Others were enabled to attend private schools, while room was found for a smaller number in the already crowded government schools of host countries.

Three Year Plan

In the light of this first year's experience, officials of the Relief and Works Agency reported that the effective planning of projects to enable the refugees to become self-supporting was impossible unless there could be some assurance in advance of the availability of funds. At the request of the Agency's Director, the United Nations General Assembly therefore agreed to a three-year plan for the period July 1, 1951, to June 30, 1954, on the basis of a total budget of \$250 million, part of which would be spent on direct relief in a diminishing ratio while the remainder would be devoted to carefully developed projects for the reintegration of refugees in normal life.

Although relief appropriations in general were cut, the education budget was continued on the former level, and eventually raised. Under the three-year plan, the fundamental education programme continues, as formerly, to be a charge on the relief budget, while specialized education and vocational training of the young and retraining of adults are financed through the reintegration budget. There has been some discussion, however, of the propriety of maintaining the entire educational system maintained on a unified basis under the budget for reintegration, since all the educational services are helping to equip refugees for normal living and since an artificial separation of vocational training from general education might have harmful effects. The UNRWA Advisory Commission has felt, nevertheless, that only specialized education and training which promise to prepare individuals quickly for self-support can properly be charged to reintegration.

Agreements already concluded with the governments of Arab states in whose territories new development projects are to be located are enabling the Agency

to proceed with the task of preparing refugees for normal living in occupations freely chosen by themselves, which they may pursue wherever they make their permanent homes. It has been clearly stipulated that the agreements with Arab governments and the development projects that are giving the refugees an opportunity to develop their skills and improve their living conditions are not to prejudice their right to repatriation should an opportunity to return to their former homes present itself.

In the twelve months from July 1951 to June 1952, about \$600,000 was spent from the relief budget on education. With this amount UNRWA operated 120 schools, mainly in camps, with an enrolment of about 50,000 children. Another 50,000 refugee children were in schools operated by the governments of the countries where they are residing or in private schools, many of which are conducted by charitable organizations such as the Near East Council of Christian Churches and the Pontifical Mission. The Agency assisted one third of the private schools with small grants. The combined effort, which resulted in the enrolment of about 100,000 pupils, meant that about one half of the children of school age were in school.

School Attendance

A close look at statistics of enrolment shows that nearly all of the boys, or upwards of 80 per cent, appear in school between the ages of 7 and 9 but few remain beyond the age of 12, and the Agency has not attempted to provide secondary education in its schools until this year. Nowhere except in Lebanon do as many as half of the girls appear in school; and, while this is not an unfamiliar phenomenon in Moslem countries, the pressure of refugee parents for more girls' schools is very strong, and the waiting lists of applicants at existing girls' schools are long.

The Agency's schools operate on a budget of about one dollar monthly per pupil. Although classes are large, averaging 55 pupils, it is obvious that such a budget makes small provision for remuneration of the teachers. The Agency's employees are classified in a dozen salary

levels, of which teachers occupy the lowest of the twelve grades, while headmasters are in the second-lowest. There is consequently great difficulty in retaining trained teachers. Those who are qualified to teach in government schools find better remuneration there.

Most of the schools have been conducted in tents, which are reasonably satisfactory for only a part of the year. In the winter months the tents are cold and wet. Many of them were destroyed in the unusually severe storms of last winter, which the aged and dilapidated canvas was unable to withstand. A satisfactory type of building can be erected, however, at very small cost from local materials, except for the roof, which has to be of imported lumber. Some very serviceable school rooms have been built at a cost for each of less than the present low annual salary of a teacher. A few schools are able to operate in rented quarters.

Meagre Equipment

Equipment includes only bare essentials at best. Most of the schools started without furniture, but many are now equipped with desks and benches made in workshops where the older boys take instruction in carpentry. An effort is made to provide the children with pencils and notebooks and with text books that will allow them to follow the courses of study of the government schools in the country where the refugees are encamped.

For the current school year the allocation for education from the relief budget has been increased by almost two thirds. Whereas last year the allocation was a little over \$600,000, for the year 1952-53 it is just under \$1,000,000. This has enabled UNRWA to admit to its schools 3,000 children who had to be turned away last September, and, by the end of February it is hoped that an additional 17,000 may be accommodated. The size of large classes is being steadily reduced and by the end of February, it is hoped that the average will be 50 pupils to one teacher. Teachers' salaries are now being raised to levels usual in host countries. Plans are under way for the building of some satisfactory classrooms in each area in the spring of 1953 to replace outworn

tent classrooms. Although a general improvement in the quality of refugee education has thus become possible, there still remain more than 80,000 refugee children between the ages of 6 and 14 for whom no basic school education is provided.

Older pupils in the schools, as well as the teachers, have co-operated with a half-dozen paid supervisors in promoting a successful literacy campaign among adults and the children who have not had an opportunity to attend school. This effort has been based on Laubach methods, applying the principle that 'each one teaches one'. The materials used were developed by the Christian Missionary Council in Cairo at very small cost.

Technical Direction

While the educational programme is administered by UNRWA, UNESCO accepts responsibility for its technical direction, just as the World Health Organization makes provision for direction of the health services of the Agency. UNESCO provides a Chief and Deputy Chief for the Education Division of the Agency. It also makes an annual grant of some \$70,000, stipulating that \$15,000 of the amount shall be used to assist students at the university level. The latter sum, divided among the American University of Beirut, St. Joseph's University, Beirut, and the University of Syria in Damascus, has been used to assist about 100 students yearly. Palestinian students in the universities of Egypt, however, have been assisted by the Egyptian Government.

In the spring of 1952, UNESCO undertook, furthermore, to appropriate Technical Assistance funds to the extent of \$50,000 not only to provide certain specialized education personnel from abroad but also to train young Palestinians on fellowships to succeed them.

In the operation of its Gift Coupon Plan, UNESCO publicizes the needs of the Palestine Arab refugee schools and finds them a favourite object of interest in the United States, United Kingdom, France, Australia, Belgium, Sweden and other countries. The gifts produce direct contacts between schools at the sending and receiving ends, and bring about a

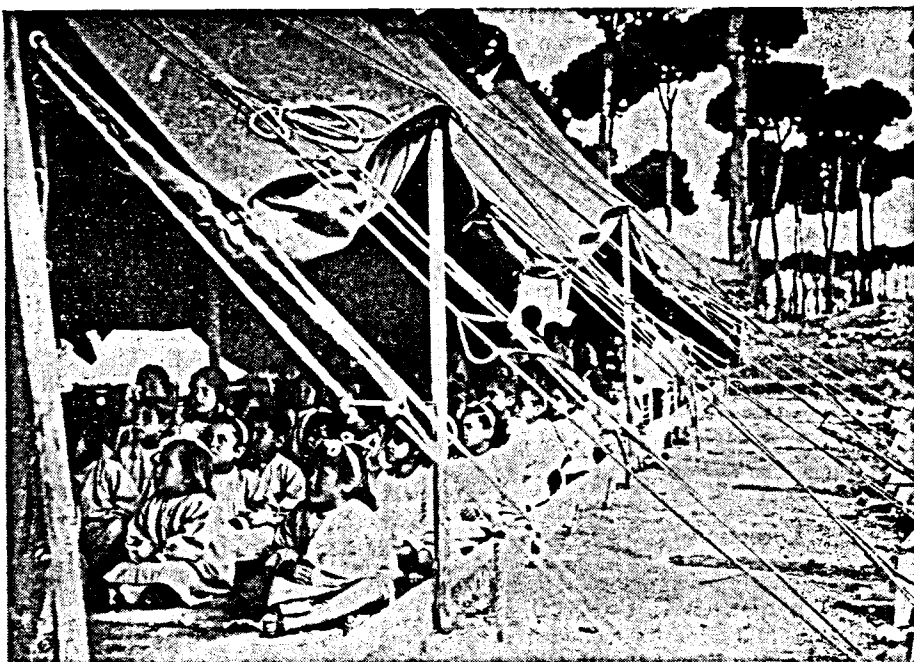
degree of understanding that is of value to the donors as well as to the recipients.

UNESCO also provides for an annual conference of representatives of the Ministries of Education of the Arab States to consider refugee education. The latest of these conferences, held in Beirut last April, was attended by representatives of Egypt, Jordan and Lebanon, as well as by an authority on education in the Middle East representing UNESCO Headquarters in Paris and by administrative officers of the joint UNESCO-UNRWA education programme in the Middle East. The conference recommended a unified educational system to be maintained under a single budget, in place of the present arrangement, which makes general education a charge on the relief budget and vocational training a charge on the reintegration budget. A considerably increased total budget for education was considered to be necessary.

Reintegration Programme

In the first year of the three-year reintegration programme only some small experimental training projects got under way. They provided for the training of a few hundred health and para-medical personnel, teachers, stenographers, typists, weavers and mechanics, at a cost of about \$100,000. Much time was given by the Agency's Education Division to the planning of larger-scale training in 1952-53, and \$5,000,000 has been earmarked in the reintegration budget to put these plans into effect. As a majority of the refugees are of peasant origin and must be expected to find their future on the land, agricultural education has had an important place in all of these plans. But training plans constitute only a part of the broader and more comprehensive agreements negotiated by UNRWA with the Arab governments, and can be initiated only as the latter are actually put into effect.

Toward the current year's work of the Agency, Canada has made a contribution of \$600,000. If other countries with responsibilities similar to those of Canada contribute in like degree, and if local conditions indicate that the operations of the Relief and Works Agency have a good



KINDERGARTEN IN LEBANON

A kindergarten in Dekwani Camp, Lebanon, one of the 117 elementary schools operated by the United Nations Relief and Works Agency in conjunction with UNESCO.

chance of success, it is understood that the Canadian Government may consider making a further contribution this year. The largest contributors, however, have continued to be the United States, the United Kingdom and France, which together provided 80 per cent of the funds used by UNRWA during the first four-

teen months of its existence. These three countries, with Turkey, have also provided the membership of the Advisory Commission of UNRWA from the outset and have thus carried a large share of the responsibility for the day-to-day operation of a complex humanitarian enterprise of considerable dimensions.

Seventh General Conference of UNESCO

Report of the Canadian Delegation*

IT has become customary to refer to various general conferences of UNESCO in terms of crises and turning points. The Seventh General Conference held at Paris from November 12 to December 11, 1952, was no exception. It is no exaggeration to say that this was a critical conference for UNESCO; it would be incorrect to say that the crisis has been happily surmounted and that the Organization can now proceed confidently on a stable course. The different national conceptions of the work which UNESCO can and should do caused a serious rift in the middle of the conference. At its close there had been only a patchy and uneasy bridging of the rift.

Site of the Eighth General Conference of UNESCO

The action taken by the Sixth General Conference, commending to the Seventh Conference the invitation of the Government of Uruguay to hold the Eighth Conference at Montevideo, virtually predetermined the decision. Several delegations stressed the extra cost of holding general conferences away from the permanent headquarters of the Organization — an extra cost which could only be met by funds which otherwise would be devoted to programme activities. They also stressed the difficulties and disorganization for the secretariat. Some countries warned that the distance and the additional cost would make it impossible for them to send full delegations, or perhaps any delegations at all. However, the argument that this was an effective way of publicizing UNESCO and making its

work known on the South American continent won the day. The conference voted 28-13 (with 12 abstentions) in favour of Montevideo. It is expected that the 1954 conference will be held in May or September of that year; the decision rests in the hands of the Executive Board.

Admission of New Members to UNESCO

The admission of Nepal and Libya created no difficulties. The admission of Spain, however, aroused strong feelings among the delegations which had opposed it, and caused uneasiness amongst delegations that did not wish to take a strong stand either way. The conference accepted a resolution precluding debate on the admission of Spain. This was approved by a majority of 44-4 (with 7 abstentions). Spain's admission without debate led the Yugoslav member of the Executive Board to announce his resignation (which he later agreed to withdraw until his National Commission could review the issue) and resulted in the resignation of a member each from the French and Belgian delegations. The Canadian delegation voted in favour of Spain's admission on the ground that UNESCO's objective was universal membership and that it was a non-political organization.

Withdrawal of Poland

A letter was received from the Polish Embassy in Paris in the last days of the conference denouncing the nature of the Organization and announcing Poland's withdrawal from membership. It was not

*The Canadian delegation to the Seventh General Conference of UNESCO consisted of the following: Chairman: Dr. Victor Doré, Canadian Minister to Switzerland and Austria; Vice-Chairman: Mr. E. H. Norman, Department of External Affairs; Delegates: Mr. T. A. M. Kirk, M.P. for Digby-Yarmouth, Mr. Garnet T. Page, General Manager, Chemical Institute of Canada, Mr. Paul Cérin-Lajoie, Montreal lawyer; Alternate Delegate: Miss M. E. Conway, President Canadian Teachers' Federation; Adviser: Mr. René Carneau, Department of External Affairs; Financial Adviser: Mr. J. E. G. Hardy, Department of External Affairs; Adviser and Secretary: Mr. Blair Seaborn, Department of External Affairs.

a startling development, because Poland, Czechoslovakia and Hungary had not taken part in the work of the Organization since the Florence conference of 1950. A letter has been sent from UNESCO urging the Polish Government to reconsider its decision; but it seems highly improbable that this will have any effect, particularly since Hungary announced after the conference its intention of withdrawing.

Debate on the Budget Ceiling

The programme and budget estimates prepared by the Director-General and approved by the Executive Board for presentation to the conference called for a budget of \$20,400,000 for the years 1953 and 1954. This, according to the Director-General, was the minimum necessary to carry out the essential parts of UNESCO's programme. This figure represented a substantial increase over the budget ceiling of \$8,700,000 for the year 1952.

The debate on the budget ceiling probably was the most critical of the session. On one side were those countries which entirely supported the Director-General's programme and considered that it constituted but one more modest step in the direction of a constantly expanding UNESCO programme. They saw an almost limitless field of worthwhile projects in education, science and culture, and thought that only through UNESCO could these be initiated. On the other side, the countries that spoke in favour of a more modest budget, principally those such as the United States, the United Kingdom and ourselves, making the largest contributions to UNESCO, cited heavy commitments in other fields and inability to give unlimited funds to UNESCO. Although the division of countries into those which thought in an expensive way and those of a more conservative bent was not entirely clearcut, predominant among the former were the Latin American countries and some of the more important countries of Asia and Africa.

A compromise proposal providing a budget ceiling of \$18,000,000 for the two years was finally put forward late in the discussion and was carried by a narrow

majority of 29-21 (with 4 abstentions).

Although the ceiling of \$18,000,000 will mean a higher assessment for the forthcoming two years, the money available for the programme each year will be less than in the year 1952. There will be an effective spending budget of just over \$17,000,000. Firstly, it will cost, approximately, an additional \$300,000 to hold the Eighth Conference in Montevideo rather than in Paris. Secondly, non-recurring funds were used in 1952 to cover the expected shortfall in contributions and to permit the carrying out of projects which could not otherwise have been financed. This year no such funds are available. Thirdly, the estimated annual percentage of contributions considered uncollectable rose from 7.5 per cent in 1952 to 9.2 per cent in 1953-54. For all these reasons, there will be reduced programme activity.

One of the causes of the budget crisis was the constitutional vagueness concerning responsibility for the preparation of the programme and budget estimates. In theory, the Executive Board prepared the programme and the Director-General assembled the budget estimates necessary to implement it. But it was known that the Director-General, Mr. Torres Bodet, was very closely associated with the preparation of the budget and that he felt committed to its defence. The conference subsequently amended the constitution to give the Director-General full responsibility for the preparation of the programme and corresponding budget. The Executive Board will submit these to the general conference with its recommendations. This clarification of the respective powers and responsibilities of the administrative, executive and legislative organs should help the work of future conferences and lessen the chance of conflicts.

The Budget Committee was hampered in its consideration of the budget estimates prior to the opening of the General Conference by the Director-General's insistence that it neither examine the relative merits, in financial terms, of the projects in the programme, nor relate the proposed budget to the general financial policies of the fifteen member states on the Committee. The Committee was therefore limited to an analysis of the costing accuracy of each project. The

Budget Committee for the 1954 conference has been transformed into an Advisory Committee on Programme and Budget with enlarged terms of reference. It will have full power to examine, before the general conference opens, the programme and budget of the Director-General, as well as the Executive Board's comments on them. It will also examine and advise on new proposals by member states or the Executive Board. Such a committee should facilitate the work of the general conference through the elimination of the artificial distinction between the substantive and budgetary aspects of programme projects. Canada was again elected to serve on this Committee.

Resignation of the Director-General

On November 22, the morning after the budget had been fixed, Dr. Bodet announced his intention of resigning his post as Director-General of UNESCO. He said that he had "burned himself out" in his efforts to make the Organization what he thought it could and should be. Faced with a choice between retreat, stabilization, or advance by the Organization, the Executive Board and he had spoken in favour of advance, but the conference had, in his opinion, chosen retreat. He said that he had lost heart and faith, and could no longer continue in his job. His resignation was not prompted by any sense of personal pique. He would, he said, have resigned even had his proposed programme and budget been accepted by the conference by a small majority. He could not carry on unless he thought that a large majority of member states were whole-heartedly behind him in his endeavours. His resignation was followed by that of Dr. Paulo Carneiro of Brazil, the Chairman of the Executive Board, who associated himself fully with the Director-General's statement.

It is too early to judge whether the crisis of the budget and the resignation have been successfully surmounted. As was pointed out, after the resignation of Dr. Bodet, by Mr. Malik, Indian Ambassador to France and head of the Indian delegation in the absence of Sir Sarvepalli Radhakrishnan, the repercussions in distant countries, particularly less-devel-

oped ones such as his own, could not be gauged by those sitting in the conference rooms of UNESCO. In the narrowest sense, the problem is unresolved. The choice of a suitable successor to Dr. Bodet presents a real problem. To carry on in Dr. Bodet's place, the conference appointed Dr. John W. Taylor, Dr. Bodet's deputy, to serve as Acting Director-General until a new Director-General is appointed. This will take place at an extraordinary session to be held in the spring of 1953.

Sequel to Dr. Bodet's Resignation

The day before Dr. Bodet's resignation, Sir Sarvepalli Radhakrishnan, the President of the General Conference, had left hurriedly for India at Mr. Nehru's request. To succeed him as Acting President, the steering committee chose Mr. S. M. Sharif, the head of the Pakistan delegation and a senior official in the Pakistan Ministry of Education. During the course of the next three days, Mr. Sharif worked tirelessly to bring about agreement on a course of action for the remainder of the conference. In these efforts he was able to achieve much success. Those who had voted for the higher budget ceiling were not happy about the necessity of cutting the programme. But through Mr. Sharif's efforts they were persuaded to proceed to a critical examination of the programme to decide where reductions could best be made to bring the programme within the limits of funds that would be available.

Work of the Programme Commission

When the Programme Commission began a detailed examination of the programme and budget estimates it had before it suggestions already made by the Budget Committee whereby savings could be effected in carrying out the programme as drawn up by the Director-General. Examples of some of these are noted in the Annex. The Administrative Commission was also able to effect economies in budgeting for the Eighth General Conference as well as for the Office of the Director-General and the New York Liaison Office. The Programme Commission and the various working parties

which were set up under it had to work on the assumption that only A.1 priorities could be carried out in the years 1953 and 1954 and that all A.2, B.1 and B.2 priorities would have to be deleted from the programme. They had, moreover, to look for savings of approximately 7.8 per cent in the A.1 priorities in order to bring the programme within the limits of funds available. The discussions which followed reflected to some extent disagreement resulting from the budget-ceiling debate. However, the Canadian delegation is satisfied that none of the important projects has been sacrificed.

Establishment of Priorities

A Working Party on the Future Programme and Development of UNESCO was set up to examine an item proposed by the United States on the "establishment of priorities". In its report, which will be referred to member states for comments to assist the Director-General in the preparation of the programme for 1955-56, the Working Party divided the activities of the Organization into three categories: (i) established-services activities, i.e., the techniques and methods used in carrying out the permanent purposes or the particular programmes of UNESCO; (ii) programme activities corresponding to the present budgetary level; (iii) priorities for a programme corresponding to a higher budgetary level.

The activities of the Organization are so heterogeneous, its membership is so varied, the conceptions of its purposes are so different among various groups, that the problem of defining priorities will always be an arduous one. European countries, for example, tend to regard it as the successor to the Centre for Intellectual Co-operation of the League of Nations; whereas under-developed countries are more interested in fundamental education than in intellectual co-operation on a higher plane. Moreover, the Secretariat prefers to maintain the equilibrium worked out over seven experimental years among the various programme departments and their activities. Nevertheless, the general conference has recognized the desirability of establishing priorities. The fact that certain fields have been selected for special emphasis is in line with Cana-

dian thinking on concentration of effort, and represents an achievement on which it should be possible to build in the future.

Permanent Headquarters

The discussions on permanent headquarters for UNESCO were confused halfway through the conference when the French Government announced that it must withdraw its offer of a site at the Porte Maillot on the edge of the Bois de Boulogne. Complete plans for a building had been drawn for this site, and it seemed for a short time that it would be impossible at this conference to reach any firm decision about the building. However, the French Government was pressed into making a new offer to UNESCO, and this time it proposed the site at the Place de Fontenoy near the Ecole Militaire, which had originally been offered but had been rejected as unsuitable by the panel of five architects which is advising UNESCO in this matter. In renewing its offer of the site at the Place de Fontenoy, the French Government agreed to reimburse the Organization in the amount of \$90,000 for the expenses incurred in drawing up plans for the other site. It also offered to withdraw the architectural restrictions on the Place de Fontenoy site which had previously made this ground unsuitable. The French Government renewed its offer of an interest-free loan of approximately \$6,000,000, repayable over 30 years to finance the building. Agreement in principle to acceptance of the new offer was reached, subject to final ratification at the extraordinary session to be held in the spring of 1953, when the architects will have drawn up new plans. It seems likely that agreement will be reached in the spring and that construction can proceed. If this is the case, UNESCO should have its permanent headquarters in good time for the Ninth General Conference in 1956.

Composition of the Executive Board

A long but fruitful debate was held in the Administrative Commission on the amendment to the constitution proposed by the United States. This would have had the effect of electing to the Executive

Board representatives of national governments rather than persons chosen in their individual capacities. Those in favour of this argued that such a change would make for closer co-operation between the Executive Board and the governments and member states in the period between ordinary sessions and in the formulation of the programme and budget estimates for future years. They hoped that through closer liaison with national governments it would be possible to avoid the type of crisis over the programme and budget which occurred in 1952. Those opposed argued that the Executive Board should be above national direction and pressures, and should serve not member states but the Organization as a whole. Canada played an active part in modifying the original amendment to meet some of the objections raised and the amendment as finally phrased was much more acceptable than the original. However, an Indian resolution to defer decision until 1954 gained the support of those who were opposed and those who were undecided, and was carried by a vote of 25-19 with one abstention and 14 absent. There appears to be a fair chance that the principle of the United States amendment will be accepted at the next general conference if Canada continues to press the point with other member states between now and 1954.

Following defeat of the revised amendment, changes were made to adapt the Executive Board to a system of biennial conferences. It was agreed that the Board should be composed of 20 rather than 18 members and that each member should serve for a period of four rather than three years. One half of the Board will retire at each ordinary session so that, once interim arrangements concerning numbers have been worked out, ten new members will be elected at each ordinary session.

Elections to the Executive Board

The members who were to retire in 1953 had their term of office extended to 1954. Professor Vittorio Veronese was elected to serve out the term, until 1954, of the late Count Jacini, the Italian member. The eight new members elected to the Executive Board are as follows (in order

of votes received):
 Mr. Luther Evans . . . United States
 Mr. Henri Laugier . . . France
 H.E. Ventura G. Calderon Peru
 H.E. Toru Hagiwara . . . Japan
 Mr. Luang Pin Malakul . Thailand
 H.E. Dr. G. A. Raadi . . . Iran
 Prof. Oscar Secco Ellauri Uruguay
 Prof. Jakob Nielsen . . . Denmark

The Yugoslav member, who had announced his resignation over the admission of Spain, was persuaded, to let it stand in abeyance pending consideration by the Yugoslav National Commission and Government. Should he renew his resignation, it will be necessary to elect one more member to replace him.

Legal Questions

A Legal Committee, on which Canada served, was set up at the conference to consider the many amendments to the constitution, rules of procedure and various directives consequent upon the adoption of a system of biennial rather than annual conferences. Canada was elected to the Legal Committee for the 1954 conference.

Conclusion

There are various considerations in Canada's participation in UNESCO. One point of view is that it is an Organization to which we give, but from which we also receive. This has not always been recognized in Canada but Canadian scientists, educators, social scientists and others are beginning to realize that they can draw positive advantage from some of UNESCO's projects. UNESCO can also be regarded as another channel for helping the less-developed countries of the world.

In the final analysis, the crisis of the recent conference arose from the clash of concepts over the proper purposes and potentialities of the Organization as seen by delegates of the less developed countries on the one hand and the major contributing nations on the other. Debate on this central issue which precipitated Dr. Bodet's resignation generated a degree of bitterness on the part of some delegations. They expressed the view that at the end of the Second World War the great pow-

ers had stimulated the hopes of the whole world concerning the peaceful and constructive role of UNESCO; but now these same powers were showing greater concern with other matters, particularly defence, and were inclined to neglect the ideals represented by UNESCO. While these views may seem to some to have been based on a misunderstanding of what UNESCO can do in the present world and while the emotions aroused in the debate may have seemed excessive, these symptoms of disillusionment are phenomena which we in Canada should not ignore or belittle. It is true that the Canadian delegation, together with a number of others, chiefly representing the larger contributors, insisted upon economies in certain projects, but there was no disposition to abandon what these delegations regard as the core of UNESCO responsibilities, namely fundamental education and technical assistance. Perhaps the effective way to dispel any misunderstanding or resentment among some delegations who expected a larger budget would be continued and detailed interest in the work of UNESCO between conferences and a willingness at forthcoming conferences to display a lively and sustained interest, both financial and professional, in those projects which we in Canada have always regarded as basic.

ANNEX

Voluntary societies and interested persons in Canada will undoubtedly be anxious to know the practical implications for UNESCO'S activities resulting from the need to reduce the overall budget for projects with A.1 priority by 7.8 per cent. Although there was some discussion of the possibility of making a cross-the-board reduction on each project, it was decided to make the reduction selective.

The following list is not exhaustive, but includes most of the major and a number of the minor modifications of UNESCO'S projects decided upon at the conference.

Education

1. The annual subvention to the International Association of Universities was reduced by \$1,000.

2. The annual subvention to the World Confederation of Organizations of the Teaching Profession was increased from \$3,000 to \$6,000, and upgraded from A.2 to A.1 priority.
3. The subvention of \$2,000 for the New Education Fellowship was upgraded from B.1 to A.1 priority.
4. It was decided to publish the World Handbook of Educational Organization and Statistics every three years rather than every two years. The next edition will be published in 1956.
5. The studies on the training of secondary school teachers in Great Britain, France, Germany and the United States were deleted.
6. A committee of six consultants was established to consider the aims and methods of education for living in a world community, and this project was given an A.1 priority.
7. It was reluctantly agreed to discontinue the programme of studies aimed at assisting educational activities in member states designed to equip children better for living in a world community.
8. The time limit for seminars was reduced from five to four weeks.
9. The UNESCO University Course is to be dropped entirely.

Social Sciences

1. Establishment of an International Social Science Research and Training Centre was postponed. Its place has been taken provisionally by a small Research Office.
2. The proposed subvention to the International Studies Conference was reduced from \$3,500 annually to \$1,750.
3. It was decided that the meeting of experts during 1954 to consider international conflicts and their mediation should be deferred and the study of theories and opinions regarding the causes of war postponed.
4. It was agreed that contracts with the Provisional International Social Science Council should be reduced from \$9,000 to \$6,000, and that the meeting of experts to evaluate international co-operation in the social sciences should be reduced in size.
5. The publication of the International Repertory of Social Science Documentation Centres was discontinued.

6. An increase of \$3,000 was approved for work on the Bibliography of South Asia.

Natural Sciences

1. It was decided not to investigate the possibility of forming an Institute for Brain Research. Instead, a small budgetary allocation was allotted to the creation of a Regional Pacific Oceanographic Institute.
2. Financial support for the proposed International Computation Centre was withdrawn.
3. There will be no new travelling science exhibition, and the three existing exhibitions now abroad, will complete their programmes and then will be

kept in Paris for the next two years. The estimated saving will be \$38,000.

4. Publication of "Impact" is to be continued on a much reduced basis, and no Arabic or Spanish editions are to be prepared unless extra funds become available.
5. The printing costs for a number of publications were reduced by the decision to publish them either in one language only or in a single bilingual edition.

Cultural Activities

1. It was found possible to reduce the cost of the Scientific and Cultural History of Mankind by \$40,000 for the next two years.



CANADIAN AMBASSADOR TO TURKEY

—Basinfo

Mr. H. O. Moran, centre, the Canadian Ambassador to Turkey, on the occasion of his presentation of Letters of Credence to President Bayar. Mr. Moran is accompanied by the Assistant Chief of Protocol, Mr. Beheet Sefik Özdoganci, left, and the Aide-de-camp to the President.

The UN General Assembly— A Senator's Impressions

HON. GORDON B. ISNOR

In the following article Senator Isnor of Nova Scotia describes his personal impressions as a member of the Canadian Delegation to the seventh session of the United Nations General Assembly.

ALMOST the first words used by Canadians and other visitors to the United Nations are — "Isn't this wonderful, it seems fantastic, tell me more about it."

You agree with the first two thoughts but when it comes to "telling more about it" that's a different story for the very simple reason that there never has been anything just like the United Nations.

Then perhaps, after having invited your friends to have lunch with you in the Delegates' Dining Room, which operates on a self-supporting basis, you start to explain the functions of the United Nations and answer all manner of questions.

By way of background I should explain my position by stating that early last September I received an invitation, extended on behalf of the Prime Minister and the Secretary of State for External Affairs, to be a representative on the Canadian Delegation to the seventh session of the United Nations General Assembly opening in New York on October 14.

"Land of Queer Names"

While feeling honoured, I questioned my usefulness to the Delegation, due to the fact that I had never made any special study of External Affairs, or of the United Nations. However, it was pointed out that, because of my long years of service in the House of Commons and the Senate, particularly in connection with financial matters, there was certain Committee work for which I was adapted. So here I am — in the "Land of Queer Names"—such as: UNRWAPR, UNICEF, UNKRA, UNESCO, ILO, FAO, ICAO, UPU, WHO and many others, too confusing to try to enumerate. It was in a state of "bewilderment" in its truest sense

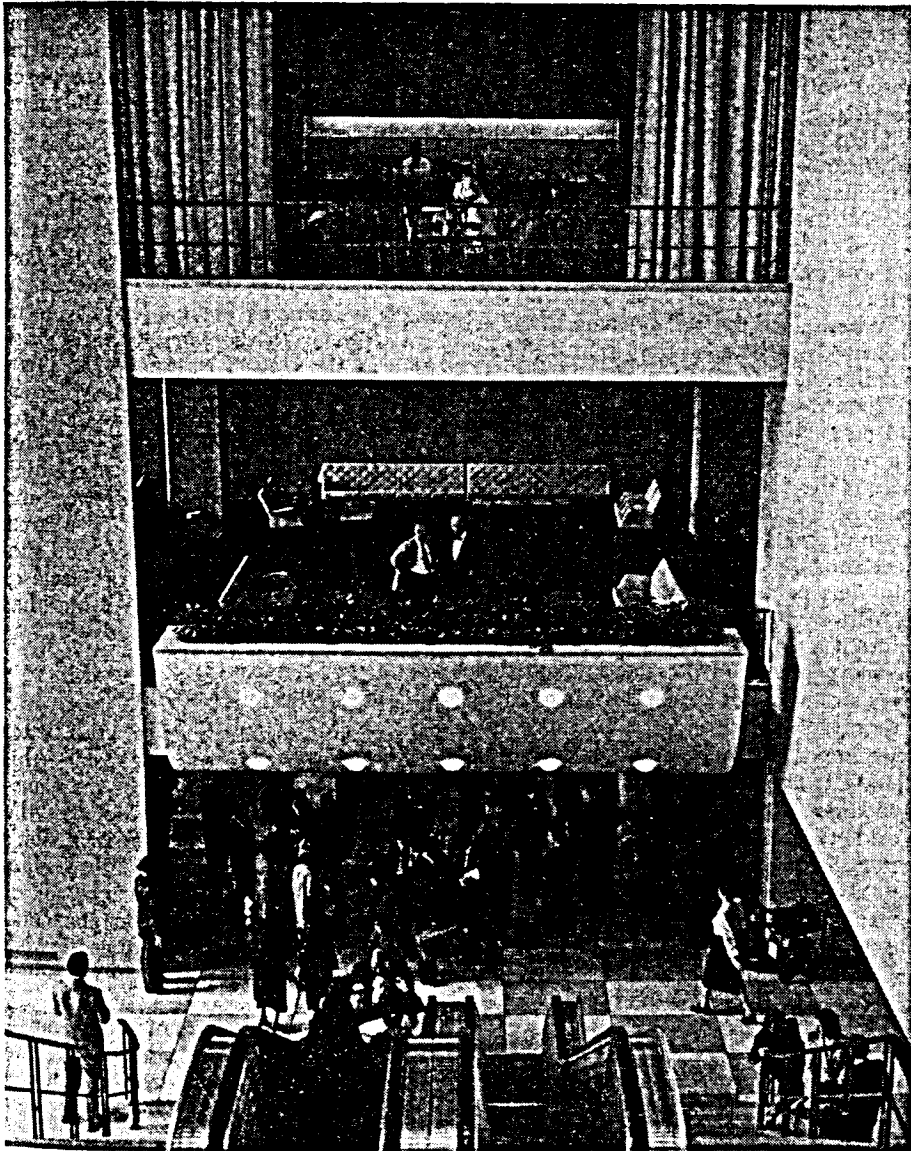
that I found myself seated next to Mr. Paul Martin in the Plenary Session of the Assembly on the opening day.

It really took me the best part of the first week to get my feet firmly on the ground — but things quickly adjusted themselves. I felt proud to be a Canadian as I listened to the favourable comments regarding the election of Mr. Pearson to the Presidency. As this was the first session to be held in the newly completed quarters of the U.N., the retiring president, Dr. Padilla Nervo, Hon. Vincent Impellitteri, Mayor of New York, Mr. Trygve Lie, Secretary-General and others spoke in glowing terms of the work of the Headquarters Advisory Committee which handled the details in connection with the new building.

The Buildings

These extraordinary structures, housing the U.N. Permanent Headquarters, occupy an 18-acre tract of land on Manhattan Island, covering six blocks from 42nd to 48th Streets, between First Avenue and the East River. At first sight one almost has a feeling of awe — the buildings are unique in so many ways, and so outstandingly different from other buildings. The three elements are the 39-story skyscraper office building of the Secretariat; the long, low Conference Building paralleling the river with its Council Chambers and Conference Rooms; and the strikingly magnificent General Assembly Hall.

Underground parking and garage facilities are provided for 1,500 cars. The U.N. maintains a postal service and there is usually a line-up of persons purchasing U.N. stamps both for philatelic and personal use. (Letters bearing U.N. stamps must be mailed within the U.N. Buildings.)



UNITED NATIONS HEADQUARTERS

—United Nations

The United Nations General Assembly Building, showing (from top to bottom) the Press snack bar; the lounge area; and the Delegates entrance.

The headquarters itself is what might be termed a self-governing organization—it has every facility required to service its operations.

Now the questions arise:—how much did this cost? Where did the money come from? Who pays? On what basis are contributions made?

Administrative and Budgetary Matters

I was a member of the Fifth Committee, which is one of the main committees and deals with administrative and budgetary matters. All financial items come before this committee for careful scrutiny, examination and approval. Therefore I

have been in a particularly good position to supply answers to these questions.

Well, to start with, the site was acquired with the \$8,500,000 donated to the U.N. by John D. Rockefeller Jr. The building was constructed at a cost of approximately \$67,000,000. The Budget Estimates, as presented by the Secretary-General for the year 1953, amounted to a gross total of \$47,765,200*— against this was estimated income of \$6,112,500 — leaving a net budget of \$41,652,700.

"Where does the money come from" — This needs to be answered more fully so that the picture will be clear. There are 60 countries enjoying U.N. membership and on each of the six committees there is a representative of each country. Then there is the Committee on Contributions, composed of nine members selected on a geographical basis, whose duty it is to meet annually and prepare a rate of contributions or assessments, based broadly on "capacity to pay". This Committee has before it a statement called "comparative income per head of population" and this plays an important part in arriving at the scale of assessment of each country. Another important factor must be borne in mind — "temporary dislocation of national economies arising out of the Second World War". Perhaps I could not do better than to illustrate with the figures for Canada. The recommended scale for us is 3.30% of total budget, which on \$44,000,000 would be \$1,452,000. Since our last census shows that Canada's population is slightly more than 14,000,000,

| | |
|---|--------------|
| *The gross budget finally approved..... | \$48,327,700 |
| The estimated income | \$ 6,238,200 |
| The estimated net expenditure..... | \$42,089,500 |

this would work out to a Canadian contribution of 10 cents for each man, woman and child — surely a low rate of insurance for an effort to maintain peace throughout the world, or among the member-nations of the U.N.

Purposes and Principles

But someone else might ask — yes, you have told us about the buildings, the cost of administration, and the manner in which assessments are made, but tell us in a word as to the *purposes* and *principles* of the United Nations — To this I would say in the language of the Charter: "To maintain international peace and security, and to that end: to take effective collective measures for the prevention and removal of threats to the peace, and for the suppressions of acts of aggression". It is an effort to save this and succeeding generations from the scourge of war, which twice in our lifetime has brought untold sorrow to mankind.

Aim of Canadian Delegation

To promote social progress and better standards of life in larger freedom — this is the aim of every member of the Canadian Delegation, and, I believe the thought of practically every other nation's delegation attending the seventh session. I wish every Canadian, in every walk of life, could learn more of the aims and purposes of the United Nations. I wish more Canadians could see the Canadian Delegation at work.

I conclude this statement as I began — "It's wonderful, it seems fantastic, tell me more about it" — These are some of my views and impressions.

EXTERNAL AFFAIRS IN PARLIAMENT

Statements of Government Policy

The purpose of this section is to provide a selection of statements on external affairs by Ministers of the Crown or by their parliamentary assistants. It is not designed to provide a complete coverage of debates on external affairs taking place during the month.

On January 15, in the reply to a request by Mr. Croll (L-Spadina) for enlightenment on "the implications of recent signs of growing anti-Semitism in the Soviet Union and the satellite countries in Eastern Europe", Mr. Pearson (Secretary of State for External Affairs) said:

... The ominous and familiar pattern which seems to be developing within the Soviet world is a matter which must be viewed with deepest anxiety — especially, if I may say so, by citizens of the Jewish faith in Canada and other countries. Communist action against Jews has been recently highlighted in the purge in Czechoslovakia. There have been indications that similar purges may be in the making in other satellite capitals. The news from Moscow that six Jewish doctors have been arrested in that city, charged with fantastic and obviously trumped-up crimes, fits into the same pattern. There has not yet been time for the Department of External Affairs to receive sufficient information on this latest development to make possible a balanced assessment of its probable implications. That it may prove to be a very serious matter indeed is, I think, obvious to all of us.

Terrible atrocities stemmed from unbridled anti-Semitism in Nazi Germany. It would be a great tragedy and crime if the rulers of Communist Russia were now planning to revive this dark and evil force from the past and to make use of it for their own ends.

UNITED NATIONS ESSAY CONTEST

The United Nations Department of Public Information has announced plans for its annual essay contest for members of non-governmental organizations collaborating with the United Nations.

The contest is open to members between the ages of 20 and 35 who are nationals of UN member countries, except the United States, or of countries administered by a member state.

Candidates may choose between two subjects: "United Nations Technical Assistance and Peace", or "The Role of Non-Governmental Organizations in the Implementation of the Principles of the United Nations." The essays may be written in the candidates' mother tongue.

The winners will be offered a month's stay at UN Headquarters in New York, in September-October 1953, with their living expenses and travel paid for by the UN.

Ten prizes will be awarded, no more than one to the same country. One prize will be reserved for a member of an association of a non-member state of the United Nations if an essay of sufficient quality is received.

The essays will be examined by national organizing committees, and the two best entries from each country will be judged by an international panel consisting of officials of the UN Department of Public Information and experts in the field of international education. Entries must reach the national organizing committees before May 1, 1953, and the prize winners will be announced before June 20, 1953. Complete rules for the contest may be secured from the Department of Public Information United Nations, New York, N.Y.

APPOINTMENTS AND TRANSFERS IN THE CANADIAN DIPLOMATIC SERVICE

- Mr. J. P. Sigvaldason was posted from annual leave (Office of the High Commissioner, London) to Ottawa, effective January 5, 1953.
- Mr. T. P. Malone was posted from the Canadian Embassy, Washington, D.C. to Ottawa, effective January 2, 1953.
- Mr. A. J. Andrew was transferred from the Canadian Embassy, Bonn, to the Canadian Legation, Vienna, effective January 15, 1953.
- Mr. W. G. M. Olivier was transferred from the Canadian Delegation to the United Nations, New York to the Canadian Embassy, Washington, effective January 30, 1953.
- Mr. R. E. Reynolds was posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Legation, Prague, effective January 28, 1953.
- Mr. K. Goldschlag was posted from Ottawa to the Office of the High Commissioner for Canada in New Delhi, effective January 28, 1953.

CANADIAN REPRESENTATION AT INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCES

(This is a list of international conferences at which Canada was represented during the month of January 1953. Earlier conferences will be found in the previous issues of "External Affairs".)

(The Department of External Affairs through its International Conferences Section, is responsible for co-ordinating all invitations of international conferences. It should be noted, however, that the decision as to the participation of the Canadian Government at such conferences is made by the Secretary of State for External Affairs, or where appropriate, by Cabinet, upon the recommendation of the department of government functionally concerned.)

Standing International Bodies on Which Canada is Represented

(Published annually. Only new international bodies on which Canada is represented will be listed in the intervening months. See "External Affairs" January 1953, for the last complete list.)

Conferences Attended in January

1. 11th Session of Executive Board of WHO. Geneva, January 12.
2. Ad Hoc Committee on Restrictive Business Practices (ECOSOC). New York, January 12.
3. Regional Conference of ICAO. Melbourne, January 13.
4. 19th Annual Meeting of American Society of Photogrammetry. Washington, January 14-16.
5. 10th Session of ECE Steel Committee. Geneva, January 19.
6. 11th Session of the International Wheat Council. Washington, January 30.

CURRENT DEPARTMENTAL PUBLICATIONS

Treaty Series 1952, No. 8:—Protocol to the North Atlantic Treaty on the accession of Greece and Turkey. Signed at London, October 17, 1951. English and French texts. Price 25 cents.

Treaty Series 1951, No. 1:—Exchange of Notes between Canada and India constituting an Agreement concerning the entry to Canada for permanent residence of citizens of India. Signed at Ottawa, January 26, 1951. English and French texts. Price 25 cents.

Treaty Series 1951, No. 12:—Agreement between the Government of Belgium and the Governments of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, Australia, Canada, India, New Zealand, Pakistan and the Union of South Africa respecting the war cemeteries, graves and memorials of the British Commonwealth in Belgian Territory. Signed at Brussels, July 20, 1951. English and French texts. Price 25 cents.

Treaty Series 1951, No. 13:—Agreement between the Government of Canada and the Royal Government of Sweden for the avoidance of double taxation and the establishment of rules for reciprocal fiscal assistance in the matter of income taxes. Signed at Ottawa, April 6, 1951. English, Swedish and French texts. Price 25 cents.

Treaty Series 1951, No. 26:—Exchange of Notes amending paragraph 4 of the annex to the Canada-Australia air transport agreement of 11 June, 1946. Signed at Canberra, March 16, 1951. English and French texts. Price 25 cents.

Treaty Series 1951, No. 27:—Exchange of Notes between Canada and France constituting an Agreement abrogating the agreement of March 22, 1946, concerning the release of certain private property from Government control. Signed at Ottawa, November 13, 1951. English and French texts. Price 25 cents.

Treaty Series 1950, No. 19:—Final Act of the United Nations Technical Assistance Conference. Signed at Lake Success, New York, June 14, 1950. English and French texts. Price 25 cents.

Treaty Series 1949, No. 13:—Final Act of ICAO Conference on air navigation services in Greenland and the Faroe Islands. Signed at London, May 12, 1949. English and French texts. Price 25 cents.

Treaty Series 1949, No. 25:—Exchange of Notes between Canada and the Grand Duchy of Luxembourg constituting an Agreement regarding visa requirements for non-immigrant travellers of the two countries. Signed at Brussels, November 24, 1949 and at Luxembourg, November 26, 1949. English and French texts. Price 25 cents.

STATEMENTS AND SPEECHES

(Obtainable from the Information Division, Department of External Affairs, Ottawa, Canada)

The following serial numbers are available abroad only:

No. 52/59 — *Canada's Post-War Finance*. Text of the address intended for delivery by Dr. W. C. Clark, Deputy Minister of Finance, to a joint meeting of the American Economic Association, the American Finance Association, and the Chicago Association of Commerce and Industry, Chicago, January 29, 1953.

No. 53/1 — *The Eskimos: A Canadian Human Resource*, an address by the Minister of Resource and Development, Mr. R. H. Winters, delivered at the Annual

Convention of the Canadian Construction Association, Montreal, January, 19, 1953.

The following serial number is available in Canada and abroad:

No. 53/2 — *Trade and Communications in an Interdependent World*, an address by the Secretary of State for External Affairs, Mr. L. B. Pearson, made at the Annual Dinner Meeting of the Dominion Marine Association and Lake Carriers' Association, Seigniory Club, Montebello, P.Q., January 21, 1953.

CORRIGENDA

Vol. 5, No. 1, January 1953, page 19. Line 8 should read: "It called for the establishment of a repatriation commission, to consist of the four states".

Ibid, line 17, for "Geneva Convention" read "Geneva Conventions".

Ibid, page 22, last paragraph, lines 16 and 17 should read: "Assembly was that originally put forward by the Latin-American and Asian states. In the end it was supported by all the African and Asian states except Pakistan and carried by a vote", etc.

Ibid, page 23, paragraph 2, last line, insert before the word "unless" the following: "for a peace settlement untrammelled by considerations arising out of past Assembly resolutions, while the Arabs refused to consider direct negotiations . . ."

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Department of External Affairs
Ottawa, Canada

Land Reform in Italy

Among the most important of the social and economic policies of the present Italian Government is that of land reform. It will probably constitute one of the main themes in the forthcoming national elections in Italy, especially in the regions where the land reform programme is already being carried out. The Italian experience, as it develops, may also be of some interest to Asian and Middle Eastern governments, some of which have been showing an increasing concern in the question of land improvement and redistribution. As the Italian land reform programme is progressively carried into execution, it is likely to affect not only domestic conditions but also the Italian attitude toward plans for European agricultural integration. The study printed below is based on official Italian documents and on articles which have appeared in a number of Italian publications.

Constitutional Conception of Landed Property

The Italian Constitution makes it a duty of the State "to remove obstacles of an economic and social nature which, by limiting in fact the liberty and equality of citizens, impede the full development of the human person and the effective participation of workers in the political, economic and social organization of the country". As a means of achieving this fundamental objective, "private property is to be made accessible to all" through appropriate legislation and policies designed to bring about more equitable distribution of land and to assist and protect small and medium owners. Thus, while the Constitution "recognizes and guarantees private property", it ascribes to the legislator the task of determining "the methods of its acquisition, its uses and its limits . . . in order to ensure the fulfilment of its social function". As a corollary, private property may "in cases provided for by law and with indemnity, be expropriated for reasons of general interest".

This conception of private property reflects in large measure the teachings of Christian socialism, according to which every man has a right to the possession of those goods that are necessary for the satisfaction of his essential needs and the free and full development of his personality. Beyond that point, the proprietor becomes the custodian of wealth, which he administers on behalf of the community to which he belongs. He has the

responsibility of managing his trust in the manner best calculated to serve the general interest. Should he fail to do so, the community may deprive him of his possessions and return them to its members, or entrust some more qualified persons or groups with their administration, or, in certain cases, assume that function itself.

Applying the above conception to real property, a subsequent article of the Constitution stipulates that "to the end of achieving a rational exploitation of the soil and of establishing social relations of equality, the law places obligations upon private landed property, fixes limits to its extension according to agrarian regions and zones, promotes and enforces land reclamation, the transformation of the *latifondo* and the reconstruction of productive units. It helps small and medium property". As was realized by the framers of the Constitution, land reform has an economic as well as a social aspect. Not only must it aim at satisfying the legitimate spiritual and social aspirations of the individual members of the community but it must also result in an increase of production and in a real improvement in living conditions, if it is to serve the general interest in a truly effective and lasting manner. The multiplication of legal titles to property, while apt to spur initiative and release previously frustrated or unused human energies, will not in itself necessarily ensure a higher level of production and add materially to the general welfare. It is the practical task of the legislator to reduce to a minimum any possible conflict between the

desirable social objective of extending the ownership of property as widely as possible and the requirements of efficient and maximum production.

General Objectives of Land Reform

Major nuclei of large private landed property remaining in Europe from feudal times are to be found in Italy and Spain. The percentage of the Italian farm land occupied by small holdings (i.e. of approximately 50 hectares⁽¹⁾ or less) is one of the lowest on the continent. Around 1930, the latest year for which comparative data are available, it stood at 57 per cent, the corresponding figures being: more than 90 per cent for Switzerland, Belgium, the Netherlands and Norway; more than 80 per cent for Denmark, Finland and Sweden; and more than 70 per cent for France and Germany. While, in most non-Communist European countries, practically all small farms are owned directly by the peasants, this is not the case in Italy, where a large number of plots are tilled by sharecroppers, tenants or day labourers, in many cases to the benefit of absentee landowners. A survey made before the Second World War showed that less than 35 per cent of the Italian agricultural soil was covered by peasant properties.

From a strictly economic and technical point of view, it would appear that the existence of large private estates, far from being a liability, is a necessary condition anywhere for the use of modern agricultural implements and large scale production. This, of course, varies with the types of production and the prevailing economic and social conditions in the agricultural region concerned. It is truest in regions of extensive cultivation, such as the Canadian Prairies, where a few staple crops of high quality are produced over wide areas, where the landowners have the will and the means to adopt modern methods of farming and to undertake the required capital expenditure, where the supporting industry for the use and maintenance of the machines is well developed, and where the population of the available productive surface is small. However, these conditions are

lacking in varying degrees in Europe, and most notably in Italy. Demographic pressure, the relative scarcity of land and the frequent financial and social inability of large owners to improve it have led gradually to its sub-division and to increasingly intensive and diversified cultivation by small and medium farmers, or else to appropriation and development by the State. The Italian Government has chosen to accelerate the historical and natural process of fragmentation through a reform of land tenure coupled with a programme of public assistance which aims gradually and scientifically to effect a fuller use of this scarce commodity, and at the maximum employment and welfare of the agricultural population. These basic economic and social preoccupations govern the extent of expropriations and the method of distribution and improvement of the land affected by the reform legislation.

Land Reform Legislation

In April 1950 the Government submitted to the Senate a general land-reform bill covering the whole of Italy. This law, however, has not yet been approved by Parliament. In view of the great regional differences of geographical conditions and of social and economic development, it was felt that it would be wiser to proceed by steps, applying the reform first in those areas where it was most urgently needed and most likely to produce tangible and beneficial results. Consequently, in May 1950, a limited plan came into effect for the colonization of the Sila plateau and adjoining districts in Calabria. In October of the same year, the principles governing the expropriation and re-distribution of land in the Sila region were extended with certain modifications, to several other parts of Italy, particularly in the centre and the south. The relevant law became known as the "stralcio" or partial law, in the sense that it partially implements the general reform bill. Finally the autonomous government of Sicily promulgated a similar scheme for that province in December 1950. The three basic laws at present in force are to be integrated eventually into the general reform bill. A number of laws and decrees have since been approved

⁽¹⁾ The hectare is approximately 2.471 acres.



that clarify, interpret and in certain cases modify the provisions of the basic legislation described above, as a result of experience gained in its application.

(a) Expropriations

Under the Sila law, all holdings "susceptible of improvements", in excess of 300 hectares, including some situated outside that region, are expropriated. Under the "stralcio" and the Sicilian laws, private landed properties are subject to expropriation in a proportion determined on the basis of the revenue of the entire property and the average rev-

enue per hectare. A table is appended to the law which provides for a progressive percentage of expropriation from 0 to 95 per cent of the total surface, depending, on the one hand, on the total taxable income of the property and, on the other, on the average taxable income per hectare on January 1, 1943. In this way, the two factors of surface and value of the property are taken into account. Such a formula was considered desirable, as the value and revenue of the Italian soil may vary according to regions in the proportion of 1 to 1800. For a period of six years following expropriation, landlords

are prohibited from acquiring new plots which would increase the property left at their disposal beyond 750 hectares.

(b) Exemptions

Holdings in the Sila region are exempted from expropriation up to 300 hectares. In other parts of Italy, the "model" farm enjoys exemption. It is described in the 'stralcio' law as an organic and efficient holding under intensive cultivation, managed in association with the peasants and provided with a modern, centralized equipment station. It must fulfil a number of specific conditions. In particular, its average unit yields (whether from crops or animal products), calculated over the past 15 years, must be at least 40 per cent higher than that of similar production in the agricultural zone to which the farm belongs. It must use a minimum quantity of labour per hectare, and the economic and social conditions of the peasants who work on it must be markedly superior to the average for the district, having regard to continuity of employment, housing facilities and the degree of participation of the workers in the yields. Owners of several farms of this type can obtain exemption for only one, which they may choose. Certificates of exemption are granted by the Minister of Agriculture and Forestry.

Initial expropriation takes place only on two thirds of the land subject to it under the new law. The landlord has the right to ask permission, within sixty days, to complete during the following two years the transformation and improvement required by the reform authorities on the remaining third. If he takes advantage of this privilege, he must also undertake the development of all the other plots left to him after expropriation in the region to which the reform law applies. Once this work has been completed, he must hand over to the reform authorities, for distribution, half the plots constituting the remaining third, before he can receive his expropriation indemnity and reimbursement for the transformation costs he has borne. The other half remains his property if the reform authorities are satisfied that all the necessary improvements have been carried out. In addition, the landlord can retain for each

of his sons 15 per cent of the remaining third. These provisions are intended to encourage landowners to develop the unexpropriated part of their properties and to make due allowance for their family responsibilities.

(c) Compensation

Landlords are entitled to compensation corresponding to the value of the expropriated property, payable in the form of public bonds bearing interest at 5 per cent and redeemable in 25 years. They can receive a partial advance payment in cash to assist them in the transformation of the "remaining third" and of the unexpropriated part of their land.

(d) Distribution

The expropriated land is distributed among "manual agricultural workers" who are neither proprietors nor holders of a farm that they exploit for their own profit under a long-term contract of concession (*emphyteusis*), or who are so in a measure insufficient to ensure employment of members of their families. Workers who had a preferred contract of employment on the expropriated land and who contributed in this way to its past cultivation and improvement are given preference to the allocation of plots. Land may also be transferred to legally-recognized institutions that have as their specific purpose the vocational training of orphans and children of peasant families preparing themselves to become qualified farmers or teachers in agricultural schools.

(e) Repayment

Plots are obtained under a regular contract of sale between the Reform Organization and the recipient. This provides for repayment in 30 annual instalments with interest at the rate of 3½ per cent. The price must not be higher than 2/3 of the compensation granted to the farmer owner plus the cost of the improvements carried out by the Reform Organization. Repayment in advance is not accepted. The law establishes a trial period of three years and prohibits the sale or cession of plots by the new owners until final and complete settlement of the price.

(f) Functions of Land Reform Organizations

Eight main regional organizations have been set up to administer the land reform laws: one for the Province of Calabria; one for the Provinces of Puglia, Lucania and Molise; one for the region of the Volturno, Garigliano and Sele rivers in the Provinces of Campania and Southern Lazio; one for the Maremma and the Fucino basin in the Provinces of the Lazio and Tuscany; one for the Po Valley; one each for Northern and Southern Sardinia, and one for Sicily.

These public agencies are directly financed by the State. In addition to being entrusted, under the supervision and control of the Government, with the expropriation and re-distribution of land, they give technical, economic and financial assistance to the new settlers. They must encourage and organize free vocational training classes and pools of agricultural implements. They must also promote the creation of co-operatives for each organic unit of colonization or create syndicates to which will be transferred gradually the technical assistance functions initially performed by the Land Reform Organizations. The recipients of land must agree to join these co-operatives or syndicates and participate in them for a minimum period of 20 years.

Progress made so far

The full benefits of the reform in increased employment, production and welfare will not be felt until all the expropriated land has been re-distributed and the new owners have had time to organize and develop their plots. In a progress report given on January 26, 1953, the Minister of Agriculture and Forestry, Signor Fanfani, announced that all individual expropriation plans drawn up by the reform organizations had by December 31, 1952, the time limit fixed by law, received the approval of the Council of Ministers. Excluding Sicily, which administers its own scheme, expropriation decrees cover a surface of nearly 585,000 hectares⁽²⁾ out of an area of some 8 million to which the reform is applicable. With the addition of Sicily, the figure may reach 700,000 hectares.

This land will be distributed to more than 100,000 peasant families. More than 100 model farms and co-operatives have been exempted for some 40,000 hectares. So far, 153,000 hectares have been allocated to 35,000 peasant families. Nearly 5,000 new farm houses have been erected and several kilometers of road have been traced. Four villages with their churches and schools have been constructed and inaugurated and some thirty more are being planned. 1,600 hectares have been acquired and 200,000 quintals⁽³⁾ of seeds and fertilizers have been made available to the peasants. Heads of cattle to a value of more than 2 billion lire⁽⁴⁾ have also been distributed. These figures give but a partial picture of the task of renovation and development undertaken by the Italian Government to improve agriculture and living conditions in the traditionally depressed areas of the south.

Not a Revolutionary Upheaval

The need for a reform of Italian agriculture is not seriously contested by any political party or any other major group in the country. However, opinions differ widely as to its extent and the forms it should take and on the necessity of modifying the property and tenure structure in order to achieve the desired results. The fundamental aim of the Christian Democrat Government is not a revolutionary upheaval of the existing order but rather the provision of a wider and more stable basis both in social conditions and in a rational and efficient exploitation of the soil. The Government has tried to harmonize the technical and economic requirements of optimum production with the social objective of establishing a closer relation between property and work in order to promote the peasantry's initiative, sense of responsibility, dignity and welfare. It believes that the legislation, by providing for exemption from expropriation for model farms, by reducing the extent of expropriation in favour of landlords who are ready to develop their holdings for their own profit or that of their

⁽²⁾ See footnote, Page 63.

⁽³⁾ Quintal — measure of either 100 or 112 lb.

⁽⁴⁾ Lire — plural of *lira*; the *lira* is worth approximately one sixth of a cent.

sons, and by grouping small farmers in co-operatives and syndicates to make technical knowledge and agricultural implements accessible to them, achieves an equilibrium between the economic and social aspects of the reform which in the long run will benefit the whole community.

Criticisms from the Left and Right

Criticisms of the reform come from both the right and the left. They are usually formulated in technical terms, though the Opposition parties, of course, hope to obtain a political advantage from them. The arguments from the right are advanced by the landowners themselves and by liberal economists and politicians, in particular through the Monarchist and Liberal Parties. Their arguments are generally subtler than those of the Communists and the Nenni Socialists, whose criticisms are addressed to the less sophisticated masses and whose chief purpose appears to be to stimulate popular discontent. Both types of criticism, however, aim at discrediting the achievements of the Government, to the benefit of one political group or another.

Generally speaking, the conservative elements claim that the reform fails to respect the well-run estates that have been consistently developed by their owners, who may have spent considerable sums on upkeep and in introducing modern methods of agriculture. They also maintain that the reform will frighten away capital that, in the normal course of events, would find its way into agriculture. The Government parties reject these arguments, contending that they hold good only to a very small degree in the depressed areas of Central and South-

ern Italy, which are the object of the limited reform now being carried out. It is precisely because landlords have for so long neglected their land and been either unable or unwilling to invest the necessary capital in it, they assert, that the Government has been forced to intervene. Nevertheless, many would agree that the rightist objections point to real dangers and would increase in validity considerably if the land reform were extended to the whole of Italy, as was originally intended, and if the conception of the limitation of property were to be applied indiscriminately.

Communist Arguments

The leftist elements, on the other hand, insist that the reform should have been undertaken in a much more drastic way — through more rigorous expropriations, wider investments and increased agrarian credits at low interest. They also contend that the peasants are given plots that are too small and too poor to be transformed into viable productive units. However, the unstated reasons behind the Communists' criticisms are probably more cogent. Since the war, they have gained a considerable political advantage by pointing to distressed social conditions in Italy and instances of alleged government neglect. They have drawn attention to the low standard of living of a large part of the Italian peasantry and to the numerous unsolved problems that make the peasant's struggle for livelihood more difficult. If the Government through land reform and extensive public works can go some way toward improving the lot of the peasants, the foundation of the Communist case will be considerably weakened in the eyes of the electorate.

The World Meteorological Organization

ESTABLISHMENT of the World Meteorological Organization, newest Specialized Agency of the United Nations, in March 1950, climaxed 72 years of co-operation among the weather scientists of the world. National meteorological services are not much more than 125 years old, yet for half their lifetime they have been setting an example of practical internationalism equalled in few other fields of knowledge. By the middle of the last century weather research had been carried on for some years in France, Germany, Russia and the United Kingdom. These nations already practiced exchange of meteorological information. However, the movement toward international co-operation on a universal scale began in 1853 with a conference of weather experts in Brussels. Further exploratory meetings followed, in Leipzig in 1872 and in Vienna in 1873. The trend culminated in a conference held in Utrecht in 1878, at which was formed the International Meteorological Organization, which passed into history three years ago when the World Meteorological Organization took over its functions.

Meteorology in Canada

The first Canadian weather office was set up in 1839 at Old Fort York, Toronto, at least partly in response to a suggestion by Baron von Humboldt, famous German naturalist and traveller and one of the pioneers of international co-operation in weather research. Von Humboldt had pointed out to the British Royal Society that British military posts could provide a unique chain of weather-observation stations encircling the globe. The original observatory was operated by the British Ordnance Department. In 1853, the Province of Canada took over the station and placed it under the direction of the University of Toronto. Finally, in 1871, the Dominion Government set aside funds for the development of weather forecasting in Canada. By 1875, the new service was

spending each year what was for that day the large sum of \$35,000. With the assistance of the United States weather offices, Canadian meteorological experts now were able to study the making of synoptic weather charts — the master charts from which daily weather forecasts are derived. A development of major importance took place in 1876, when the first Canadian storm-warning was issued. In 1877, Canadian weathermen produced their first general weather forecast and the country possessed a full-fledged meteorological service, ready to take its place in the International Meteorological Organization, founded one year later.

International Co-operation

The IMO, a voluntary body, never received official recognition from any of the countries represented at its conferences. An association possessing little political significance, it was inspired solely by the concern of meteorologists that their observations should be available to their colleagues in all parts of the world. Although the IMO was established as a European body, its membership expanded with the spread of weather services throughout the world, until it acquired global dimensions. Its expansion was accompanied by a corresponding development in its structure, so that the final form of the IMO, achieved just before the Second World War, provided a pattern for the WMO, to which the older body passed the ideals, aims and experience of three-quarters of a century. The governing bodies of the IMO were very similar to those ultimately set up in the WMO Convention, though the authority and duties assigned to them in the new organization were altered. The senior constituent body of the IMO was a Conference of Directors, composed of the heads of national weather services. There were also: an International Meteorological Committee empowered to act for the Conference between meetings of the lat-

ter; an Executive Council to supervise the work of the Organization; a Secretariat; a Commission for each of six regions into which, for meteorological purposes, the world was divided, and ten Technical Commissions.

The pace at which change and development occurred in all spheres of twentieth century life imposed increasing strain on a voluntary body operating over so vast an area as the IMO. Meteorology became more complex year by year and the uses to which weather information could be put multiplied at a similar rate. For example, during the past 50 years the rapid development of types of transportation dependent on accurate weather reports has brought the subject forcefully to the attention of governments. The most striking illustration of this development has been the growth of aviation, especially in its military aspects. Weather research thus acquired strategic and diplomatic importance it never possessed before. The use of aircraft during the recent war, not only in aerial combat but in transport flights to all parts of the world, required the adoption of a unified weather code and procedure and showed the desirability of an organization with authority to establish international codes for the transmission of weather data.

The application of meteorology to transportation is, however, by no means the only direction in which its uses have expanded. The enormous increase in population that has taken place in most parts of the world since 1900 has imposed proportionate new burdens on the agricultural resources of the food-producing nations. In this situation, the contribution of meteorology is of the greatest importance. Farmers in countries growing such staple cereals as wheat and rice stand in need of constant reports from weather stations located at the sources of the weather conditions they have to take into account. They must be warned of the imminence of drought, rain, hail, hurricanes and unseasonable frost. Cities and densely-populated areas must be able to take precautions against weather conditions dangerous to public health. We have had numerous demonstrations during recent years of the devastation wrought by floods. The recent catastrophic combination in the North Sea of heavy gales and

high tides emphasizes the necessity of early storm-warnings. A dry spell in the heart of North America always magnifies the danger of forest-fires, a peril of which Canada has had much experience.

Nor do these examples exhaust the applications of weather information to everyday problems. The network of communications that covers the face of the globe is dependent on meteorological reports from all parts of the world; and weather reports enter into the calculations of many other sciences.

Formation of WMO

At a meeting of the International Meteorological Committee in Paris, in July 1946, a draft was drawn up of an instrument to be known as the World Meteorological Convention, designed to win the adherence of the governments and countries having weather services. This, it was proposed, together with any alternative drafts presented by members, should be discussed at the next regular meeting of the IMO Conference of Directors, to be held in Washington at the end of September 1947. Letters were sent to the governments concerned asking them to authorize the directors of their meteorological services to sign the draft of the Convention approved by the Conference.

Many weather experts of IMO countries were persuaded of the need for a meteorological organization with government support and consequently studied the Paris draft with great care. Several countries, including Canada, the United Kingdom and the United States, submitted alternative drafts to the IMO Conference through the Chief of the Secretariat. The various drafts were read and criticized by diplomats as well as weathermen. Everyone concerned with the establishment of the new international body was determined that it should be brought to birth with every care and precaution.

Differences inevitably arose regarding the scope of the Convention. There were those who thought that the new organization should be an "operating" agency, rather than simply like the IMO, a "facilitating" one. To cite an illustration of their extreme position, they favoured the distribution of all weather reports, whatever their origin, from a central inter-

national office. Such sweeping changes were opposed by the more cautious members. In addition, it was necessary to ensure that territories and groups of territories that maintained their own meteorological services (such as Rhodesia, British East Africa and Bermuda) and that had possessed, while members of the IMO, the same voting privileges as the great nations, should suffer no loss of power in voting on all technical matters as members of the new organization. Also, there was concern lest, owing to the large number of European states (many of which, on account of their small area, did not require costly weather services), the simple principle of "one state, one vote" might place the organization under European control. (In fairness, however, it should be noted that the European countries contributed 48 per cent of the IMO's funds during its last fiscal year.)

As it turned out, these problems did not greatly hamper the exploratory meeting of the IMO in the performance of its main business. A Convention was agreed upon, duly signed by members and referred to their governments for ratification. The first 30 ratifications — the number needed to bring the World Meteorological Organization into being — were deposited more slowly than had been expected and the opening WMO Congress, planned for 1950, was not held until 1951. With the concurrence of the United Nations, it was agreed that, until the WMO could come into existence officially, the IMO should act as the "competent agency".

First WMO Conference

The first WMO Congress, held, at the invitation of the French Government, in the Hotel du Palais d'Orsay in Paris, was preceded immediately by the final Conference of Directors of the IMO, during which "all assets, liabilities and obligations" of the parent body were transferred to its successor.

Representation at the first WMO meeting consisted of delegations from the 44 countries that had previously been represented in the IMO, as well as observers from four non-IMO countries and eight international organizations. The initial membership of the WMO — 74 states and

territories — was considerably lower than that of the IMO, to judge from the attendance of representatives from 85 countries at the concluding Conference of the latter. With the adherence last year of the Government of Cuba, the WMO increased its membership to 75.

Among the more important acts of the first WMO meeting was approval of a draft agreement with the United Nations under which the Organization became a Specialized Agency. At this Congress, too, six Regional Associations and eight Technical Commissions were established. (It should be noted that although these constituent bodies had been taken over from the IMO, the WMO Convention gave them new responsibilities.) It was decided that the WMO's first financial period should run until December 31, 1955, and a budget of \$1,273,000 was approved for this four and a half years.

It has been mentioned that the meetings preceding the creation of WMO brought to light a difference of opinion as to whether the new agency should be a "facilitating" or an "operating" one. The former view prevailed, as is shown by the following statement of purposes from the World Meteorological Convention:

To facilitate world-wide co-operation in the establishment of networks of stations for the making of meteorological observations related to meteorology and to promote the establishment and maintenance of meteorological centres charged with the provision of meteorological services;

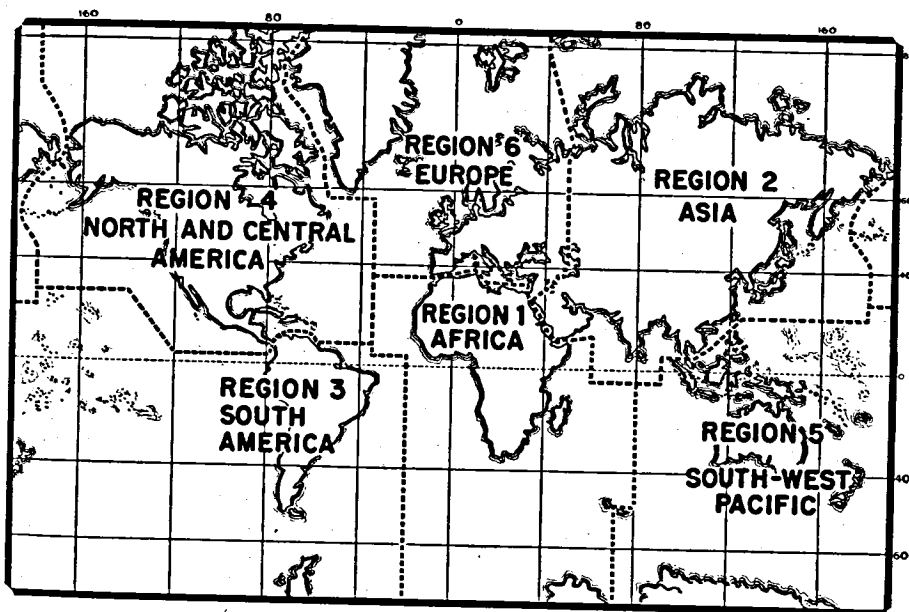
to promote the establishment and maintenance of systems for the rapid exchange of weather information;

to promote standardization of meteorological observations and to ensure the uniform publication of observations and statistics;

to further the application of meteorology to aviation, shipping, agriculture and other human activities;

to encourage research and training in meteorology and to assist in co-ordinating the international aspects of such research and training.

Through its Secretariat, the WMO acts as a documentary centre. It collects for the use of members information available on the organization of weather stations throughout the world. In addition, it pro-



vides a pool of relevant information of other kinds. It has no power to interfere in the activities of national or regional services. On the contrary, its role is limited to assisting national services in making their findings known in other parts of the world and to helping to maintain a uniform method for expressing weather readings. The latter important function reduces the labour involved in translating from one coding-system to another. Thus atmospheric conditions reported by the chain of weather-posts jointly operated by the Canadian and United States Governments throughout the Canadian Arctic can be readily expressed in terms intelligible to meteorologists in Norway or the Federated States of Malaya. Similarly, data collected by weather-ships operated by the United States in the Pacific Ocean can be rapidly telegraphed to Santiago or Cape Town and added to the synoptic charts kept at those points. Likewise, although the countries of the Soviet bloc use a slightly different code, Soviet meteorologists can warn British farmers of the approach of weather dangerous to their crops having its origin in Siberia. Aircraft flying non-stop over great distances can now pick up weather reports and forecasts along their routes. The same is true of sea-going vessels, which not so many

years ago had no earlier storm-warning than could be provided by their barometers or the eyes of their lookouts.

The WMO Structure

The structure of the WMO is similar to that of the IMO: (1) A World Meteorological Congress, corresponding to the old International Meteorological Conference of Directors, but with the important difference that its members are states, not individuals, and directors of national weather services are now delegates instead of members. The Congress meets every four years. It is the supreme constituent body of the WMO and has the final word on all questions raised in its subordinate agencies. (2) An Executive Committee, performing the functions of the International Meteorological Committee and the Executive Council of the IMO. (3) Regional Meteorological Associations, six in number, composed of members "the networks of which lie in or extend into" these regions. (4) Eight Technical Commissions, in which most of the purely scientific work of the WMO is done. (5) The Secretariat, a permanent body of international civil servants, consisting of the Secretary-General and his technical and clerical staff.

Congress: The Organization's programme for its first financial period, outlined at the first Congress meeting, was an ambitious one. It was agreed that close co-operation should be maintained with other Specialized Agencies of the United Nations and with other international organizations, governmental or not. The WMO is to take part in the United Nations Expanded Programme of Technical Assistance for the Economic Development of Under-Developed Countries. Among the publications planned for the life of the present Congress are a number of meteorological manuals formerly issued by the IMO and a new edition of the International Cloud Atlas. The first President of the WMO was Sir Nelson Johnson, of the United Kingdom, who was formerly President of the International Meteorological Committee of the IMO. He was succeeded by Dr. F. W. Reichelderfer, of the United States, who will continue in office until the end of the next Congress.

Executive Committee: The Committee, which meets at least once a year, is composed of 15 members, all of whom are directors of national weather services.¹ Between meetings of the Congress, the Committee is the senior constituent body of the WMO. It administers the Organization's finances, sees that resolutions of the Congress are carried out and prepares the agenda for Congress meetings. One of the more important Congress resolutions called for the drafting of provisional technical regulations covering meteorological practices and procedures. Since the establishment of the WMO, there have been three Committee meetings — two during 1951 and one during 1952. Among the more important acts of the Committee has been the setting up of an *ad hoc* sub-committee to study the creation of an International Meteorological Research Institute.

Regional Meteorological Associations: These differ from the IMO's Regional As-

sociations by including ocean as well as land areas. They co-ordinate meteorological activities in their areas, promote the executing of resolutions of the Congress and the Executive Committee and make recommendations to these senior bodies on subjects "within the purposes of the Organization". The map on Page 71 shows the six meteorological areas of the world as Africa, Asia, South America, North and Central America, the Southwest Pacific and Europe.

Technical Commissions: The first WMO Congress set up eight Technical Commissions, named after the subjects with which they were to deal: Aerology, Aeronautical Meteorology, Agricultural Meteorology, Bibliography and Publications, Climatology, Instruments and Methods of Observation, Maritime Meteorology and Synoptic Meteorology. Nine Technical Commissions of the IMO were dissolved. It was arranged that important work in progress in these Commissions at the time of their dissolution would be given to interim working groups taken over from the IMO. It is intended that these, in turn, shall be replaced as soon as possible by working groups of the present eight Commissions.

Discussions of the Technical Commissions are uncomplicated by the political and economic considerations that demand the attention of the Regional Associations, the Executive Committee and the Congress. These Commissions keep up with developments in the theory and practice of their science and contribute to that development. It is chiefly in the Technical Commissions that meteorological techniques are standardized. Through the Secretariat, they maintain contact with other international organizations concerned with weather information.

Secretariat: The WMO headquarters, located in Geneva, is the permanent home of the Secretariat. The Secretary-General and the Deputy Secretary-General head a staff of 35, composing an administra-

¹ The Committee, as of March 1 1953, has consisted of the following members: President, F. W. Reichelderfer (U.S.); First Vice-President, A. Viaut (France); Second Vice-President, N. P. Sellick (Rhodesia); six presidents of Regional Associations — Region I (Africa) — D. A. Davies (British Central African Territories), Region II (Asia) — V. V. Sohoni (India), Region III (South America) — F. X. R. de Souza (Brazil), Region IV (North and Central America) — A. Thomson (Canada), Region V (Southwest Pacific) — M. A. F. Barnett (New Zealand), Region VI (Europe) — J. Lugeon (Switzerland); six directors of meteorological services, including Sir Nelson Johnson (United Kingdom), H. A. Feireira (Portugal), Th. Hesselberg (Norway), A. A. Soltukhine (U.S.S.R.), M. Aslam (Pakistan), and L. de Azcarraga (Spain).

tive and a technical division. The former Secretary of the IMO was appointed by the Congress as Secretary-General of the WMO, to ensure as much continuity as possible.

The Secretariat is the WMO's administrative, documentary and informational centre. It performs secretarial duties at meetings of the WMO Congress and the Executive Committee. In addition, it is responsible for certain technical studies and will later take over some of the work done under the IMO by the Technical Commissions. Each officer in the technical division performs secretarial duties for one or more Technical Commissions. The present Secretary-General is Dr. Gustav Swoboda, former Chief of the IMO Secretariat. His Deputy is Mr. J. R. Rivet of the French National Meteorological Service.

Status as a Specialized Agency of UN

The fact that the budgets of certain Specialized Agencies were enormous in comparison with that of the IMO made it desirable that the new international weather body should have provision in its charter for its eventual acceptance by the United Nations as a Specialized Agency. Only thus could its authority and its status among world organizations be secured. The budget of the IMO for the last complete fiscal year of its existence (1949-50) was about \$95,000, whereas the budgets of ICAO and UNESCO for the same period were \$2,600,000 and \$7,900,000 respectively. It was complained by the directors of some national weather services that they were unable to recover the costs of attendance at conferences held outside their countries from their governments unless the meetings had been under the auspices of the United Nations.

The mere act of its establishment was not enough to make the new Organization a Specialized Agency. Although the World Meteorological Convention contained an article covering the relations between the WMO and the United Nations, a separate instrument was required for the approval of the General Assembly. First, however, it was necessary to clarify the WMO's relations with the International Civil Aviation Organization, which

was performing certain meteorological functions. Duplication had to be avoided. It was also evident that the co-operation of the WMO with other Specialized Agencies, such as the World Health Organization, the Food and Agriculture Organization and the International Telecommunications Union, would be important enough to call for preliminary study. The document setting forth the terms of these various relations was therefore subjected to searching scrutiny by member governments. Finally, in December 1951, the General Assembly of the United Nations formally accepted the application of the WMO, which thereupon became the youngest Specialized Agency.

Co-operation in Technical Assistance

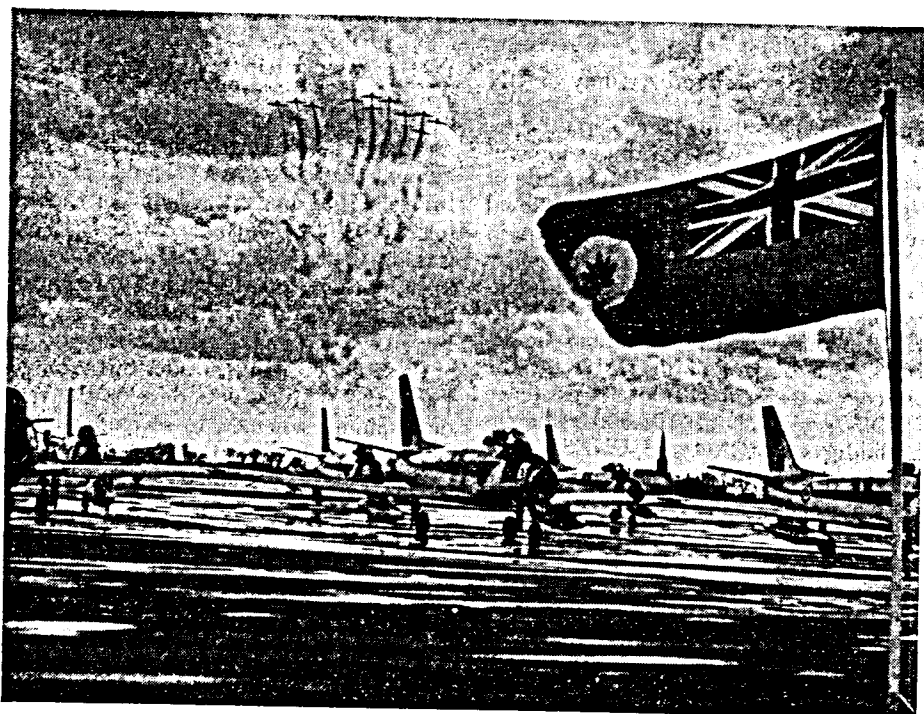
An important item in the programme adopted by the first Congress of the WMO was participation in the technical assistance activities of the United Nations. The WMO and the UN Technical Assistance Administration subsequently agreed that the TAA should provide, from its 1952 budget, a sum not exceeding \$200,000 to finance particularly the training and education of meteorologists in under-developed countries requiring assistance. A further \$15,000 was voted by TAA to cover the administrative costs of these undertakings. Under this arrangement, the WMO was to develop the various training schemes, to recommend the technical staff they would require and to supervise the actual work. The provision of administrative facilities was to be the business of the TAA. Thus, it was to assign to the WMO Secretariat a technical assistance administrator, who would co-ordinate the technical assistance activities of the WMO with those of the other Specialized Agencies. He would also, at the request of the governments concerned, conduct surveys in under-developed countries to find out how they might benefit from the aid of the WMO.

WMO Scholarships

Besides sending experts to the assistance of countries wishing to establish weather services or to improve existing ones, the WMO provides scholarships for young

men from under-developed nations for basic training in physics, mathematics and related subjects and for advanced training in meteorology. It is preferred that these awards should be held in the schools and universities of the countries

receiving assistance, rather than in foreign educational institutions. This attitude stems from the conviction that meteorological training is most effective when taken under the very conditions that will affect the future work of the student.



CANADIAN JET SQUADRON FOR NATO

—*Capital Press*

A portion of the NATO RCAF jet squadrons, at St. Hubert, P.Q., on the occasion of the inspection and ceremony of farewell on March 5, of the Third Fighter Wing by the Secretary-General of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, Lord Ismay.

Canadian Passports

IN 1952, 76,180 Canadian passports were issued by the Passport Office, a branch of the Consular Division of the Department of External Affairs. In the last ten years there has been an increasing annual total, bringing the number of valid passports in Canada to over 500,000. Travel-conscious Canadians whether bound for the Coronation or not, applied, in January 1953, for a record monthly total of 7,501 passports.

Definition

In Canada certification of citizenship is by a certificate issued by the Department of Citizenship and Immigration. A passport, issued by the Department of External Affairs, is evidence but not proof of citizenship. A passport may be defined as a document of identity issued by a state, ordinarily to its own nationals, which requests foreign governments to grant the bearer safe and free passage and all lawful aid and protection while within their jurisdiction, and implicitly guarantees that he will be re-admitted to the issuing country.

Page 1 of the 32-page Canadian passport gives the national status of the holder and on the back of the front cover are the words: "The Secretary of State for External Affairs of Canada requests in the name of Her Majesty the Queen, all those whom it may concern to allow the bearer to pass freely without let or hindrance and to afford him or her every assistance and protection of which he or she may stand in need."

Before the First World War, travellers did not usually require passports or visas to enter many countries. The first annual report of the Department of External Affairs, reviewing the work from July 1, 1909, to March 31, 1910, included among the passport requirements of foreign countries: "Corea(sic)—Passports are not required within a radius of 100 li (33 miles) from the open port. Persons travelling in the interior must obtain a passport through the British Consul. (Fee 3.50 yen, about \$1.75)."

When Lord Monck became Governor General in 1861, British subjects by birth did not need passports in America. For British subjects travelling in Europe, such passports could be arranged by the Foreign Office. However, the mayors of Canadian towns had for some years been issuing a form of passport to persons naturalized in the Colony.

The Imperial Parliament, by the Act of 1847⁽¹⁾, had denied the right of a Colonial Legislature to confer British status outside the limits of the Colony. The passports issued by the mayors were rather a form of certificate. In the Province of Canada, certificates of naturalization were in a form prescribed by an act of 1859, subject to the Imperial Act of 1847, saying that the bearer "hath obtained all the rights and capacities of a natural born British subject *within this Province* to have, hold, possess and enjoy the same *within the limits thereof*."⁽²⁾ The "rights" referred to included the right to vote.

Regulations Established

In January 1862, the Governor General established Canadian passport regulations. Passport agents were authorized to issue a document in the form of a double certificate in which the Provincial Secretary certified the bearer's nationality and the Governor General certified the Provincial Secretary. This passport contained no request in the name of the Sovereign. Instead, it indicated the provincial domicile of the bearer and stated that he possessed its privileges and advantages on the strength of that domicile.

The new system was a step toward the assumption by the Governor General of control over passports. It did not commit the Colonial Office, which could always say that the document was not, in fact, a passport. In a letter to Viscount Monk dated January 28, 1862, the British Minister at Washington, Lord Lyons, in-

⁽¹⁾ (1847) 10 and 11 Vict. (Imp.) C. 53.

⁽²⁾ Consol. Statutes of Canada (1859) C.VIII S.4.



BRITISH PASSPORTS

NOTICE TO THE PUBLIC!

Passport Office: 67 Yonge Street, Toronto.

It having been notified to me, that, notwithstanding the Order of His Excellency the Governor General in Council of 30th August last, forbidding any Mayor, Warden, Reeve, or other Municipal Officer of *ANY MUNICIPALITY* to issue Passports to British Subjects about to travel in foreign parts, His Worship the Mayor and Subordinate Officers of the Municipality of this City, still continue to put forth such Passport or Certificate of British birth, under the signature of the Mayor and Seal of the Corporation of Toronto, I deem it but due to the public requiring such documents, after repeated appeals made to me that I should take this step, to caution applicants, and to state that such as are issued by them are wholly unauthorised by the Government of Canada,

“INVALID AND OF NO EFFECT WHATSOEVER,”

And that I am the only authorised Agent for the City of Toronto, to issue *GOVERNMENT PASSPORTS*, which are alone recognized by Her Majesty's Minister Plenipotentiary, Lord Lyons, at Washington, the British Consuls throughout the United States, as also by the American Authorities, as affording the requisite protection to British Subjects for abiding in, or travelling through the United States of America, or elsewhere.

JOHN CAMERON,
Passport Agent.

Toronto, 17th Nov. 1864.

Poster, dated Nov. 17, 1864, indicating to the public that thereafter the above passport agent was the only authorized agent for the City of Toronto for issuing passports under the new regulations.

cluded a copy of the following report he had made to the United States Secretary of State, Mr. Seward:

I have been in communication with the Governor General of Canada upon the subject of the arrangements to be made for the issue of passports to British subjects wishing to pass through the territory of the United States, and I have the honour to inform you that those arrangements are completed. It has been decided that agents shall be appointed at various towns in Canada who shall be appointed to issue such persons as may require them and may be

entitled to them certificates of their being British subjects, under the hand of the Provincial Secretary. These certificates will have the force of passports; they will be countersigned by the agent issuing them, and they will, it is hoped, receive without difficulty, the counter signature either of the United States Consul General in Canada or of the agents of the State Department at the posts in this country, according to the regulations which you have laid down.

These arrangements will at once be put into force, and it will therefore be no longer in the power of the mayors of Can-

adian towns to issue passports or Certificates of Nationality as they have occasionally done. All such papers will in future be issued either by the Governor General himself or by the authorized agents.⁽³⁾

It is worth noting that, at the time of Confederation, there does not appear to have been any question as to the jurisdiction over passports raised between the Dominion and the provinces. This was no doubt owing partly to the fact that Viscount Monck, who had appointed the passport agents, became the first Governor General of the Dominion. As British subjects by naturalization were the only ones in need of passports, their position was under consideration at various times. It was decided that such passports should contain the statement that the recipient was a British subject naturalized in the Colony. Holders were advised that they might exchange their passports for Foreign Office passports. It was evident that there had been originally some distinction between a "naturalized Colonial subject" and a "naturalized British subject" with regard to Consular protection. This was done away with in 1866.

History Difficult to Trace

The history of passports for the first fifteen years after Confederation is difficult to trace because of the small number issued and the relative unimportance of passports in relation to the volume of work of the Governor General and the Secretary of State. In the annual reports of the Secretary of State for the first ten years, passports are not even mentioned. In 1878 a practice was adopted of including a statement of departmental revenue. The report of that year listed "passports . . . \$50", and for the next four years the annual receipts varied between \$35 and \$50. As the fee for a passport was \$1, it would appear that for the first fifteen years after Confederation, there was probably an average of about forty naturalized Canadians a year who applied for and obtained the special form of passport exchangeable for a Foreign Office passport in London.

The Colonial Secretary sent out a circular from Downing Street, September

23, 1891, to the Governors of the Colonies, empowering them to issue passports to British-born persons. The form suggested was that which had been used by the Governor of Victoria, Australia, containing the national status of the bearer and the request for assistance when necessary. Canada began issuing passports to British subjects by birth for the first time in 1893.

The suggested form was in reality intended for British subjects by birth only and the form of passport for all Canadians did not come until 1915. The Imperial Parliament and the Dominions in 1914 enacted legislation on naturalization of aliens, along somewhat similar lines. This gave persons naturalized in Canada the same status as persons naturalized in England and the Letter of Request type of passport was followed for all persons.

International Form Adopted

From 1915 to 1921, a ten-section single-sheet folder was established as the form of passport. However, a conference held under the auspices of the League of Nations in 1920 suggested an international form of passport, in booklet shape, and this was adopted in 1921, at the beginning of the term of Baron Byng of Vimy as Governor General. Until 1946, all passports were issued in the name of the Governor General; these were lineal descendants of the original document in which the Sovereign prayed safe-conduct for one of his subjects. This has now been changed so that the Secretary of State for External Affairs makes the request in the name of the Sovereign.

For some time now the Letter of Request on the back of the front cover, the information on the inside of the back cover and other material printed in the passport have been in both French and English.

While there have been various efforts to eliminate restrictions on travel, including a conference under the auspices of the United Nations in 1947, considerations of humanity have been counterbalanced by considerations of security. During the past year Canada was able to arrange with European members of the

⁽³⁾ "Minister at Washington to Governors", G.6 Vol.10, p.32.

North Atlantic Treaty Organization and with Sweden and Switzerland for members of the Canadian forces to travel on leave without passport or visa. On the one hand, Canadians may now visit, in addition to the Commonwealth countries, France, Norway, Italy, Sweden, Denmark, Belgium, Germany, Luxembourg, the Netherlands and Switzerland without having their passports visaed. On the other, a new passport regulation was published on June 30, 1951, in the *Canada Gazette* requiring Canadians who intended to visit the Soviet Union, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Albania, Bulgaria, Hungary, Roumania or the Soviet Zone of Occupation in Germany to notify the Department of External Affairs of their travel plans and intentions. After reaching any of these countries, they must report their arrival and departure to the appropriate Canadian or United Kingdom authorities.

Royal Prerogative

Throughout the British Commonwealth, passports are issued by virtue of the Royal prerogative. In Canada this means under regulations passed by the Governor General in Council, which in practice means the Cabinet which is responsible to Parliament. It is of the essence of the Royal prerogative that no subject can complain of the way it is exercised. No applicant who is refused a passport has any redress in the Courts.

It is interesting to note that the right to refuse a passport, associated under our law with the Royal prerogative, has been preserved in the law of the United States. The Secretary of State at one time refused a passport to a Member of Congress who had stated his intention of attending a conference in Paris of groups

reported to be supporting revolutionary elements in Greece. At that time, it was the policy of the United States to support the existing government in Greece. The action was justified on the ground that "the holding of a passport is a privilege, not an inherent civil right. The Secretary of State, under legal and traditional authority, may or may not grant a passport to a citizen to travel abroad. He has had that authority since the founding of the Republic."⁽⁴⁾

Three Types

Ever since the Canadian Citizenship Act came into force in 1947, Canada has issued three types of passports. The previous blue-backed and blue-paper passports were retained for British subjects. Blue backs with pink-tinted sheets were adopted for Canadian citizens. New diplomatic passports in red covers and new Official (now Special) passports in green covers were issued.⁽⁵⁾

On January 15, 1953, the Secretary of State for External Affairs, replying in the House of Commons to a question as to whether the Government intended to "follow the example of the United States and pick up the passports of people who have attended the so-called 'Peace Conferences' behind the Iron Curtain", said: ". . . that is a very important question of policy and I do not think I should be asked to give a reply to it at this time without notice. I can say, however, that our policy in regard to the possession of passports by Canadian citizens — that a passport is merely a certificate of national identity — has not changed and I do not know that it is about to be changed."

⁽⁴⁾ *N.Y. Times*, April 11, 1948.

⁽⁵⁾ *Order-in-Council*, P.C. 839, March 6, 1947.

Halibut Convention Signed

The North Pacific Halibut Convention signed in Ottawa on Monday, March 2, 1953, to replace the Halibut Convention of January 29, 1937, is the third revision of the Convention of March 2, 1923, for Securing the Preservation of the Halibut Fishery of the North Pacific Ocean and the Bering Sea.

The International Pacific Halibut Commission

The Convention was revised in 1930 and again in 1937, and during the past three years negotiations have taken place between the two countries which have led to the present revisions.

The signing of the present Convention on the thirtieth anniversary of the first Halibut Fisheries Convention with the United States recalls the fact that the latter was the first formal international agreement signed for Canada by its own plenipotentiary alone. Prior to 1923 several multilateral treaties had been signed by both Canadian and United Kingdom plenipotentiaries on behalf of Canada.

The change in name from the "International Fisheries Commission" to the "International Pacific Halibut Commission" is to enable ready identification and to distinguish the Commission from other fishery commission on which Canada and the United States are represented.

Original Provisions

The original treaty provided a close season and established a commission of four — two from each country — to investigate and recommend to the two governments measures for restoring the dwindling stocks of halibut. In 1930, powers of making regulations subject to approval of the two governments were bestowed on the Commission. These powers were further extended in the 1937 revision. In the present revision the number of commissioners has been increased from four to six — three from each country. The reason is that in the United States, unlike in Canada, fishery jurisdiction is vested in each state and the Federal Government only acquires some jurisdiction by virtue of a treaty made with another country.

In this case the United States wanted to give Alaska representation on the Commission. The other two United States Commissioners represent the Federal Government and the industry at large.

More Open Seasons

Under the new treaty, the Commission has power to establish more than one open season. There was some doubt as to the Commission's power to do this under the former treaty. The granting of this power was considered necessary in order to allow the Commission to extend fishing over more than one period of time. The scientists of the Commission advanced the hypothesis that during a concentrated short season, some fishing grounds might be under-exploited. The experiment of dividing up the season will be useful to determine to some extent whether this hypothesis is correct.

Under the former treaty, the Commission had power to limit or prohibit the incidental catch of halibut taken by vessels fishing for other species during the close season only. Additional power is now being given to the Commission so that it has the right also to regulate such incidental catch during the open season.

The first treaty limited the Commission's powers to regulate the fishery by a three-month close season and this was ineffective in stemming the decline. Evidence of the success of the Commission's work following the second revision of the Convention is shown in the increase in Canadian halibut landings. During the years that intervened between 1932 and 1952, the Canadian halibut fishery increased its total annual yield about four-fold — from 6,500,000 pounds to 24,500,000 pounds. The landed value of the 1952 Canadian catch, including livers and viscera, was about \$4,200,000 or 20 times the 1932 value.



NORTH PACIFIC HALIBUT CONVENTION SIGNED

—NFB

Representatives of the Governments of Canada and the United States signed the North Pacific Halibut Convention in Ottawa on March 2. Seated, left to right: Mr. W. C. Herrington, Special Assistant for Fisheries and Wildlife to the Under-Secretary of State; Mr. D. C. Bliss, Chargé d'Affaires a.i. of the United States, who signed on behalf of the United States; the Prime Minister, Mr. St. Laurent, who presided at the ceremony; Mr. James Sinclair, Minister of Fisheries; and Mr. Hughes Lapointe, Minister of Veterans' Affairs, who signed on behalf of Canada. Standing at the back: Mr. H. F. B. Feaver, Chief of Protocol; Mr. W. L. Rodman, United States Embassy; Mr. L. D. Wilgress, Under-Secretary of State for External Affairs; and Mr. Stewart Bates, Deputy Minister of Fisheries.

The total Canadian and United States catch in 1952 from the areas under regulation was 62,282,000 pounds, the largest catch in 37 years.

When the Commission was first established evidence of over-fishing was apparent. Since that time it has regulated the areas to be fished, and changed the quota for areas as it seemed advisable at the time. The Commission established

nursery areas where fishing was completely prohibited, and also set quotas for the entire fishery.

Present members of the Commission are Mr. George R. Clark, Assistant Deputy Minister of Fisheries, Ottawa; Mr. George Nickerson, Prince Rupert, B.C.; Mr. Milton C. James, Washington, D.C.; and Mr. Edward W. Allen, Seattle, Washington.

North Sea Floods

ON February 2, Mr. St. Laurent, the Prime Minister, spoke in the House of Commons as follows on the recent floods that had inundated the coasts of the United Kingdom and the Low Countries:

... We have all been deeply moved by the news of the disasters both on sea and on land that have taken place as a result of the terrible storms raging about the United Kingdom, and the channel between the United Kingdom and continental Europe ...

We all remember what great comfort our people got out of the sympathy of the peoples of those lands when disasters overtook some of our fellow-citizens in the Fraser valley, in Manitoba, in Rimouski and Cabano in my native province of Quebec. We all know how much good it does

to people who are in the throes of such disaster to realize that they have the active and concrete sympathy of those they regard as their friends.

He next made the following motion for a message of sympathy to the people of the disaster-stricken countries:

... That His Honor the Speaker be asked to convey to Her Majesty the Queen, to Her Majesty, the Queen of the Netherlands and to His Majesty the King of the Belgians, the deep sympathy of the Commons of Canada to the people of the United Kingdom, the Netherlands and Belgium who have been so sorely stricken by the appalling disaster which has befallen them and the earnest desire of the Canadian people to manifest their sympathy to the sufferers in such concrete form as, after more accurate information is available

(Continued on p. 92)



CANADIAN BRIGADE HELPS DUTCH FLOOD VICTIMS

—Anypoto

Through contributions of officers and men of the 27th Canadian Infantry Brigade, Group, Hannover, Germany, 3,308 guilders have been donated to Dutch flood victims. Mr. T. A. Stone, Canadian Ambassador to the Netherlands, (right), presents the cheque for that amount to Lt. General P. Alons, director of the Dutch National Disaster Fund, at the Canadian Embassy in The Hague. Representing the 27th Brigade at the ceremony were Major R. A. Briggs, (right rear), and Captain L. W. Garen.

A similar amount, approximately 309 pounds sterling, was contributed by the Brigade to the Lord Mayor's Disaster Fund through Canada House, London, for the flood victims in the United Kingdom.

REVIEW OF INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENTS

Statements by the Secretary of State for External Affairs, Mr. L. B. Pearson, made in the House of Commons, February 5, 11, and 12, 1953.

... I have had an opportunity . . . of studying the text of the statement by the President of the United States . . . In that statement, . . . the President announced the modification of the Presidential order to the 7th Fleet issued by his predecessor on June 27, 1950. That order which was given, . . . shortly after the aggressive attack on South Korea, was in the nature of an instruction to the United States 7th Fleet both to prevent any attack upon Formosa from the mainland, and also to ensure that Formosa should not be used as a base of operations against the Chinese Communist mainland.

The order was issued, of course, before the large-scale intervention by Chinese Communist forces in Korea, and its objective was to neutralize Formosa in order to limit the hostilities arising out of the aggression of June 25, 1950, on the Korean peninsula.

... the original order was an action taken on the sole responsibility of the United States Government, just as the recent action modifying it with respect to what the President has termed the employment of the 7th Fleet to "shield Communist China" was taken on the sole responsibility of the United States Government. That, however, does not make the matter one of little or merely indirect interest to other countries, including Canada.

Canadian Position

With respect to the position of the Canadian Government, while we remain resolved to carry out our United Nations obligations in Korea, we do not think that the defence of Formosa, which has not been assumed by the United Nations, should be confused with the defence of Korea, which has. As I have mentioned on several occasions in the House, on May 15, 1951, on May 22, 1951, and on April 1, 1952, our consistent position has been that this island should be neutralized so far as that is possible, while hostilities continue in Korea. Our view has been that the final disposition of Formosa should be a subject to be discussed at a conference on Far Eastern problems which should be held when the fighting ceases in Korea; and we strongly supported the statement of principles approved by the Political Committee of the Fifth United Nations General Assembly which specifically provided for such a conference. In any decision regarding the future of Formosa, the wishes of the people there would naturally be a primary consideration.

In considering the possible effects of this recent action by the United States Government, I should emphasize that on Far Eastern issues, as on other questions in which we are both concerned, the fundamental and long-term aims of Canada and the United States are similar, although naturally we may differ on occasions in our approach to specific issues

and as to how these long-term aims can best be achieved.

Canadians of course know President Eisenhower well. They feel a deep gratitude for the services he has already rendered the free world and have full confidence, I am sure, in his peaceful and constructive purposes. And I am convinced that one of these purposes — as it is the purpose of this Government and this Parliament and our country, and the purpose of the other governments who are now engaged in Korea — is to end and not to extend the Korean war.

It should also be noted that in his statement President Eisenhower stated clearly that "this order implies no aggressive intent on our part". Nor should we, I think, assume that because of this order any large scale operations in the near future are likely to be undertaken by Chinese Nationalist forces on the mainland. The order does, however, rescind that part of the original order by which the United States 7th Fleet would prevent any such operations.

The original order did give, I suppose, to the Communist forces in China a feeling of immunity from attack from Formosa. This has become increasingly unacceptable to the people of the United States, as the Chinese Communists have continued their aggression in Korea and only recently rejected a resolution, approved by the present United Nations General Assembly which could have ended the war there on acceptable terms. The United States Government has, therefore, found it necessary to take action to alter a situation which was considered to no longer have its original justification.

Aim of Order

It is no doubt hoped that this change may keep more Chinese Communist forces in China and hence have an advantageous effect on United Nations operations in Korea. It would of course be another matter as hon. members will be aware, if Chinese Nationalist raiders or invading forces were escorted or protected in their operations by the armed forces of other United Nations governments. We have no reason to believe, however, on the basis of any information available to us that any such development will take place, the consequences of which would be far-reaching.

We are not of course committed by, though naturally we are concerned with, the action taken in Washington in connection with this matter. The Government will follow developments with the closest possible attention and take appropriate action to make our views known if and when the occasion so warrants. Meanwhile I think it would be unwise and premature to jump to dogmatic or critical conclusions concerning the step taken by the

United States Government, and announced in a statement by President Eisenhower which contained so much that was wise and heartening to us all.

Korean Resolution

... I should say first that the seventh session of the United Nations General Assembly, which is proving to be a momentous Assembly indeed, has already given us cause for some encouragement and for some anxiety. The main subject, of course, as I have indicated, is Korea. The Korean resolution, which I discussed more fully in my statement of last December, has since that time, . . . been rejected by Communist China and by North Korea and, therefore, unfortunately has not led to an armistice in the unhappy Korean peninsula. Nevertheless I think that this effort, and the resolution which reflects this effort were of very great significance and importance as a demonstration of unity and solidarity — unity which included all the Asian members of the United Nations. In fact the effort was led by one of the Asian members, India.

Although this resolution has not brought an end to the fighting in Korea, it has become the starting point, the basis for any future action. Finally, I believe that it is important that this resolution showed very clearly where the will to peace now lies by exposing the insincerity of Communist declarations that they wish to end the war in Korea.

If the United Nations proposal on Korea, which was a fair compromise, had been accepted by the Communists who talk so much about a cease-fire we would have been able long since to enjoy a cease-fire — a cease-fire on the basis of an armistice agreed upon, with prisoners of war already exchanged; and we would now be well on the way to a political conference on outstanding Korean and other Far Eastern questions.

Their summary rejection, and it was a summary rejection by the Communists, of this great opportunity for peace exposes the hollowness and hypocrisy of the Communist clamour for a cease-fire without an armistice and without an exchange of prisoners — matters which, along with others in the Soviet proposals, echoed recently by Peking, are to be left for later disposition to a commission which would be set up after the cease-fire and on whose decisions the Communist members would have had a veto.

On that important question and other important questions, the General Assembly has already shown that even when faced with matters potentially very explosive it is capable of reaching decisions which bear a relation to the present facts and to the possibilities of constructive international action.

It is probable, however, that there will be further far-reaching discussions at later sessions of the General Assembly on the reconciliation of domestic jurisdiction as laid down in the Charter with the claim that the United Nations is competent to consider and to intervene in any question which anyone may wish

to put on the agenda. There is probably no more important long-range problem facing the United Nations General Assembly than this.

In the economic, social and legal fields the General Assembly did not strike out on any new paths, but it reviewed and developed the work of its various technical agencies. It is possibly worth special mention that there was a decision to recommend a \$25 million grant for the expanded programme of technical assistance which the Economic and Social Council had already proposed.

Such achievements as the General Assembly has been able to make are I think the more commendable in that they were made under the handicap of the uncertainty attendant upon the Presidential election in the United States. The General Assembly was also faced with serious problems posed for the organization itself by the resignation of the Secretary-General and by certain difficulties which arose over personnel problems in the Secretariat. I shall say no more about these matters now, as they will undoubtedly be discussed at the resumed session.

However, there are some additional subjects on the agenda which promise to give rise to discussion and indeed to opportunities for propaganda. These include, for example, germ warfare, the Polish resolution on "peace" and Czechoslovak resolution referring to the alleged interference of the United States in the internal affairs of other states. We are now more than half way through the session of the General Assembly, I hope; and while I do not wish to indulge in any idle or unrealistic praise of what it has done or to minimize the difficulties which lie ahead, I think we can take some encouragement from the spirit in which the General Assembly tackled the great issues which faced it last October and the constructive way in which so many delegations sought for solutions to those issues.

Close Relations

At the United Nations the relations of our delegation were particularly close, as they always have been, with the delegations from the other Commonwealth countries and from the United States, and I should like to say a few words at this point about our relations with the United States.

For the past months we in Canada, and indeed the people of the whole world, have followed with mounting interest the constitutional and democratic processes of the United States in connection with the choice of a Federal Administration by the people of the United States. In Canada, and elsewhere, I think people were struck by the way in which, once the elections were over, the tumult had ceased and the television had faded away, the people of the United States closed ranks behind their new Administration and took up once again the gigantic task to which destiny has called them at this time.

To Mr. Truman of Independence, Missouri, Canadians owe much and I think will acknowledge a great debt. He met international

challenges during the years he sat in the most important office in the most important state in the world with courage and conviction, and he played an indispensable part in laying the foundations which made collective resistance to aggression a reality and in strengthening the sinews of the free world. Now President Eisenhower is taking up this Herculean burden. We all know the towering contribution he made to victory in war. It is encouraging today to know that his qualities of statesmanship, and his strength of character, his wisdom and experience will be placed at the service not only of the United States, but of all the free world in our search for peace and security.

The inaugural speech of the new President breathed, I think, both humility and strength. It was an inspiration to all those who were able to hear or read it.

Canada-U.S. Relations

There are no two countries in the world, . . . whose relations are closer and more intimate than those of Canada and the United States. We have our problems and our differences and will continue to have them, problems which arise not only from strictly bilateral questions but also from the position of the United States as the leader of the free world coalition of which Canada is a part. Naturally, as the United States possesses so much the greatest power in that coalition and as its influence is correspondingly, and rightly, greater than others, we others are preoccupied — and at times intensely so — as to how that power will be used and how that leadership will be exercised.

One problem for any Canadian Government in its relations with the United States as the leader of our coalition — and it is sometimes a difficult problem to solve — is to know when we should give up our own particular view in the interests of general agreement and when we should persist in our own policy even if it means disagreement of the kind which gives so much aid and comfort to the Communists.

In seeking for the right answer to this question, on the occasions when it is presented to us, there are various factors which I suggest we should always take into consideration. The first is our responsibility to our own people which means, when necessary, stating our own views to our friends frankly but responsibly. Second, it means an understanding of the desirability, indeed the necessity, in the face of the menace that confronts us, of maintaining the maximum degree of unity that is possible. Third, it means a recognition of the special responsibility that the United States is bearing in the effort for peace. All this, I suggest, makes it desirable not only that the Canadian voice in international affairs should be frank and clear and in a recognizable Canadian accent, and also that there should be the greatest possible harmony between that voice and the other members of the chorus, especially the leader.

So far as our strictly bilateral relations with

the United States are concerned, if it is possible to separate them from the collective problems which we share with others, they are closer, more complex and more varied than ever before. Take trade for instance. The currents of trade now criss-cross our boundary with the United States until trade between our two countries has become greater than that between any two countries in the world and, indeed, I believe is greater than trade between the United States and the whole of South America. Every state in the United States and every province in Canada has a part in that trade which reaches farther into Canada as our northern frontiers assume greater importance in the industrial development of both countries.

So . . . we were glad to hear President Eisenhower, in his State-of-the-Union message, urge upon the United States Congress the need for basing foreign trade securely on fair and equitable arrangements, and in particular to hear his recommendation regarding the reciprocal trade agreements act and the revision of customs regulations aimed at reducing obstacles to trade. We hope that this will soon result in enhancing the economic strength of the whole free world by securing its foundation in rational trading policies which will benefit us all. Political co-operation and economic conflict are difficult at times to reconcile.

Joint Defence

In joint defence, if I may turn to another field, our partnership with the United States is also becoming closer and more complex. Today our common defence requirements are greater than ever before, so great, for instance, that it has been necessary for Canadians, and Americans to take their places side by side at lonely northern outposts in Canada as protection against possible aggression which, if it occurred, would not be aggression against a nation but aggression against a continent. It must be expected, that as the advances of modern science and technology increase the speed with which an enemy could strike, so it will be necessary to push our continental defences and our continental development farther north.

In this increasing preoccupation with common defence there is ground for satisfaction on two counts. First, Canadians know the United States Government respects our rights and our natural desire to retain in our own hands the responsibility for administration over all our territory, subject of course to the requirements of collective security. Second, the increasing need for northern defence arrangements in turn requires a further development of transportation, communications and other facilities which are making a material contribution to opening up the wealth and resources of our last remaining frontier, the north.

St. Lawrence Seaway

There is one matter, however, in which our American friends have not been able to co-

operate with us at the pace we feel the requirements of the situation demand. I am speaking of the St. Lawrence Seaway. We have made great progress during the last few months toward the completion of arrangements for the joint development of the power works in the International Section of the river, which are essential before we can proceed with the development of the navigation works, either alone or in co-operation with the United States. All arrangements in Canada have now long since been completed. It remains only for the Federal Power Commission of the United States to issue a licence to an appropriate agency to construct the United States share of the power works for this whole project to get under way. We are waiting for the Federal Power Commission to reach a decision on this matter. We hope that it will be soon, and we are disappointed that that decision has not already been reached.

As arrangements for this Canadian project approach completion, there has been renewed interest in the United States in participating in the construction, the operation and the control of the waterway. Our position, which has already been made public, is simply that we must get on with the entire development just as quickly as we can. The need for power has long been urgent. It must be met, and the St. Lawrence River is the last important source of low-cost hydro-electric power available to serve this particular area. Once the arrangements for the development of this power have been completed, and only then, we can discuss whatever new proposal the United States may wish to make for participating in the Seaway. It has been made clear, however, that the discussion of any new proposal for sharing this task must not delay any longer the whole project.

Canada and the United States has solved many problems together in a spirit of good will and good neighbourliness, with faith in each other's intentions and purposes. Surely they will be able to solve this one, and soon.

Latin America

I should like to turn for a moment . . . if I may, to our relations with Latin America, which are growing in importance, both politically and commercially. It has been the policy of this Government to do everything it can to foster that growth and to strengthen our relations with this increasingly important part of the world. The importance and influence of the Latin American countries is evidenced not only by their growing trade but also by their growing influence in the world's councils, especially at the United Nations.

So far as trade is concerned, Latin America has become the third largest trading area for Canada, our total trade with it having risen from \$33 million in 1938 to well over \$500 million in 1952, almost equally divided between imports and exports. Although our trade with Latin America averages only about 6 per cent of our commerce with the world in general, it accounts for about one-quarter of our trade with all countries other than the

United States and the United Kingdom. So one of the principal aims of Latin America and Canada in recent years in particular has been to increase trade in both directions.

We are especially glad . . . to welcome back to the House our colleague the Minister of Trade and Commerce (Mr. Howe), who has recently made such a distinguished contribution toward strengthening our political and our commercial relationships with Latin America. From all accounts we have received, his mission was greeted with quite exceptional cordiality in the countries which it visited, and this gives real hope of fruitful results of the kind we are accustomed to securing from the Minister of Trade and Commerce. . . .

The Commonwealth

. . . Now, I would like to say a few words about our relations with the Commonwealth. It is not easy, of course, to bring the Commonwealth neatly into any geographical tour since it is as scattered on the map as it is varied in its peoples. It remains one of the most important associations through which Canadian foreign policy is worked out collectively with our friends. It is an association deep-rooted in our history but sensitive to political evolution, as was pointed out so eloquently in this House the other day. Unlike the United Nations and unlike NATO, it has no formal treaty between its members, no formal machinery or firm commitments of any kind; but it is a source of political, economic and moral strength to all of its members and it is of value indeed to the free world which not so long ago it saved from disaster and defeat. Its tried methods of consultation have survived many perils and are always followed by decisions taken by the respective member governments and by agreement on the part of its respective member governments, if only agreements to disagree, which occasionally happens.

The relations, for instance, among the Commonwealth delegations at the United Nations are very close and important and it is significant, I think, to realize that at the recent General Assembly of the United Nations there were members of the Commonwealth who were in what might be termed almost violent disagreement in their approach to certain items on the agenda; but that never at any time prevented those members of the Commonwealth in such disagreement from meeting around the table at a Commonwealth meeting to try to iron out their difficulties in private before they were expressed in public.

London Conference

May I, while I am on Commonwealth relationships, mention one other recent consultation, the Conference of Commonwealth Prime Ministers held in London last November. It will be recalled that this conference concluded that — and I quote from its communiqué —

— a more positive policy can now be adopted both by the Commonwealth countries themselves, and in concert with other friendly countries, to promote the expansion

sion of world production and trade.

And it emphasized that Commonwealth countries — and again I quote —

— have no intention of seeking the creation of a discriminatory economic bloc; rather their object is by strengthening themselves to benefit the world economy generally . . . the Commonwealth countries look outward to . . . co-operation with others, not inward to a closed association . . .

That is from the communiqué at the end of that conference. This conference was no narrow group aiming to improve its position at the expense of or without consideration for others. It was a widely representative meeting seeking to find some basis on which beneficial national action could be taken and from which international co-operation could proceed, but fully aware that such co-operation, to be effective, must have a broader basis than even the Commonwealth association.

The effectiveness of this Commonwealth conference cannot of course, be judged finally until more is known of the measures adopted by individual governments following it, and until further discussions have taken place between its members and other governments, particularly the Government of the United States, and with various international organizations, particularly the Organization for European Economic Co-operation. The Commonwealth countries have, however, taken a useful initiative. In following it up there will have to be co-operation on the broadest possible basis to ease the necessary but not easy adjustments which may have to be made, especially by some of the members of the Commonwealth. In this process the Canadian Government will naturally wish to play a full and, I hope, constructive part.

Another Commonwealth initiative on which I can only touch at this time, but which I am sure will be given consideration later, is the Colombo Plan which likewise was framed in full awareness of the interests of other countries and other organizations, particularly the United Nations. That plan is now nearing the end of its second year and it continues to be one of the most important and constructive elements in our foreign economic policy.

The significance of the Commonwealth, however, rests on more than trade and economic development factors. In today's world the effort to bring the condition of men a little closer to the ideal of brotherhood, though an aim which we share with many others outside the Commonwealth, can be felt and understood within the Commonwealth as something with a special and I think a deeper meaning.

Today the Commonwealth, including its Asian nation members, is able to do much in promoting this understanding and co-operation, especially between the West and Asia. The presence at Her Majesty's coronation next June of representatives of all nations of the Commonwealth, whether monarchy or republic, from East and West, will be a striking demonstration of this free world-wide association of which our young Queen is the gracious symbol. Furthermore, since the Common-

wealth embraces territories which, though not yet qualified for membership, are nevertheless advancing toward self-government, it may before long be faced with proposals for the inclusion of new members. The old Empire gave way to the new Commonwealth, and that new Commonwealth in its turn is developing and changing and gathering, I hope, new opportunities of service and usefulness in the process.

This influence of the Commonwealth with its Asian members is one reason Canadians think more about Asia and the Far East than they did a few years ago. Today the Far East is also close to our interest because fighting is actually going on there in Korea, in Indo-China and in Malaya, and it threatens in other places. We continue to do what we can to end this fighting, especially in Korea, as a prelude to a general settlement in that area.

Canadian Policy in Korea

As I said a few moments ago the most recent attempt at the United Nations General Assembly to end the war in Korea has failed. But the effort to that end must not stop, and I am sure it will not stop. The guiding principle of Canadian policy in Korea is to continue to do everything possible to limit the present hostilities by peaceful negotiation. It follows from this that our general attitude in the United Nations General Assembly, as elsewhere, is to support proposals designed to facilitate an armistice agreement, and to oppose proposals which, in our judgment, would impede such an armistice.

On the specific question, for instance, of the disposition of prisoners of war, the Canadian position has been quite clear and consistent. We do not believe that any prisoner should be compelled by force to return to what was once his homeland or should be prevented, through any kind of moral or physical force, from so returning.

We consider also that the purpose of the United Nations in Korea remains the defeat of aggression there, and does not include intervention in the civil war in China. So long as Chinese troops act as aggressors in Korea they must be opposed and that aggression, if possible, defeated. This does not mean that we who oppose them, by so doing, are committed to the overthrow by force of the government now in effective control of the mainland of China. As we see it we are engaged not in a national war against Communist China or in intervening in a Chinese civil war, but as a member of the United Nations in a police action against aggression.

New Concept of Arms

Such action may be, and in this case is, just as bloody and dangerous and as hard to bear for those who are engaged in it, as any war of old. But it does embody a new and heartening concept of arms used to defend international order and law rather than to defend national interests alone. . . .

On this point . . . I should like to quote a

few words from a magazine which will be familiar to hon. members, though possibly not on account of its comment on international affairs so much as its humour. I refer to the *New Yorker*. In an editorial in its issue of November 8, 1952, I find these words:

Korea was undertaken, and stands at this date, as an attempt to honour a prior commitment among nations; that is, the United Nations Charter agreement about armed aggression. This fact, without making Korea less bloody, make Korea unique and distinguishes it from wars this nation — the editorial is referring to the United States — has known and fought in the past. . . .

When a policeman chases a thief, he does so because of a prior decision of the community regarding felony. The community of the United Nations, new and shaky and divided against itself, made a decision about aggression, and a bloc of non-Communist armies, egged on principally by us Americans, rushed in to enforce the global ordinance in the name of collective security. It may be a mess, and the events leading up to it may lack clarity, but nobody need apologize for police action in support of world belief, and nobody should belittle the word "police". It is a good word, and cannot be dissociated from justice and peace. . . .

Another point of importance in the policy Canada holds towards Korea and the Far East generally is our belief that it is essential that Western and Asian democracies should maintain in this matter the highest possible degree of unity of purpose and action. We do not believe, accordingly, that the Western powers should press for military or economic measures, at the United Nations or elsewhere, which would certainly not be supported and indeed might be actively opposed by important non-Communist Asian states, and which without such support would be less effective in ending the Korean war than in extending it.

This principle has guided our policy in this matter in the past, and it will continue to guide us in considering any such proposals which may be made in the future. We think that such proposals should be considered, not emotionally or from the standpoint of our feelings about the Communist regime in Peking, which we detest, but in the light of our United Nations obligation to stop aggression in Korea, and from the point of view whether their value in that respect is more than offset by the risk of precipitating a war on the mainland of China which, it is clear, would not stop there. It is, of course, very natural indeed to desire to hit the aggressor in new places and with new weapons, but it is also wise to realize that in consequence he may also hit us somewhere else and with new weapons. There are, for instance, about two million people on the very small and rocky island of Hong Kong.

Pacific Security Pact

. . . I should like to say a few words about the concept of a security arrangement in the

Pacific along the lines of the Atlantic Pact — a concept which we usually embody in the words Pacific Security Pact.

I have told the House on a number of occasions that, in my view, the time was not yet ripe for a Pacific pact along those lines. I believe that that is still the case. On June 20, 1952, when I last mentioned the subject in this House, I said we were in agreement with the views of Mr. John Foster Dulles, who had said that he did not think it feasible on any quick time-table to associate the countries of Asia in a security pact in the same way as the countries of the Atlantic were associated. Mr. Dulles is of course, now the United States Secretary of State. We continue to agree with these views which he then expressed and which I believe he still holds. I hope those who hold other views on this subject will produce concrete and impressive evidence in support of them, so we may be given an opportunity, on the basis of that evidence, to consider whether we should change our minds and not merely reiterate that we should have a Pacific pact and that we should do more in that respect in the Pacific.

As I see it, there are three fundamental difficulties which remain — and I have mentioned them before — in the way of the early realization of a Pacific pact on a multilateral basis. The first difficulty — and it is a basic one — is which Pacific states should be included and which should be left out; the second is how to get the various countries which might participate to agree to team up with other potential members; and finally there is the lack of community of interest and purpose and policy among some of the potential members.

Until these problems are solved, and they are certainly not solved yet, a Pacific pact which attempted to be the counterpart of the North Atlantic Pact would, I think, inevitably be an artificial creation and might well do more harm than good.

The Pacific, however, is by no means a security vacuum. The United States has security arrangements with Canada, of course, but also with Japan, with the Philippines, with Australia and with New Zealand.

ANZUS Pact

. . . It has been suggested by some . . . that Canada might adhere to the tripartite security treaty, now known as the ANZUS Pact, between the United States, Australia and New Zealand. On April 1, 1952, I expressed . . . the opinion that the objections to broadening this arrangement at this time into a general Pacific pact, or indeed the objections to including any additional states in this arrangement, were accepted as overriding by certain countries whose support for such broadening would be essential; and that certainly means first of all the United States. That opinion, has subsequently been reinforced by the communiqué issued on August 7, 1952, by the ANZUS Council itself, at the conclusion of its first meeting. That communiqué reads in part as follows:

It would be premature at this early stage in its own development — (that is the development of ANZUS) — to establish relationships with other states . . .

As the ANZUS Council itself has taken that attitude not particularly or especially in relation to Canada but in relation to other countries as well, including countries which have a deep and abiding interest in such a pact, I do not think it would be appropriate for us to press for membership at this time . . .

We obtained, I think, quite adequate information on which to base the policy which we have followed. So I repeat, . . . that while we are not members of a Pacific Security Pact along the lines of the North Atlantic Pact, and while we are not now members of the ANZUS association, we are just as much concerned with security in the Pacific as we are with security in the Atlantic; because security, like peace itself, is indivisible. But that does not mean, as I see it, that the expression of this concern must be through the same type of collective security machinery everywhere.

Japan

When talking about a Pacific pact it is natural, I think, to say a few words about our relations with Japan which would have to play an important part in any collective security arrangement in the Pacific, and this indicates one of the reasons it is not easy at this time to broaden the more limited association into a wider one.

Earlier last month our colleague, the former Minister of Fisheries, Mr. Mayhew, took up his new duties as first Canadian Ambassador to post-war Japan . . . He has got down to work at once, as one would expect of him. His arrival in Japan and indeed the exchange of ambassadors with that country not only reflects the developing significance of Canada as a Pacific power, but it also points up the increased importance which both countries, Japan and Canada, attach to their relations with each other.

Canadian interests in Japan are important and varied. In trade, for instance, Japan has again become one of our best customers. The question of our trading relations with her is a difficult one; and some of us may find it hard to approach the problem entirely dispassionately. But I suggest that we cannot afford to ignore it, for Japan is at present our fourth largest market. Last year we sold Japan \$102 million worth of goods, about eight times as much as we bought from her.

Political considerations reinforce these economic reasons for reasonable trading relations with Japan. If she is to be retained as a healthy and reliable friend and ally in that critical part of the world, we and the other free countries must be prepared to join with her in working out satisfactory arrangements for maintaining and expanding the trade on which we are both so dependent, and on which she is especially dependent, as she sees her markets on the mainland of Asia being curtailed or possibly being lost because of political difficulties.

As an associate in the free world community, we look to Japan to adhere to her new-found democratic way of life, and we expect her to make a constructive contribution to collective security in the Pacific. On the other hand, I suppose Japan has the right to look to us to do our part — and by "our" I mean the nations of the Western world, including Canada — to show that her choice of friendly association with us is wise from the point of view of enlightened self-interest.

Southeast Asia

May I say a word now about another part of Asia which has great strategic and political significance at the present time. I refer to Southeast Asia, where the situation in some places has taken a turn for the better during the past year. Burma, for instance, has made considerable strides towards the restoration of internal order, and in Malaya the tide of Communist terrorism has receded. But in Indo-China which, in some ways, is the most important part of this Southeast Asian area, bitter fighting is still going on to keep this territory under nationalist but out of Communist control.

In a resolution adopted December 17, 1952, the North Atlantic Council expressed its wholehearted admiration for these efforts and acknowledged that the resistance of the free nations of Southeast Asia was in fullest harmony with the aims and ideals of the Atlantic community, and agreed that the campaign waged by French Union forces in Indo-China merited support from NATO members. Indeed there is a close strategic relationship not only between events in Korea and Indo-China, but also between events in Indo-China and in Western Europe, because events in Indo-China have a very important bearing, on France's contribution to the defence of Western Europe. . . .

NATO

In this tour I have reached Southeast Asia, and it is interesting to note that there is now only a relatively small geographical gap between Southeast Asia and the area covered by the North Atlantic Treaty, which goes to the Eastern boundaries of Turkey. And so in a debate of this kind, it is possibly not as inappropriate as it might seem to jump from Southeast Asia to the North Atlantic Treaty Organization.

. . . All members of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization and all members of the Commonwealth, I think except Asian members, have recognized Viet Nam, Laos and Cambodia.

So far as the North Atlantic Treaty Organization is concerned, the feeling has recently developed that the high hopes which we placed in NATO not so long ago are not being realized. The claim is being put forward on the one hand that NATO defence plans are inadequate and are being implemented too slowly to meet the threat which Soviet military strength still poses in Europe. On the other hand, some people feel that the effort

to achieve the military targets agreed to at Lisbon is resulting in economic weakness and social and political division, and that economic and political co-operation is being subordinated to excessive military planning.

Well, I think myself that both these criticisms are somewhat exaggerated. If NATO has lost some of the momentum of its earliest days and some of the appeal of those days — and I am not denying that that might be the case — it is due, I suggest, to a certain recent tendency, which is a natural one in the circumstances to mark time during the longish period while the leader of the coalition was changing the guard, and the period between the changing and the mounting of that guard. There was a certain hesitation in NATO activity which extended over some months.

It might also be due to a feeling of lessening tension as the years go by without attack, and with growing strength on our side which, of course, means heavy defence burdens. That feeling can be dangerous by lulling us into a sense of false security and, indeed, complacency. On the other hand I suggest that it should not be permitted to obscure the fact that the founding and building up of this NATO coalition of 14 nations is itself, one of the greatest achievements of history in our time. People already tend to take for granted this really revolutionary development which has taken place in less than four years. And so it should be a source of sober satisfaction, though certainly not of complacency, that by the end of 1952 in Western Europe, largely because of NATO, the temptation to easy and victorious aggression has been removed, that temptation which is the greatest threat to peace when totalitarian governments are around.

Canadian Contribution

Canada's contribution to NATO forces remains in accordance with the commitments which we accepted at Lisbon. They include 24 warships being made available by the Royal Canadian Navy for anti-submarine and coastal service as part of the Atlantic force, the 27th Canadian Infantry Brigade, which is stationed in Germany as part of General Ridgway's forces, and the two F-86 jet-fighter wings already overseas, which will be part of the R.C.A.F. division to be stationed in France and Germany when airfields become available. Canada has also provided, during the past year, considerable help to other member countries by means of our Mutual Aid Programme, under which substantial quantities of arms and ancillary equipment have been supplied.

Paris Meeting

A ministerial meeting of the Council was held in Paris in December, not to make momentous decisions but rather to review the progress made since Lisbon on both the civilian and military sides. And there will be another meeting of the North Atlantic Coun-

cil, under present plans, toward the end of April. At that meeting we will consider the 1952 annual review, which was not completed in December. We will also consider steps to be recommended for the rest of 1953.

On the civilian side, the Secretary-General's report last December described the work, constructive but still in its initial stages, which has been done in the non-military fields of co-operation, although it has not proceeded as far as some of us had hoped when we signed the North Atlantic Pact. Work has proceeded in the field of political consultation through the Council, which is now in permanent session, work dealing with population problems, civil defence in wartime, food plans and ship production and supply.

In this connection I think it possibly appropriate for me to refer to the problem posed by the floods which have devastated three of the member states of NATO. The North Atlantic Treaty Organization is the formal expression of the North Atlantic community. A community is a group of people who act together in a crisis, and it is in moments of emergency and crisis that each of us is made aware of the reality of the community which links the peoples which compose it.

Flood Disasters

The flood disasters which have recently struck at Britain, the Netherlands and Belgium aroused throughout Canada and the whole community instant sympathy and concern, coupled with a desire to speed aid to the victims. I think this disaster might well be a matter for consideration by our North Atlantic Treaty Organization. . . .

It has been brought to the attention of the Council by several members. I should like to say a word on the military side before I sit down. The progress report of the Military Committee in December showed that great advances had been made in training and increasing the effectiveness of the various national forces assigned to the supreme commander, and in the co-operation between national units and staffs. Substantial advances have also been made in the standardization of international military procedures, notably in signals and in the provision of airfields. At their December meeting the ministers were able to complete the European Command structure by approving the Military Committee's proposal for the establishment of a Mediterranean Command. So on the whole there has been a steady advance.

It seems to me rather unfortunate therefore that the tone of the publicity which came out of the Ministerial meeting in Paris in December seemed to reinforce this talk of loss of momentum and indeed defeatism. The picture painted in some of the press dispatches emanating from Paris was that of reluctant member countries falling short of the minimum effort required to guard against aggression in spite of dire warnings from various quarters of the consequences of such aggression. If NATO has not done everything

that everyone expects of it we should remember that, as in national affairs, an international undertaking of this sort has constantly to fit its plans not only to the capabilities but to the policies and wills of its member states.

Emphasis in Quality

It has also to deal first with the most urgent tasks. It was in recognition of this that the Ministerial meeting in December directed that more emphasis should be given to increasing the quality of the strength and effectiveness of the NATO forces and the units necessary for their support rather than to the provision of greater numbers of troops at this time.

It has also been recognized that the impact of a collective undertaking of this kind and of this magnitude is bound to have important and sometimes unforeseen results on the economies of member countries, and that political and economic stability must co-exist with defensive strength or else the strongest military force would be but an illusion of security, weakening the very substance which society itself intended to protect.

This does not mean that the governments of NATO countries should forget for a moment that the danger posed by Soviet imperialism to their common heritage of freedom still remains. As I have said, if the threatening cloud of aggression seems now to be less dark in certain parts of the sky over Europe, it is due to the efforts which its members have made to increase their collective strength and unity since the inception of this NATO alliance. The maintenance of the unity and strength of its members and the extension of their joint action into other fields depends, as I see it, in large part on the preservation of our peace and security . . .

. . . I think it is clear that there is one important area of the world where collective security arrangements are most conspicuous by their absence. I am referring to the Middle East. That is a gap, and an important one in our efforts to defend ourselves and the free world collectively.

U.K.-Egypt Arrangement

It is, I think, clear that the gap is not likely to be closed by Middle East defence and security arrangements until the political relationships between some of the countries in the Middle East are happier than they are, unfortunately, at the present. That is only one reason why I think the House will have welcomed the announcement today that an arrangement has been concluded between the Government of the United Kingdom and the Government of Egypt covering the future of the Sudan, which should be a step forward in stabilizing that whole area. It will also have been made clear, I hope, that all these separate collective security arrangements really hang together. They are in a sense interdependent.

Yesterday I finished my discussion by dealing with the North Atlantic Treaty Organi-

zation. That Organization as we know is a limited association of fourteen states whose responsibilities under the Treaty extend only to a clearly defined area. Meanwhile it is becoming increasingly clear that it is Communist world strategy to attempt to drain away the strength of the Western democracies by military and quasi-military action in the Far East and other places and by fomenting disturbances in the Middle East and in Africa. The Communist threat then is on a global scale, and no exclusively regional approach to that threat will be sufficient. The policies required to meet it must be worldwide too. Asian problems are linked with European problems, as has been so clearly demonstrated in the case of Indo-China.

Therefore, while each of the NATO partners has its own particular and necessarily limited commitments, it is essential, I think, that in the formulation of their plans — and this is becoming increasingly recognized in NATO — they should take account of their implications in the global setting. Before that can be done by NATO I think it is fair to say that the strength and the progress of the NATO effort will have to be linked in some satisfactory fashion with the move towards greater European unity.

EDC

Last June when I reviewed the European scene I spoke in some detail of the treaty constituting a European Defence Community which had been signed at Paris on May 27 by representatives of the Governments of France, the Federal Republic of Germany, Italy and the Benelux countries. At that time there were reasonable grounds for hoping that the treaty would be ratified and in force by the end of 1952. Unfortunately that hope has not been fulfilled. In both France and Germany hesitations and doubts have emerged and persisted, arising perhaps out of the conflict between hopes for the future and memories of the past. These have resulted in disappointments and delays which have possibly caused more surprise and impatience in some quarters than they should have. After all, the decisions to be made in this matter are not easy ones and they involve renunciations of sovereignty that would have been unthinkable even fifteen or twenty years ago.

Those of us who criticize Europeans for being so slow to come together, and who sometimes are tempted to draw what may be misleading historical analogies in urging them to do so, should ask themselves how readily we would welcome similar renunciations of sovereignty on our own part. Yet while we should understand the hesitations and the difficulties, we should also, I think, clearly realize the desirability, indeed possibly the necessity, for the right decisions to be made soon so that Europe can combine its strength with ours for security and progress. In the darkly menacing picture of our world today, the ancient quarrels of Europe are not important enough to occupy the foreground.

The picture must be looked at, I suggest, from a new perspective.

It is unwise to underestimate the depth and sincerity of the national feelings involved, but what alternative is there to European unity of some kind for defence and, indeed, for Europe's very existence? The question that Europeans and ourselves will have to answer is: Is there any solution more acceptable to the parties concerned than the European Defence Community which is now before them for consideration?

The concept of a European army is a bold and original one which will not be easy of quick realization. But I think it is the best and safest proposal yet made to bring Germany into the Western defence system, without which there cannot really be an effective collective defence of Western Europe. That it involves risks I would be the last to deny. Recent evidence of pro-Nazi activities in West Germany points up one aspect of this risk. But there is no course in this matter without risk. We live in times which are not calculated to bring comfort to the timid, and a new world cannot be built in Europe on a foundation of ancient wrongs.

Between now and the eventual ratification of the treaties, I am confident that the statesmen of the free world will find solutions to the difficulties which the European Defence Community faces, particularly in relation to such problems as the Saar and Indo-China.

Indo-China

The latter problem of Indo-China, which we touched on yesterday and which is so important to the free world, was publicly recognized as such at the December meeting of the North Atlantic Council; and I think it is at the root of French fears and hesitations in Europe at the present time . . . We may not . . . be aware that French casualties during operations in Indo-China have been approximately 90,000 wounded, killed and missing — and of that figure 40,000 have been killed. It is understandable, then, that in the plans for closer European defence unity, in which Germany will participate, the French still have very much in mind the diversion of their defence effort necessitated by the situation in Indo-China.

The additional protocols which the present French Government has said it intends to negotiate before it accepts the European Defence Treaty are meant, in part, to take into account France's overseas commitments and to allay the fears of the French people arising out of these overseas commitments and their relationship in turn to the new commitments that they are being asked to assume in Europe. The strong and expressed desire of the French Government to see the United Kingdom associate itself more closely with the European Defence Community is also, I think, to some extent a reflection of France's feeling that she cannot safely put her whole endeavour into the European army so long as she is committed in Indo-China.

It will be recalled here that the United

Kingdom, which is already making such a big contribution to European defence and, indeed, to the defence of freedom generally, has already taken a number of steps in the direction of closer association with the European Defence Community. I am sure that we hope that she may find it possible to take even further steps to that end which will not prejudice, of course, her Commonwealth and overseas interests and responsibilities.

Defence of Europe

We, in Canada, have given evidence of our strong concern, I think, with the defence of Europe, — which is our own defence — both by the pledge and by the presence of our forces in Europe and by our Programme of Mutual Aid. Moreover, . . . by signing, giving Parliamentary approval to the NATO-EDC protocol, we have recognized the direct importance to us of the European Defence Community arrangements themselves. By that protocol, we in Canada assume, as members of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, reciprocal obligations for defence along with the European Defence Community. When we talk about the Community and express our opinions on it we are talking about something with which we are already connected by our actions here. There is provision in this protocol for mutual consultations between the councils of the two organizations; provision for joint sessions whenever one or the other deems that desirable; and arrangements for the closest co-ordination on the technical level. In that sense, if European defence arrangements become operative they will bring Germany not merely into association with the European Defence Army but into association with the North Atlantic Treaty Organization.

Defence of Freedom

So, the unity and the defence of Europe are not matters to which we give an Olympian blessing from a distant shore. In whatever final form the European Army becomes a reality, its officers and men will have Canadians as comrades-in-arms since we share a common air, which is the defence of freedom. We shall all be united, I hope, behind the shield of NATO.

Although the European Army, then, has not come into being, European integration is making encouraging progress in other respects. In fact, the day before yesterday an event of very real symbolic and practical importance in the development of European integration took place; and I am referring to the proclamation establishing the common market in Western Europe for coal under the terms of the Schuman Plan, to be followed in April by the common market for steel. By these arrangements a start has been made in eliminating customs barriers and price discrimination in these vital materials over a vast area inhabited by millions of people. Today the European coal and steel community begins what should develop into close and fruitful European collaboration in the economic field.

In the conception and in the working out of this new supranational body, because that is what it is, Europe owes a great deal to the brilliance and energy of M. Jean Monnet, the first head of the high authority of the Schuman Plan, and also to the courage and initiative of M. Robert Schuman himself. M. Schuman has shown a remarkable capacity for reaching out to new concepts and bold designs. There are still many obstacles to overcome in the development of European integration, but the very fact that we can speak of the possibility of such integration at all is due in large part to M. Schuman's unsparing efforts to reach an understanding with the neighbours of France beyond the Rhine. I have every confidence that his distinguished successor as Foreign Minister of France M. Bidault, will continue this task with equal success.

Such . . . is the picture very roughly and inadequately sketched, and with many omissions, some of which I have no doubt will be pointed out in the course of this debate.

World Picture

The picture continues to give cause for concern, but in some respects it is, I think, a shade brighter than when I spoke last June. Uncertainty and anxiety still darken the general design. We still live in a world which is groping for unity and peace. It is true, and we have been reminded of it with increasing vehemence recently, that the leaders of Soviet Communism are prepared to offer the world "unity" and "peace", but what unity what peace and at what price? If it is simply the acceptance of Soviet domination, and the relinquishing of our liberty, that price is too high and there can be no bargaining on that basis. For us, and for all people who value freedom at its true worth, that is a price which we shall not pay. But there is no reason for despair. We must, and I am sure we can, with patience and perseverance and the right use of our growing strength, discover another and a better way of finding a durable peace within the framework of freedom.

NORTH SEA FLOODS

(Continued from p. 81)

about the actual need, will prove to be the most helpful to them in their great distress.

On February 3, the Prime Minister made the following additional statement on this topic:

. . . The Canadian Red Cross Society has been in communication with the Red Cross Society of the United Kingdom, with that of Belgium and with that of the Netherlands. It would seem that the situation in the United Kingdom and Belgium is that there is no shortage of any of the supplies required immediately to meet the emergency, but that in the Netherlands there is a shortage of clothing and bedding. Fortunately the Canadian Red Cross Society had 250 cases of such supplies in Geneva which are already on their way to the Dutch Red Cross Society. They also had forty cases of such supplies in Toronto and these are being moved immediately to be delivered to the Dutch Red Cross Society through K.L.M. air lines which had a plane just about ready to leave for the Netherlands. They feel that they will have perhaps forty cases more in the provincial commands of the Canadian Red Cross Society that can be made available almost

immediately.

I also understand that the officers of our Canadian 27th Brigade have been in touch with the authorities in the Netherlands and are making immediately available such engineering services as they can render which are urgently needed and are inquiring as to what other services might be made immediately available suggesting that they have mechanical transport material that could be used. . . .

It occurred to me that perhaps the most effective and expeditious instrument that we Canadians could use to make our aid available and effective would be our own Canadian Red Cross because of its experience in handling such situations and its intimate connections with the Red Cross Societies of the United Kingdom, Belgium and the Netherlands. . . .

I think I should add that the Premier of Ontario was in communication with me this morning, and from our conversation I know he would be glad if that kind of arrangement could be set up, and that his government would be glad to do its part in what our people look upon as desirable. I have no doubt that his good example would also be followed in our other Canadian provinces. . . .

CANADIAN GOODWILL TRADE MISSION TO LATIN AMERICA

Statement by the Minister of Trade and Commerce, Mr. C. D. Howe, made in the House of Commons, February 26, 1953.

The year just past has seen another remarkable record of achievement in our foreign trade. Our exports have continued to advance and reached a total value of \$4.4 billion in 1952, an increase of \$400 million over 1951, the previous highest year. It is worth noting that the total volume of our exports in 1952 increased by even more than their value.

At the same time, many leading import commodities experienced a sharp fall in price during 1952. In spite of this, the total value of Canadian imports remained at approximately the same level as in 1951 — at just over \$4 billion.

Almost all of the \$400 million increase in our exports in 1952 went to overseas countries. Thus, while our exports to the U.S. rose to \$2.3 billion last year and continued to be the most important single factor in our foreign trade, the proportion of our trade going to that great market has declined steadily in recent years and fell last year to 54 per cent of our total exports.

It is gratifying to note that our exports to the United Kingdom and Commonwealth countries increased in value, in volume and in proportion, rising to over \$1 billion. Similarly, our exports to Europe, to Latin America and to other countries — notably Japan — increased substantially last year and totalled about \$1 billion.

Sound commercial and economic policies have enabled Canada not only to maintain high levels of foreign trade, but also to diversify that trade. Canada's policy is to build up a sound exchange of commodities with every country in the world. In this we are succeeding to a remarkable degree.

... I wish to report on our trade with Latin America and particularly on the results of the Canadian Goodwill and Trade Mission which has recently returned from a visit to Latin America.

Trade With Latin America

Our trade with the twenty Latin American countries continued to be one of the brightest spots in the world trade picture. This trade has experienced a rapid expansion in recent years. In 1938 our total trade with this area was valued at \$33 million. Last year the total amounted to about \$560 million. As a percentage of our trade with all countries, trade with Latin America has tripled since prewar. Over 6 per cent of our exports go to those countries and about 7 per cent of our imports come from them.

The reasons for the growing importance of this area in Canada's trade pattern are obvious. Latin America has a population of over 150 million and vast natural resources complementary to our own. As in Canada, the whole area is in the process of economic expansion, with high production, rising living

standards and increasing import requirements. We are natural trading partners, each in need of what the other can supply.

Since the war, our traditional exports to Latin America have been supplemented by a wide range of other products. The area has become one of our best customers for manufactured goods, many of which are currently denied access to other markets. Many countries in Latin America, including Cuba, Venezuela and Mexico, are open dollar markets where trade is unrestricted by import and exchange controls, just as Canada is an open market for their products.

Our relations with Latin America have been strengthened substantially in recent years. Since the end of the war we have concluded new trade agreements with many of these countries and we now maintain most-favoured-nation trade relations with all of Latin America with the exception of Honduras.

In recent months we have further strengthened our diplomatic representation by establishing Embassies in Venezuela, Colombia and Uruguay.

Goodwill and Trade Mission

It is against this encouraging background and as a positive contribution to the expansion of Canada's trade that the Government decided to organize a Goodwill and Trade Mission to visit many of the countries of Latin America early this year. I was privileged to lead this Mission on a 5-week tour of nine countries, leaving Ottawa on January 5, and returning on February 10. We visited the following countries:

| | | |
|-----------|--------------------|--------|
| Brazil | Venezuela | Haiti |
| Argentina | Colombia | Cuba |
| Uruguay | Dominican Republic | Mexico |

The Mission also made unofficial visits to Puerto Rico and to Trinidad, where we were privileged to meet a number of businessmen. In Trinidad, we were able to discuss matters of mutual interest with the Governor, Sir Hubert Rance, and with the Hon. Mr. Gomes, Minister of Labour and Industry, and other members of the Government, and to see something of the development of that British colony.

The Mission was composed of a small group of government officials and seven Canadian businessmen, drawn from widely representative branches of the Canadian economy. Three of the latter group speak Spanish fluently and spoke for the Mission on a number of occasions. These businessmen called on those concerned with the interests they each represented and thus, by dividing the Mission, we were able to cover a wide cross-section of interests in the countries we visited. Special thanks are due to these businessmen who helped materially in making our trade mission a success.

Their names and affiliations are as follows:
D. W. Ambridge, President and General Manager, Abitibi Power & Paper Co., Ltd., Toronto, and representing the Canadian Chamber of Commerce.

J. M. Bonin, Managing Director, La Co-operative Agricole de Granby, Granby, P.Q., and representing La Chambre de Commerce de la Province de Québec.

J. S. Duncan, Chairman and President, Massey-Harris Co., Ltd., Toronto, and representing Canadian Manufacturers' Association.

Alex Gray, President, Gray-Bonney Tool Co., Ltd., Toronto, and representing Canadian Exporters Association.

F. L. Marshall, Vice-President in charge of Export for the House of Seagram, Montreal, and President, Canadian Inter-American Association.

K. F. Wadsworth, President and General Manager, Maple Leaf Milling Co. Ltd., Toronto.

Clive B. Davidson, Secretary, Canadian Wheat Board, Winnipeg.

The businessmen who accepted our invitation to join the group paid their own expenses, including cost of their transportation in an RCAF aircraft. The government officials who were attached to the Mission contributed much to its success and were most helpful in our contacts with government and business. The crew of the aircraft, drawn from RCAF personnel, made a splendid impression, particularly when the Mission was receiving military honours. The fact that the Mission travelled in an RCAF North Star added considerably to its success.

Purpose of Mission

The purpose of this Mission was to gain new first-hand knowledge about some of the countries which we have been doing such satisfactory business, to learn what more we can do to develop and strengthen our trade with them in both directions. We did not go with the object of signing or revising trade agreements or of entering into any specific negotiations. This was a visit of friendship and goodwill to strengthen the broad basis of trust and mutual interest on which alone a sound flow of trade can be developed.

I may say with confidence that the object of our Mission has been achieved in the fullest measure. In all of the countries visited we were received by the head of the state, to whom I transmitted letters of greeting from our Prime Minister. We also had the privilege of meeting high government officials, key industrialists, and leading representatives of business, banking, agriculture, and other organizations. The various business members of the Mission had every opportunity to establish direct contact with their opposite numbers in each country. Many fruitful and valuable discussions were had, and I am glad to report that, while we were not, as a Mission, concerned with making immediate business deals, many of the individual members of

our group were able to conclude satisfactory arrangements for further business on the spot.

I intend to go into some detail regarding each one of the countries on our tour. Before doing so, however, there are several comments of a general nature, which I would like to make.

Well Received

The warmth and cordiality of the reception accorded to the Canadian Goodwill and Trade Mission in each country visited was beyond anything we had expected. We know this was intended not for us as a Mission but, through us, for all the people of Canada. The publicity we were accorded by press, radio and television was quite extraordinary. There is in all of these countries a fund of goodwill and genuine friendship for Canada that augurs well for the future of our relations and for the long-term prospects of our trade. It was my privilege in each country to thank the government and the people for the magnificence of their reception and their hospitality. . . .

Wherever we went, we found the keenest desire to increase trade with Canada, and particularly to develop direct trade with Canada, as against indirect trade through third countries. While this is something that depends largely on transportation facilities, I believe that much can be done along these lines right now. I would urge Canadian exporters and importers to look into the possibilities of further developing direct connections with their customers and suppliers in Latin America. The Department of Trade and Commerce here in Ottawa and all our officers in the field will do all they can to be of assistance.

Wherever we went, also, we were asked about the possibilities of further Canadian investment in these countries. As you know, there are already many important Canadian interests established in various countries of Latin America. We were happy to meet numerous representatives of these organizations during our tour, and I may say that they contributed greatly to the success of our Mission. The Brazilian Traction, Light and Power Co., in Brazil, the International Power Co. (Montreal), in Venezuela, the Royal Bank of Canada, the Sun Life, the Confederation Life, the Aluminum Company of Canada, the Mexican Light and Power Co., the Massey-Harris Company and many other Canadian organizations have impressive records of business success in Latin America and have played a significant part in the development and expansion of the countries in which they are established. We saw and heard about many new opportunities for profitable investment in these countries, and I hope that Canadian companies interested in foreign investment will investigate fully the possibilities available to them in Latin America. . . .

Brazil

Our first official stop was in Brazil.

We spent three days in Rio de Janeiro, the capital, and another three days in Sao Paulo, the booming industrial centre to the South. We were received in Rio by President Getulio Vargas and by several of his ministers, with whom we discussed many aspects of our mutual trade. We also had important meetings with trade and business organizations and met a number of leading personalities.

Canada's trade with Brazil has become increasingly important. Our exports to Brazil in 1952 reached over \$81 million while our imports from Brazil amounted to about \$35 million. Brazil is one of our best markets for motor vehicles and electrical apparatus, for many other types of equipment and materials. We have recently been supplying a large part of Brazil's wheat requirements and, shortly after our visit, Brazil announced her intention to import a further large quantity of Canadian wheat. Canada is an important market for Brazilian coffee, for cotton, iron ore, tropical fibres, waxes, quartz and other products.

We were glad to learn, while in Brazil, of the plans being made for a solution of their current exchange difficulties. Brazil is giving priority to the liquidation of its commercial arrears. It has introduced a new exchange bill which will, it is hoped, enable it to move its cotton surplus and to sell abroad more of its cocoa and lumber.

As part of her exchange-saving measures, Brazil continues to maintain strict import restrictions against many dollar goods. These restrictions are affecting a number of traditional Canadian exports to that market, particularly codfish, wheat flour, whisky and other consumer goods. I know from my conversations with the Minister of Finance and other members of the Brazilian Government that they are as interested as we are in an early re-opening of the Brazilian market for these goods.

Brazil is a country with tremendous possibilities for expansion. We had an opportunity of visiting the Volta Redonda Steel plant, the largest in Latin America, as well as a number of modern industries in the Sao Paulo area. I was personally most impressed with the efficiency and organization of all these plants.

The growth of the city of Sao Paulo is itself the best illustration of the progress of the country. This is said to be the world's fastest-growing city, and now has over 2 million inhabitants. The 400th anniversary of the founding of the city of Sao Paulo will be celebrated in 1954 with a centennial exhibition. The Canadian Government proposes to participate in this exhibition and it is hoped that many of our Canadian manufacturers will take advantage of this exhibition to show the products they have to sell in Brazil.

Keeping pace with the tremendous industrial and population growth of this area, as

in Rio and in other parts of Brazil, the operating subsidiaries of the Brazilian Traction, Light and Power Co. are giving a tangible and impressive demonstration of what Canadian capital and skill can accomplish in co-operation with the people whom they serve.

In the neighbourhood of Rio de Janeiro, we visited the Paraiba-Pirai diversion project. This large-scale power expansion project undertaken by Brazilian Traction will take several years to complete and will raise the capacity of one of the main power plants supplying the Brazilian capital from 190,000 kw to nearly 900,000 kw.

Near Sao Paulo, we visited the Cubatao power installations, also operated by Brazilian Traction subsidiaries, where important generating plants are being expanded to take care of rapidly increasing demand.

Canadians may well be proud of the engineering work being carried on by this Canadian company. This work is not only spectacular but involves features that are unknown outside Brazil. It was a privilege to meet the Canadians who are managing this vast enterprise and the engineers who are carrying out the development programme. The company has a tremendous responsibility for making possible the rapid industrial expansion of Brazil, and those in charge are fully conscious of that responsibility. These men are a great credit to Canada and are our ambassadors of goodwill in Brazil.

Argentina

From Brazil, we proceeded to Argentina for a three-day visit in Buenos Aires. President Juan Peron of Argentina received the Canadian Mission. We also had meetings with the Minister of External Relations, the Minister of Foreign Trade, and with several other cabinet ministers.

I was privileged to address a joint meeting of the British Chamber of Commerce and other business associations who joined together for the first time on this occasion. We were also received by the Buenos Aires Stock Exchange. We visited the Terminal Grain Elevator of the port of Buenos Aires, one of the largest in the world. I was indeed happy to note the great improvement in Argentina's wheat position. After the serious droughts of 1950 and 1951 Argentina's wheat crop had fallen to 75 million bushels, one-third of her ten-year average. The current crop is estimated at 275 million bushels, and this should contribute substantially to easing Argentina's trade and exchange difficulties.

Canada's trade with Argentina in 1952 totalled about \$12 million, with our exports valued at \$8 million and our imports from Argentina amounting to about \$4 million. Tractors and farm machinery are the main items in our exports at present. We also sell Argentina small quantities of aluminum, asbestos, newsprint and rubber tires. Our main imports are: canned meat, *quebracho* extract, hides and skins, and vegetable oils. When we recall that Argentina became our largest market in Latin America in the immediate

postwar years, we should be encouraged to look for a very substantial increase in trade levels in the future.

Although possibilities of trade are limited by the fact that our principal products are largely the same, we are hopeful that our trade with Argentina can be substantially enlarged. A mutual desire to that end was evident during our visit.

Uruguay

The Mission spent two days in Montevideo, Uruguay, where we had the pleasure of calling on Sr. Martinez Trueba, President of Uruguay's National Council, and on other members of the National Council. Members of the Mission had a valuable round-table conference with Uruguayan government officials. Arrangements were made enabling us to meet many of the leading representatives of Uruguay's business community.

Our trade with Uruguay is of moderate size. Last year, our exports amounted to \$5 million while we imported about \$2 million from Uruguay. Uruguay is a traditional and important market for Canadian seed potatoes, and a small but valuable outlet for newsprint, farm machinery, aluminum and other goods. Currently, many items that we are anxious to supply are restricted entry. I am glad to say that this situation is showing considerable improvement, and we hope the day will not be far distant when Uruguay will relax its import restrictions against certain Canadian goods. Our imports from Uruguay consist mainly of wool and wool tops, canned meats, and hides and skins.

I hope that, with the exchange of Embassies between Canada and Uruguay, and as a result of our visit, we may see a significant expansion of trade in both directions.

Venezuela

The Mission spent 6 days in Venezuela. We stayed in Caracas, the capital, for 5 days, and spent one day in Maracaibo, the great oil centre. Venezuela is one of our most important dollar markets in Latin America — a valuable market for wheat flour, milk, motor vehicles, copper, aluminum, newsprint, electrical apparatus and many consumer goods; it is also our largest source of supply for crude oil imports. Our exports to Venezuela totalled \$36 million in 1952, and our imports, traditionally much higher in value, amounted to about \$136 million. We are interested in reaching a closer balance in our trade with Venezuela through an expansion in our sales to that country, and we are also anxious to seek new products that we can import from them. We had most interesting meetings with cabinet ministers of the Government.

Venezuela has an ample supply of dollars, derived largely from the export of petroleum. There are no restrictions on imports to that country. It is perhaps the largest import market in Latin America and imports from Canada are far below the scale that we would desire. The market is highly competitive, but

still offers a fertile field for those Canadians who will visit that country in an effort to sell Canadian products. Members of our Mission obtained important on-the-spot orders and all expressed the opinion that Canada is doing a very poor selling job in that country. Industrial expansion is in progress at an astonishing rate and almost any product of the type made in Canada is being imported in volume, including manufactured goods, metals, pulp and paper and food.

We also had an important meeting with officials of the Flota Grancolombiana, the joint shipping line of Venezuela, Colombia and Ecuador, which now extends its service to Canada on the East Coast and will shortly do the same on the West Coast. All ships owned by this company were built in Canada and are contributing greatly to the development of trade between Canada and the Latin American countries it serves. Plans are under way to expand the fleet of refrigerated ships which will help further to promote direct shipments from Canadian ports.

While in Caracas, we had an opportunity to visit the Caracas-La Guaira super-highway, now nearing completion, which will connect the city of Caracas with its seaport. This is one of the major construction projects in Latin America.

In Maracaibo the Shell Caribbean Company conducted us on a tour of part of the oil fields which have played such an important part in making Venezuela's currency one of the hardest in the world.

There is no doubt in my mind that Venezuela will continue to be one of our most important trading partners. We shall continue to need crude oil imports in large volume for our East coast and Maritime markets for many years to come and we will thus be contributing substantially to Venezuela's strength and prosperity.

Colombia

From Venezuela the Mission proceeded to Colombia, where we spent 4 days in Bogota, the capital, and also visited Barranquilla, the main Atlantic coast port.

The Mission were received by the Acting President of the Republic, Dr. Urdaneta Arbelaez, and also had interviews with several cabinet ministers. We had very interesting meetings with the directors of the Banco de la Republica, with the president and officials of the Flota Grancolombiana, with the Colombian Coffee-Producers Federation, and with other business organizations.

Among the numerous matters discussed with government officials was that of Colombia's wheat import policy. In the past, this has made it difficult for Canada to supply as much of the wheat as we would have wished. Under the new arrangements being introduced, Colombian importers will have a greater opportunity to plan ahead, and will thus be in a position to buy more wheat from Canada in those periods when local production is insufficient. I was also informed by Dr. Cabal, Minister of Agriculture, that Colombia

will be lifting its current embargo against Canadian meat and livestock when the United States does so.

We had an opportunity to visit the ancient salt mines of Zipaquira, near Bogota, and the new soda-ash plant nearby, which began operations last year. We also visited the modern pharmaceutical laboratories of Frosst and Co., of Montreal, a new Canadian enterprise in Colombia.

Colombia is a country with a highly diversified economy. It is in a strong financial position and offers an important dollar market for many Canadian goods.

Our exports in 1952 totalled nearly \$14 million, and our imports were about \$18 million. Machinery, newsprint, asbestos, wheat and flour, malt and aluminum, are among our main exports to that market. In return, we buy coffee — Colombia is our second largest supplier — and smaller quantities of bananas and other items. Our first purchase of rice from Colombia was announced recently, and I hope that a more diversified import trade with Colombia may be developed. We shall soon have a Canadian embassy established in Bogota, and can look forward to an era of even closer relations between Canada and Colombia.

Dominican Republic

We had a brief but busy stay in Ciudad Trujillo, Dominican Republic, during which we were received by President Hector Trujillo, and members of his cabinet, and numerous other government and business representatives.

The Dominican Republic is one of the world's largest and most efficient sugar producers, and was an important supplier to the Canadian market during the difficult war years. We had an opportunity to visit the most important sugar property on the island, the Rio Haina estate. Its modern sugar mill is doubling its capacity. This project, initiated in 1949, has been financed entirely with local Dominican capital, with an investment totalling some \$40 million.

Our trade with the Dominican Republic has grown substantially. In 1952 we exported to the value of nearly \$5 million, mainly fish, wheat flour, rubber tires, newsprint. Our imports totalled about \$6 million, consisting largely of raw sugar and coffee. This is an open dollar market, and I am sure that the recent establishment in Ciudad Trujillo of a Canadian Trade Commissioner post will be of great assistance to our trade.

Haiti

Our visit to Haiti, though unfortunately all too short, was extremely useful and rewarding. Canada has traditionally close and cordial relations with the Republic of Haiti, not only in trade but also in the cultural field.

In Port-au-Prince, the Mission was received by the President of the Republic,

Colonel Magloire, and by members of his cabinet. We had a detailed discussion of our trade interests with government officials and with the Chamber of Commerce of Haiti.

Haiti has long been a market for our fish and flour, and is also buying numerous other goods in Canada. Our exports in 1952 totalled almost \$3.5 million. Our imports of \$2 million last year, consisted largely of raw sugar, tropical fibres, coffee and bananas. Haiti is particularly interested in developing sales of rum in this market and I hope that some satisfactory arrangement may be reached on this subject.

Our newly-appointed Trade Commissioner to Haiti will be paying particular attention to developing our trade with this country.

Cuba

From Haiti we proceeded to Cuba for a two-day visit.

Our official calls included meetings with the Minister of State, Dr. de LaCampa, with the Minister of Commerce, Dr. de LaTorre and with the Minister of Agriculture, Dr. Jacomino. The Mission were received by the President of the Republic, Major General Batista.

As you know, and as I already explained in this House, I took the opportunity of our visit to Cuba to have full discussions on the subject of sugar production and marketing. I have already reported in detail on this matter. I may say that I received the fullest co-operation from the directors and members of the Cuban Sugar Stabilization Institute and from other prominent representatives of the sugar industry. We had an opportunity also to visit the Hershey Sugar Mill, which is the largest single producer of refined sugar in Cuba with a daily productive capacity of 1,000 tons.

Our trade with Cuba has been rising rapidly since 1947, when Canada received substantial tariff concessions as a result of negotiations under the GATT. In 1952 we exported to Cuba \$24 million of goods, including large quantities of wheat, newsprint, wheat flour, copper, fish, malt, potatoes, milk, oats and machinery. From what I saw, there is still a wide field for a further expansion of Canadian sales in that market. Our imports from Cuba in 1952 totalled some 20 million dollars, and consisted mainly of raw sugar, synthetic yarns, pineapples, fibres and tobacco. Cuban raw sugar has been entering the Canadian market under the terms of a special arrangement entered into at Torquay in 1951. This arrangement comes to an end this year. Whether it should be renewed, and in what form, is a matter for future discussion in the light of conditions at that time.

While in Cuba, I expressed the Canadian Government's hope that the current problems in world sugar marketing may be solved to the satisfaction of both producers and importers through the medium of an international sugar agreement which will be discussed later this year. Cuba's 1951-52 crop of over

7 million metric tons of sugar is the largest in history and the Cuban Government is this year restricting the current crop to well below that figure. It is certainly in Canada's interest that the Cuban economy, so dependent on sugar production and export, should continue at a high level of prosperity and stability.

Mexico

Our four day visit to Mexico City was the last stop of our tour before returning to Canada. The Mission were received by the President of the Republic, Dr. Ruiz Cortines, and also had meetings with the ministers of the Government. The Foreign Minister of Mexico, Mr. Padilla Nervo, preceded Mr. Pearson as President of the United Nations General Assembly and is a great friend of Canada.

We had particularly valuable conferences with the Banco Nacional de Mexico, with the Confederation of National Chambers of Commerce and with the Importers-Exporters Association of Mexico. At these meetings the Mexican representatives formally proposed the creation of a joint Mexican-Canadian Chamber of Commerce or similar association of private trade interests in both our countries. I understand that this proposal, which has much to commend it, is now being given the fullest consideration.

Mexico is Canada's second largest market in Latin America. Our exports in 1952 totalled \$40 million and included a wide range of products with the main items being motor vehicles, newsprint, machinery, woodpulp, farm implements, electrical apparatus, aluminum and asbestos. It is also one of our most important suppliers of raw cotton and of many other products including peanuts, fresh vegetables and fibres. Canadian imports from Mexico in 1952 were valued at about \$24 million. Canada has become one of Mexico's main customers. Mexico is keenly interested in the further development of her tourist trade with Canada, and I hope that an increasing number of Canadians will visit that beautiful country. We are hopeful that direct air services between Canada and Mexico may soon be established and this will aid Mexico may soon be established and this will aid in promoting even closer relations between us.

Trade Can Be Expanded

I have given a brief review of our official visits to nine Latin American countries. We have come back from our tour with increased knowledge and with increased confidence in the future of our relations. But I am sure I speak for all members of our Mission, and particularly for the business representatives who were with us, and were able to prove this for themselves, when I say that what impressed us most was that our trade with these countries can be expanded to still much greater levels. Latin America is one of the world's major trading areas, selling over \$3½ billion yearly to the United States alone and buying almost \$300 million monthly from the U.S. — our nearest competitor. I believe Canada's share of this trade could be greatly increased and our position in these markets further improved. The opportunities are there, and it is up to us to make sure they are grasped and developed.

This is a job that must primarily be done by Canadian businessmen themselves. There is no substitute for personal, direct, on-the-spot contacts and relations. I would most strongly urge senior Canadian businessmen to go to the countries of Latin America and see for themselves what new fields are open to them. I would like to think that our own visit was but the first of many such visits in both directions by business groups and individuals. There is no better way of getting to know one's customers and suppliers and of finding new customers and new suppliers.

I took the opportunity of my stay in each country to extend to the governments and business groups of those countries an invitation to come and visit us in Canada. I know many of them are making plans to do so, and I have assured them that they will meet with the warmest and most cordial reception among us. I also invited the governments and business groups of each country visited to attend our International Trade Fair. Many of them have already done so, and more will come in future years.

Like Canada, the countries of Latin America are countries of the future. We have come closer together over the years. May I express my sincere hope that we shall continue to work together in our programmes for the expansion of our economies.

APPOINTMENTS AND TRANSFERS IN THE CANADIAN DIPLOMATIC SERVICE

- Mr. J. J. McCardle was posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Embassy, Washington, effective February 2nd, 1953.
- Mr. W. G. M. Olivier was posted from the Canadian Embassy, Washington, to Ottawa, on temporary duty, effective February 4, 1953.
- Mr. D. R. C. Bedson was posted from Ottawa to the Permanent Canadian Delegation to the United Nations, New York, effective February 6, 1953.
- Mr. R. M. Caza was posted from the Canadian Embassy, Paris, to Home Leave, effective February 18, 1953.
- Mr. F. Charpentier was posted from Home Leave (Paris) to Ottawa, effective February 24, 1953.
- Mr. R. E. Branscombe was posted from Home Leave (Brussels) to Ottawa, effective February 26, 1953.

CANADIAN REPRESENTATION AT INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCES

(This is a list of international conferences at which Canada was represented during the month of February, 1953. Earlier conferences may be found in the previous issues of "External Affairs".)

(The Department of External Affairs, through its International Conferences Section, is responsible for co-ordinating all invitations to international conferences. It should be noted, however, that the decision as to the participation of the Canadian Government at such conferences is made by the Secretary of State for External Affairs or where appropriate, by Cabinet, upon the recommendation of the department of government functionally concerned.)

Standing International Bodies on Which Canada is Represented

(Published annually. Only new international bodies on which Canada is represented will be listed in the intervening months. See "External Affairs, January, 1953, for the last complete list.)

Conferences Attended in February

1. 4th Session of Statistical Commission (ECOSOC). New York, February 2-13.
2. Ad Hoc Committee on Agenda and Inter-
sessional Business of GATT. Geneva,
February 2-12.
3. 4th Session of Textiles Committee of
ILO. Geneva, February 2-14.
4. Resumed 8th Session of the International
Wheat Council. Washington, February
2.
5. 9th Session of ECAFE (ECOSOC).
Bandoeng, February 6-14.
6. 4th Meeting of the Inter-American Con-
gress of Municipalities. Montevideo,
February 20-28.
7. 2nd Conference on Promotion of Trade
of ECAFE (ECOSOC). Manila, February
23-March 4.
8. Resumed 7th Session of U.N. General
Assembly. New York, February 24.
9. 1st Air Navigation Conference (ICAO).
Montreal, February 24-March 31.
10. Commonwealth Advisory Committee on
Defence Science. New Delhi, February
25-March 14.
11. 3rd Technical Assistance Conference
(U.N.). New York, February 26.

STATEMENTS AND SPEECHES

(Obtainable from the Information Division, Department of External Affairs, Ottawa, Canada)

The following serial numbers are available in Canada and abroad:

- No. 53/3 — *The Strength of Freedom*, an address by the Secretary of State for External Affairs, Mr. L. B. Pearson, at a meeting held under the auspices of B'nai B'rith, Guelph, Ontario, February 2, 1953.
- No. 53/4 — *United Action for Peaceful Progress*, an address by the Minister of National Health and Welfare, Mr. Paul Martin, made to the Ottawa Branch of the United Nations Association in Canada, February 4, 1953.
- No. 53/5 — *Health Progress in Canada's Century*, an address by the Minister of National Health and Welfare, Mr. Paul Martin, to a joint meeting of the Kiwanis Clubs of Ottawa, February 6, 1953.
- No. 53/6 — *International Economic Co-operation*, an address by the Under-Secretary of State for External Affairs, Mr. L. D. Wilgress, to a meeting of the Canadian Council of the International Chamber of Commerce, Toronto, February 17, 1953.
- No. 53/7 — *Review of International Developments* — statements by the Secretary of State for External Affairs, Mr. L. B. Pearson, made in the House of Commons, February 5, 11, and 12, 1953.

CURRENT UNITED NATIONS DOCUMENTS†

A SELECTED LIST

(a) Printed Documents:

**Report of the Secretary-General on personnel policy*; 30 January 1953; document A/2364; Pp. 39.

Demographic Yearbook 1952 (bilingual); Fourth Issue; Pp. 518 (Department of Economic Affairs).

**Handbook of International Measures for protection of Migrants and General Conditions to be observed in their settlement*; January 15, 1953; document ST/SOA/15. Pp. 278. \$3.00. Sales No.: 1953.IV.5 (Department of Social Affairs).

**Revenue Administration and Policy in Israel* (United Nations Technical Assistance Programme); 21 January 1953; document ST/TAA/K/Israel/1. Pp. 107.

**Yearbook of the United Nations 1951*. Pp. 1030. \$12.50. Sales No.: 1952.1.30.

(b) Mimeographed Documents:

**List of Inter-Governmental Organizations in the economic and social fields, 1953 Edition*; 4 February 1953; document E/2361. Pp. 53, Annexes A, B, and Addendum (Pp. 19).

Population Commission — Summary of results of studies and research activities on International Migration undertaken by the United Nations and the Specialized Agencies since 1946; 4 December 1952; document E/CN.9/109. Pp. 89.

**Report of the International Scientific Commission for the investigation of the facts concerning bacterial warfare in Korea and China*; 8 October 1952; document S/2802. Pp. 62.

**Report of the WHO/UNKRA Health Planning Mission in Korea*; London, November 1952. (MH/D/63.52). Pp. 105.

† Printed documents may be procured from the Canadian Sales Agent for United Nations publications, the Ryerson Press, 299 Queen St. West, Toronto (English) and Les Presses Universitaires Laval, Quebec (French); mimeographed documents can only be procured by annual subscription from the United Nations Secretariat, New York. Publications and documents may be consulted at certain designated libraries listed in "External Affairs", January 1953, p. 38.

* French version not available until noted in a future issue of "External Affairs".

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Department of External Affairs
Ottawa, Canada

The Colombo Plan*

What is the Colombo Plan? Why is it needed? What are its aims and objectives? What is Canada's interest in it? How is the Plan progressing? These are questions which are currently being asked and which this article will attempt to answer.

THE full title of the Colombo Plan is "The Colombo Plan for Co-operative Economic Development in South and Southeast Asia". It emerged from a meeting of Commonwealth Foreign Ministers held at Colombo in February 1950, the first occasion when the Commonwealth Foreign Ministers met in Asia and the first such meeting at which Foreign Ministers of the new Commonwealth countries in Asia were present. The use of the name "Colombo" in the title of the Colombo Plan has no other significance than that the idea took shape at a meeting held in that city. In fact, the Colombo Plan, though established on the initiative of Commonwealth Governments, is not even restricted to Commonwealth countries but was always intended to encompass the general area of South and Southeast Asia. The original members were Commonwealth countries, India, Pakistan and Ceylon, (as well as the British Territories in the area, Malaya, Singapore, Sarawak, etc.), the United Kingdom, Canada, Australia and New Zealand. Since then, membership has been extended by the addition of Burma, Cambodia, Laos, Nepal and Viet Nam, and by the United States which, in the implementation of its own Point Four Programme of economic aid in the area, is co-operating fully with other Colombo Plan countries. All these countries are full members of the Consultative Committee, an intergovernmental body which exercises a general supervision over the execution of the Colombo Plan. The Consultative Committee meets annually, normally in the Colombo Plan area, to exchange views on policy matters and to review progress. The remaining countries in the region, namely, Indonesia, the Philippines and Thailand, have been

represented at Consultative Committee meetings by official observers and Indonesia has indicated its intention, subject to the approval of its Parliament, to become a full member. The International Bank for Reconstruction and Development is naturally interested in the Colombo Plan and also sends an observer to Consultative Committee meetings.

Need for Help

Even a most cursory examination of the economic and social situation in South and Southeast Asia makes clear the urgent need for something to be done to help the peoples in that region towards a better life. The total population exceeds 570,000,000, roughly a quarter of the world's people. For the great majority, food is scarce and lacking in variety. Health conditions are deplorable. Eight out of ten are unable to read or write. Housing conditions are desperately poor, a one or two-roomed hut of mud or bamboo commonly serving the needs of a whole family. Living standards were low before the war, but the war has made conditions worse. Countries under Japanese occupation were despoiled and neglected and economic assets, such as rubber and tea plantations, power stations and transportation facilities, which had been painfully built up over long periods, were destroyed or fell into disrepair. In the Indian sub-continent, the very heavy strain on transportation and factories, the diversion of productive capacity to defence needs, and the inability to keep pace with the requirements of maintenance, repair and replacement, took their toll of economic assets.

Political and social disturbances have added to the difficulties in South and Southeast Asia. The transfer of power to the new Governments of India and Pakistan was carried out smoothly. But the

* Published in two parts, of which this is the first. The second portion will appear in the May issue of *External Affairs*.

partition of the country itself caused serious economic dislocation. In Malaya, Burma, Indo-China and Indonesia, political disturbances and terrorist activities hindered normal recovery.

Much has been done in the past six or seven years towards restoring the shattered economies of South and Southeast Asia to their pre-war levels but much more must be done. The peoples of these countries are no longer satisfied to eke out a bare existence for themselves and their children in the conditions of poverty and misery which were the lot of their fathers and forefathers. Most of these countries have gained their independence since the war and governments and people alike are determined to match their political progress with economic and social improvement.

The region is rich in natural resources and the main source of supply for several key products in international trade. Before the war it provided almost all the world's exports of jute and rubber, more than three-quarters of the tea, two-thirds of the tin and one-third of the oils and fats.

Tremendous Effort Required

It is clear that if the great wealth of the countries of South and Southeast Asia is to be developed for their benefit and for that of the whole world, a tremendous and sustained effort is required. The task must, in the main, be carried out by the countries themselves under the leadership of their own governments. This challenge has indeed already been accepted. Most of the governments concerned have worked out national development plans to be implemented in stages over a five or six-year period. With or without external assistance these development programmes will be carried forward but to the extent that the richer and more economically developed countries provide help, especially at the beginning, progress will be that much more rapid.

This is where the Colombo Plan comes in. It is not in itself adequate to provide for the scale of development which is desirable and indeed essential. It can, however, make a significant contribution

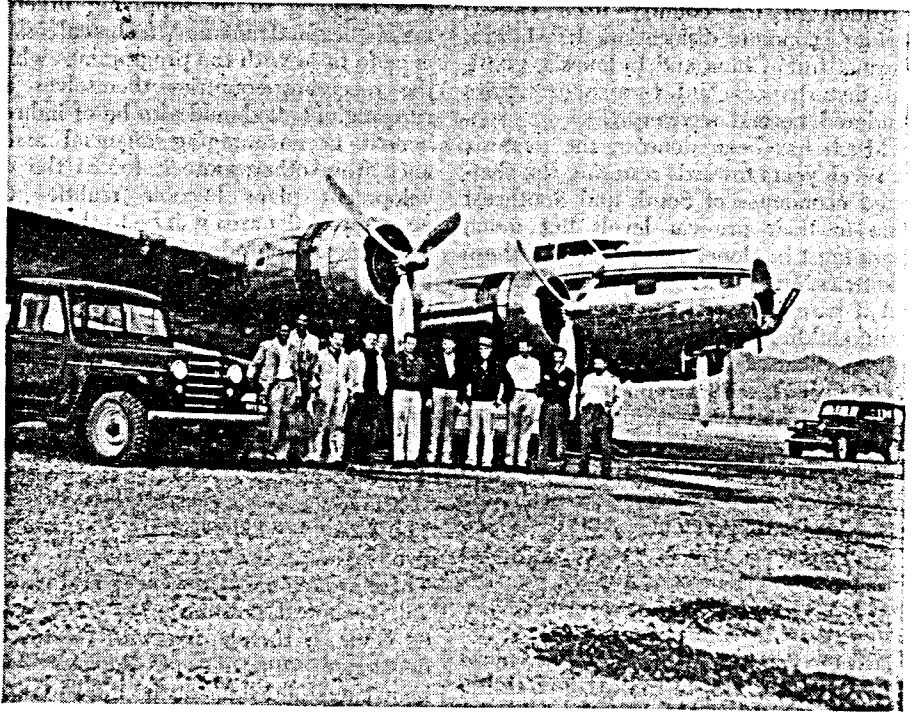
and is doing so by supplying urgently needed capital aid and technical assistance to fit in with the programmes which the receiving countries themselves are carrying out. It should also be of indirect benefit in encouraging financial assistance from other sources, for as the development plans become realities the economy of the area will be to that extent strengthened, production increased and living standards raised. The process is bound to be gradual but as conditions improve and stability is maintained, it would be natural to expect that private capital will move in greater amounts towards the area.

Two Part Plan

The Colombo Plan can be divided into two separate but closely related parts. These are technical assistance and capital aid. Technical assistance, as is clear from its name, is the sharing with the underdeveloped countries of the advanced knowledge and skills of the industrialized and more developed countries of the world. The idea of international technical assistance on a large scale is relatively new. It began with the United States Point Four Programme, so called because it constituted point four of President Truman's inaugural address to Congress in 1949. It was quickly taken up by the United Nations which organized an expanded programme of technical assistance in the middle of 1950. Colombo Plan technical assistance is supplementary to the United Nations programme in South and Southeast Asia, where the needs are particularly urgent.

Basic Aim

The basic aim of technical assistance is to provide the essential bridge to economic development. It is obvious that the countries of South and Southeast Asia, for example, will never be able to develop their resources if they lack skilled technicians. For limited periods and on a small scale, technical experts might be lent but this would do little if anything to solve the permanent problem caused by a shortage of trained personnel. The solid foundation of economic develop-



A Canadian photographic survey team, with Pakistani assistants, at Samungli Airport, Quetta, Pakistan, carrying out a resources survey of West Pakistan.

ment is technical skill and those who have it must share it with those who have not, if sound and lasting development is to be realized.

While technical assistance programmes present many difficulties in their execution, which will be discussed in more detail later on in this article, it is capital assistance — that is, the financing of economic development — which calls for the heavy outlay of funds. The growth of productive power is a slow and gradual process which must be spread over generations as has, indeed, been the experience in the advanced countries of the West. But it is the early stages of this development which are the most costly and the most difficult to initiate. Basic services, such as railways, roads, ports and harbours, electricity and irrigation, require a vast capital investment. In democratic countries, moreover, a certain minimum of social services must go hand in hand with programmes of economic development, if these are to command popular support. Countries in South and Southeast Asia are at different levels of

development but they all require heavy expenditure on basic services. Once the process of development gets well under way, its effects are cumulative, and financial and other difficulties become less.

Estimated Expenditure

The Colombo Plan as drawn up in September-October 1950, envisaged a total expenditure of some \$5 billion for capital development during a six-year period in the Commonwealth countries of South and Southeast Asia. The figure is based on the requirements of the Commonwealth countries or territories because only they had worked out national development plans at that stage. It was estimated at the time the Colombo Plan was established that about \$3 billion of the total sum required would have to come from outside the area itself. More recent assessments indicate that the requirements in external finance are likely to be even higher because of the deterioration in the terms of trade of the Asian countries as a result of the reduced world

prices of jute, cotton, rubber and other key exports. In any event these countries, despite their best efforts, will need a substantial amount of foreign capital if they are to reach the modest goals set in their national development plans. Private capital is, of course, one source of financial support and another, the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, is already financing some of the larger projects. Up to date, the contributing countries in the Colombo Plan have pledged themselves to support the programme as follows: Australia has undertaken to provide aid over the six-year period to a total value of 31.25 million Australian pounds, or approximately \$70 million; New Zealand is contributing the equivalent of 3 million New Zealand pounds, or \$8.3 million for the first three years at the rate of £1 million a year; the United Kingdom over the six-year period is prepared to assist to a total of approximately \$900 million chiefly by releasing war-time sterling balances held in London by the receiving countries. Canada provides its contribution to economic development under the Colombo Plan on an annual basis by means of a parliamentary vote. For each of the first two years of operations under the Colombo Plan, Parliament approved a sum of \$25 million for capital assistance. Again this year parliamentary approval is being sought for a third contribution in the same amount. If approved, this vote will therefore bring the total Canadian contribution for the first three years of the Colombo Plan to \$75 million. The United States, through its own programmes of economic aid in the general area of the Colombo Plan, has contributed or pledged a total of approximately \$200 million in the first two years. Like Canada, the United States operates on the basis of annual appropriations approved by the Legislature and the extent of United States aid to South and South-east Asia during the coming fiscal year will be determined by Congress.

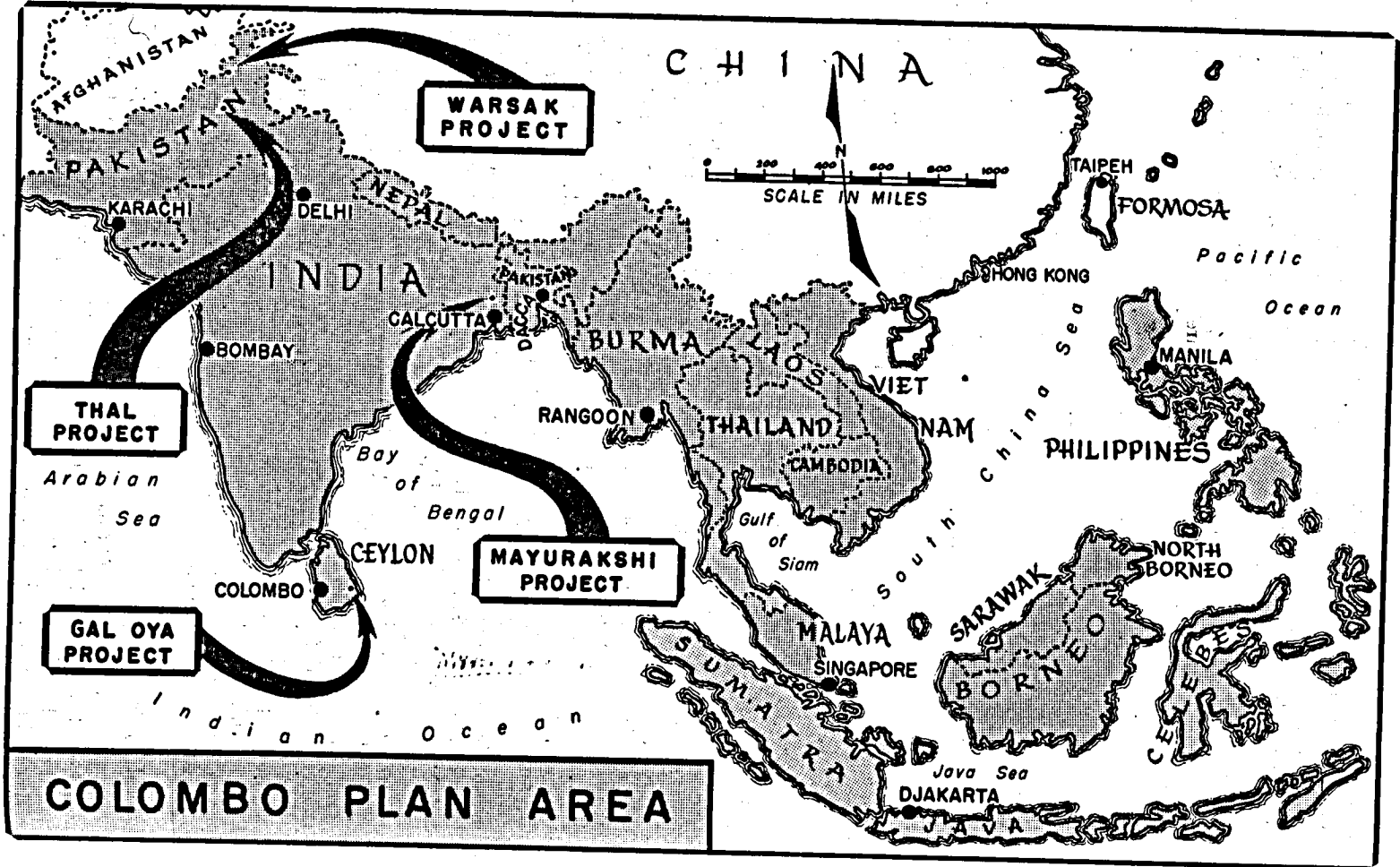
Bilateral Basis

The actual carrying out of Colombo Plan aid, both capital and technical, is arranged on a bilateral basis between the receiving and the giving countries. Every

effort is made to co-ordinate such bilateral programmes not only with other members of the Colombo Plan but also with other organizations engaged in economic development programmes in the region, particularly the International Bank, the United Nations and its Specialized Agencies. If the limited resources available are to produce the greatest benefits for the under-developed countries, it is essential not only to avoid overlapping and wasteful duplication but also, where feasible, to complement each other's programmes and thus help towards the completion of well-integrated projects which fit into the national development programme of the countries concerned.

Canada and the Colombo Plan

On September 10, 1951, an Exchange of Notes was signed in New Delhi formally recording the mutual acceptance of the Canadian and Indian Governments of a Statement of Principles to govern the provision of economic aid from Canada to India under the Colombo Plan. Identical Notes were exchanged on the same day in Karachi between representatives of the Canadian and Pakistan Governments and on July 11, 1952, in Colombo between representatives of the Canadian and Ceylon Governments. The Statement of Principles provides that all economic aid supplied by the Government of Canada to the Government of India or Pakistan or Ceylon shall consist of goods and services in accordance with specific programmes agreed upon from time to time between the Canadian Government and the government of the receiving country concerned. Provision is made for Canadian financial assistance to be given either on a grant or a loan basis, depending on the nature of the particular project and the uses to which the goods and services are put. The particular terms of each specific programme are a matter for agreement between the Canadian and the other government concerned, subject to the following general provisions covering grant aid and loan aid. If goods financed by grants from the Canadian Government should be sold or otherwise distributed to the public by the receiving government, "counterpart funds" are nor-



mally to be set aside. The receiving government is to set up a special account for these funds and to pay into it the rupee equivalent of the Canadian expenditures on goods and services supplied in connection with the project concerned. These funds are to be used to finance the local costs of economic development projects agreed upon by the Canadian Government and the government of the receiving country. For specific projects which are agreed to be appropriate for financing by loans, the terms of the loans are to be determined by the two governments, taking into account the commercial character of the project in question, its anticipated earnings and its anticipated effects on the foreign exchange position of the receiving country. In fact, all Canadian Colombo Plan aid given to date has been on a grant basis.

In carrying out its Colombo Plan activities, Canada is guided by a few general policies. It is recognized that the governments of receiving countries are in the best position to know their own needs and it is, therefore, left to their initiative to propose projects for Canadian aid. In selecting the most suitable projects from among those submitted for consideration, Canadian authorities take into account both the contribution which the particular project is likely to make to basic economic development and Canada's own ability to provide the goods and services required. The general preference is for projects in the fields of agriculture, transportation and public utilities, but the most-careful consideration is given to any project which the receiving government regards as important to its national development plan and for which it requests Canadian assistance.

Capital Assistance

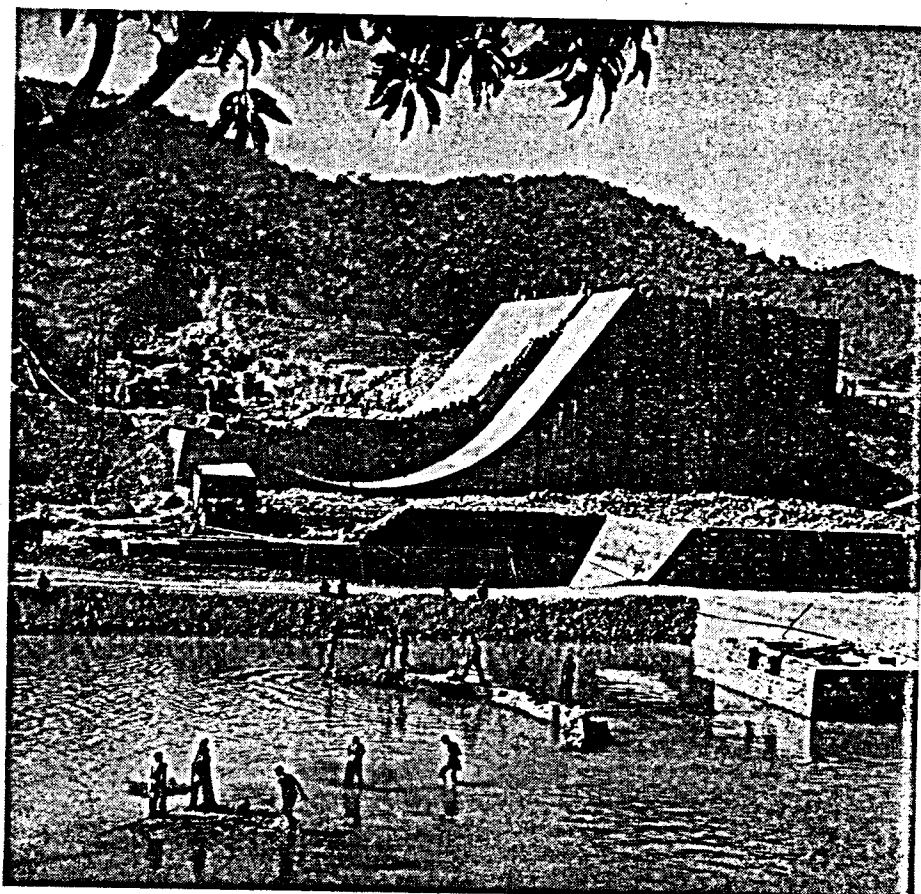
In the first year of the Colombo Plan, the Canadian contribution of \$25 million was divided between India and Pakistan, with \$15 million in aid being granted to India and \$10 million to Pakistan. In the second year, that is the fiscal year 1952-53, it was decided that Ceylon should be included in the Canadian programme of aid, that about \$2 million might be allocated to Ceylon and that the remaining funds should be made available to India

and Pakistan in the light of the programmes to be submitted by their governments. To date, a final decision on the exact division of funds has not been made nor is any automatic allocation contemplated in respect to the third \$25 million contribution which Parliament is being asked to vote for 1953-54. Certainly India, Pakistan and Ceylon will continue as recipients of Canadian aid, though the possibility of providing some assistance to other countries in the area for projects specifically submitted by them is not ruled out.

India

India's food problem is tremendous. There is never enough food produced in India to feed the population even at the minimum standards to which they are accustomed, and the Government is therefore obliged to import large quantities of food every year. The essential food requirements are roughly 50 million tons; even in a good year India rarely produces more than 45 million tons. The need to import something in the neighbourhood of five million tons of food a year represents a serious drain on India's limited foreign exchange and a serious strain on her international balance of payments position. The Government of India is fully aware of the desperate need to close this gap and its five year development plan concentrates on increased agricultural production. Under the Plan 17.5 per cent of investment capital is to be devoted to the improvement and expansion of agriculture and 21 per cent to irrigation which, of course, is closely related to better agricultural returns.

The success of the agricultural programme in India's Five Year Plan will mean that the country will grow enough food for its own population at the present level of consumption, and may make it possible to raise that level. Meanwhile, however, while the programme is getting under way and is developing, the gap continues to exist and food must be imported. The immediate basic needs must be met while development goes on. It was to help relieve this situation that the Indian Government requested Canada to use Colombo Plan funds for the provision of wheat to India.



—Government of West Bengal

The Mayurakshi Project — dam under construction.

Purpose of Plan

The Colombo Plan was never intended to be anything in the nature of a relief agency. It was meant not to provide food for the famine-stricken, nor any other emergency supplies, but to help strengthen and develop the economies of the under-developed countries on a permanent basis. Nonetheless, it was recognized from the beginning that in certain circumstances, and India's position was specifically noted, the provision of food-stuffs could contribute to the long-term economic development which is the objective of the Plan. The Canadian Government agreed to allocate \$10 million of the Colombo Plan funds available for India in 1951-52 and \$5 million in 1952-53 for the provision of wheat subject to arrangements which would ensure bene-

ficial results to basic economic development. This objective is attained through the establishment of counterpart funds as provided for in the Statement of Principles described above. The Indian Government agreed to set up a special account and to credit to it the proceeds of the sale of the Canadian wheat in India. This counterpart fund, equivalent in rupees to the \$15 million Canadian expenditure for wheat, must be used to finance the local costs of some economic development project, or projects, mutually acceptable to both Governments. Agreement was in fact reached some months ago on the use of the rupee counterpart fund generated by the first \$10 million wheat grant. This money is all to be allocated to pay part of the costs of local labour and materials for the construction of a large irrigation pro-

ject at Mayurakshi. This project, which will also include a small hydro-electric plant, is in the State of West Bengal. A good deal of work has already been done in damming up the Mayurakshi river, building a barrage, etc., and it is expected that the project will be completed in 1955. Mayurakshi, which is one of the high priority projects in India's five-year economic development plan, will irrigate 600,000 acres of land with a resultant increased yield of approximately 400,000 tons of food annually. It will be seen, therefore, that the provision of wheat by Canada to India under the Colombo Plan has accomplished three ends. It provided food at a time when the need for food was great and urgent; it represented a saving for India of its limited foreign exchange; and it generated rupee capital for the development of a project which will be of permanent value to India in its programme for increased food production. It has not yet been decided how the counterpart funds arising out of the \$5 million grant of wheat given to India this year shall be used. To the extent that these funds are needed to complete Mayurakshi they will probably be used for that purpose. The balance, if any, will help to finance the local costs of some other equally sound long-term project.

Cottage Industries

As explained above, there is to be built at Mayurakshi a small hydro-electric plant which will generate about 4000 kw. of electric power. One of the primary purposes of the power is to develop cottage industries in the district, which will supplement the means of livelihood of the peasants by providing them with useful and productive work during the monsoon season when they are unable to farm. It will also provide power for small local industries and for the social improvements which accompany rural electrification. Most of the items of capital equipment required for the construction of the hydro-electric plant must be obtained abroad and negotiations are now under way for the provision of this equipment from Canada. If satisfactory arrangements can be made, Canada will undertake to provide the necessary generating equip-

ment for the power plant itself and the transmission equipment needed to distribute the electricity throughout the district. This part of the project would cost about \$3 million.

Transport Project

One of the basic elements in any programme of economic development is transportation and in this field also Canadian Colombo Plan aid has been given to India. The State of Bombay, with its very large population and its very poor transportation facilities, recently decided to improve its road transport system. On its behalf, the Central Government of India requested Canada to render assistance to this worthwhile project through the provision of motor vehicles. The request appealed to Canadian authorities not only because of their recognition of the need for improved transport but because in large part the Canadian aid requested would contribute to the solution of the food problem. It is obvious that food production must be matched by food distribution facilities, if people are to have the food they need. The larger part of the Canadian contribution to Bombay consists of trucks, which are to be used to transport food from the area of production to the area of consumption. In all, Canada is contributing 835 trucks, 450 buses and 70 tractors and trailers. Some of these vehicles have already arrived and shipments will be completed within the next month or two. The total cost of the project, including spare parts, amounts to \$4½ million.

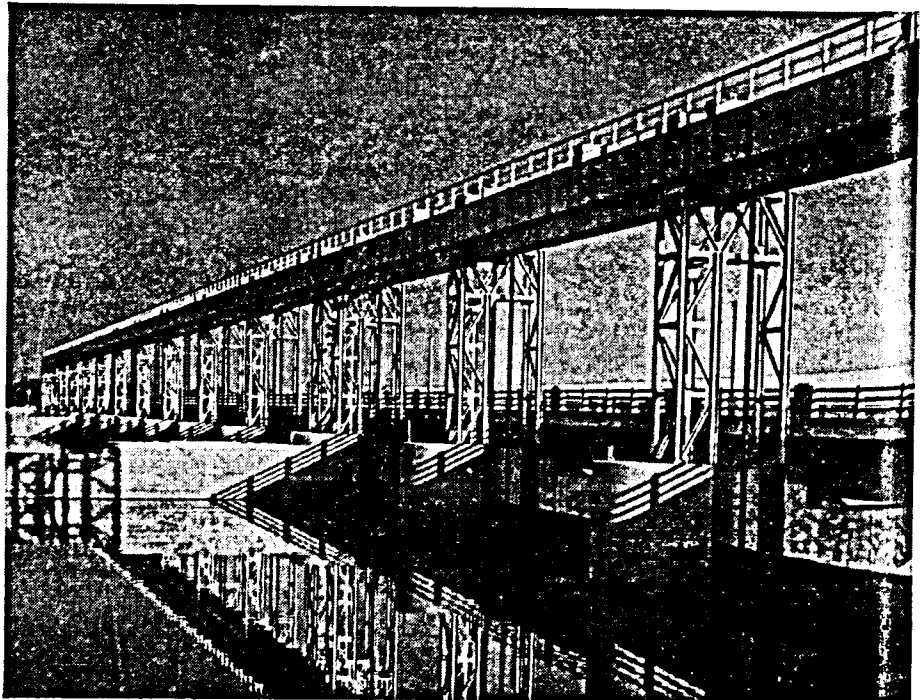
The Bombay State Transport Project, like all Canadian Colombo Plan operations in India, was negotiated between the Canadian Government and the Central Government of India. While the vehicles were provided as an outright gift to the Indian Government, it was agreed that that Government in turn should supply them to the State of Bombay on a loan basis on the principle that a transport system is, or should be, a self-supporting enterprise. The Bombay State Transport Corporation benefits from the arrangement because the terms of repayment are much easier than could have been obtained commercially. As the loan is repaid to the Central Government, the

instalments will be credited to a counterpart fund for use in rupee financing of economic development projects. This is another Colombo Plan project which serves a three-way purpose. It helps to meet a real and urgent need in transportation and food distribution in an exceptionally populous area; it saves India's dollar exchange to the extent of \$4.5 million; and it creates rupee capital for long-term development purposes.

Summary

Summarizing the aid given so far to India under the Colombo Plan, we see that \$15 million in wheat have been granted with the corresponding rupee counterpart funds being devoted to the construction of an irrigation hydro-electric project at Mayurakshi; \$3 million in

generating and electrical equipment will probably be provided for the hydro-electric plant at Mayurakshi; \$4.5 million in trucks and buses have been furnished for the improvement and expansion of the Bombay State Transport System with resultant counterpart funds for national economic development projects. Other projects have been proposed and are being seriously studied. If as a result of inquiries in the field and at home, some of these projects prove suitable for Canadian aid both from the viewpoint of the contribution they will make to the economic development of India and from the viewpoint of availability in Canada of the capital equipment needed, they will no doubt be included in Canada's programme of aid, to the extent to which funds are available.



—Government of West Bengal

The Mayurakshi Project — close up of the Barrage.

NATO After Four Years

NATO has frequently been described as an organization with a double purpose — a short-term military purpose and a long-term “community” purpose. While this description makes an important point about NATO (it differs from the pre-war type of military alliance), the tendency to employ it haphazardly to correct the initial emphasis on military plans can be misleading. One is constantly on the lookout for a transformation that may not, in fact, take place in the way imagined. Since NATO observed its fourth anniversary on April 4, this might be an appropriate time to take a closer look at its “double purpose”.

Two Objectives

No one will deny that NATO was born of collective insecurity. When universal collective security could not be achieved through the United Nations, it became necessary to organize collective security on a selective basis. This selection naturally embraced the North Atlantic area as of first strategic importance in the defence of the free world. The primary purpose of the Treaty is to deter aggression, first by the acceptance of definite commitments in case of attack and second by the agreement of the parties to “maintain and develop their individual and collective capacity to resist armed attack”. There was, however, a secondary purpose in the signing of the Treaty. This purpose, championed by Canada and inscribed as Article 2 of the Treaty, was that the member nations should not only agree to associate for security reasons but should resolve as well to promote “conditions of stability and well-being” and to “encourage economic collaboration”. This resolution was inspired, it may be suggested, by an awareness of continuing disturbance and crisis in the twentieth century. Military co-operation alone appeared to be inadequate in the face of the peculiar menace presented by international Communism. In a sense, NATO was formed to rebut both the military threat posed

by Soviet expansion and the ideological threat posed by Communist propaganda.

Four years of experiment and progress have led to the conclusion that these two objectives of NATO are indivisible. It has been found that the primary objective of adequate defence involves, as an integral part, the secondary objective, non-military co-operation. In other words, adequate defence against aggression depends upon adequate economic co-operation. It is not, therefore, strictly accurate to think of military and non-military phases of NATO. The need for military preparedness should be thought of rather as a long-term need, and the non-military or “community” objective as fusing with it. Article 2 is not a phantom on the horizon; it is part of a developing process. Two excerpts from Council declarations illustrate the development of NATO thinking along these lines. The first was made after the Lisbon meeting in February, 1952; the second after last December’s Ministerial meeting:

- (1) Members of the Council look forward to the time when the main energies of their association can be less centered on defence and more fully devoted to co-operation in other fields for the well-being of their peoples and for the advancement of human progress.
- (2) By combining their resources and their knowledge, by sharing the material burden of defence, by the constant practice of mutual consultation and mutual association, member states have already increased their common strength, understanding and unity.

Both statements were made with Article 2 in mind. The second, without invalidating the first, suggests that co-operation for defence and “co-operation in other fields” are not mutually exclusive.

Recent Activities

A brief description of some recent NATO activities may help to explain the development of this mutual association. NATO’s main task so far has been the establishment of collective forces in the NATO area under integrated commands. To create these forces and maintain them

has required the mobilization of immense resources by the member countries for the purpose of defence. To organize such national efforts and to co-ordinate them has required the development of a special technique of collective planning, which, since the Lisbon meeting of the Council (in February 1952), has been called the Annual Review. The Annual Review for 1952 began last July with the sending out of a questionnaire designed to obtain from member governments a picture of the progress of their defence build-up and of their future defence plans. An interim report was submitted to Ministers when they attended the Council in Paris last December, and a final report will be made to the Ministerial meeting of the Council in April. This first Review is very much of an experiment. It is probably the first time that any group of nations has voluntarily agreed to submit the defence plans of each member for scrutiny by the others assisted by an international staff of experts. The process has revealed the great complexity and practical difficulty entailed in the Lisbon conception of creating "balanced collective forces", forces that, in quantity and quality, must meet modern military requirements. One problem to which it is difficult to find a satisfactory answer is the equitable distribution of the defence burden among countries of unequal size and resources. Clearly, some countries in NATO can do more than others. But it is more difficult to say exactly what each is best equipped to do and what limits each must set. It has been the purpose of this first Annual Review to compile the data which, if agreed interpretations can be reached, will provide some preliminary answers to such questions. Other problems, however, introduce themselves. What kind of data are needed? How are they to be acquired?

Are they in all respects susceptible to legitimate comparison between one country and another? It is such practical problems that have concerned the Council and the Secretariat in carrying out the Annual Review in recent months. Consideration of them has led to stress on the effectiveness of forces rather than on their numbers. For the job has been first to estimate as nearly as possible what is available and second to consider ways of improving

and strengthening these existing forces, and, after this, to consider what further steps can be taken, in the form of "force goals" for the future, toward the objective of adequate defensive strength. The setting of force goals thus becomes both a beginning and an end. It is a beginning because it provides a firm military objective for future planning. It is an end because the proper decision can only be made after the circumstances surrounding each nation's effort have been thoroughly assessed.

Different Approach

This approach is different in emphasis from the one adopted at Lisbon. If it is true that the Lisbon force goals for 1952 were substantially reached, it is perhaps also true that they had been loosely defined. It has been found that a precise idea of what is meant by a division prepared and equipped to fight must be agreed before any counting of heads becomes significant. What does the idea of "fifty divisions" mean in fighting power? The answer may vary from one defence ministry to another. It is, therefore, General Ridgway's job, and Admiral McCormick's too, not only to suggest how many troops are needed but to recommend what standards of training and equipment they should meet. The latter task has become preliminary to the former, in the sense that, in the present stage of Western defence, a sufficient deterrent to aggression must emphasize quality rather than quantity. At Lisbon the urgent task was to provide forces, however loosely defined. The fact that such initial provision has been made now enables a re-assessment to be made of national capacities and policies.

Annual Review

The 1952 Annual Review, now nearing completion, therefore follows in logical sequence the programme begun at Lisbon, and is neither a tailing-off nor a slowing-down. The procedures and methods of consultation evolved during its course will form the basis for that closer unity and community of purpose that NATO is building. The Annual Review process is becoming a focus of NATO activities.

Though the result must be a balanced appraisal of military forces and a plan for reaching military goals, the process itself involves far-reaching political, economic and strategic considerations. Some of these have been mentioned. It might be noted as well that the strategic considerations governing NATO planning are themselves subject to modification. They may be modified by political re-assessment of the international situation. The development of new weapons may invalidate previous calculations. The whole fabric of strategic and military planning must be kept continually under review; this, too, forms part of the Annual Review. The process as a whole consists of a balancing and assessment of many considerations, some verifiable, others unpredictable and open to disagreement.

Infrastructure

Many NATO activities can be related to the focal point of the Annual Review. One aspect widely publicized, particularly during and since the last Ministerial meeting, has been "infrastructure". These fixed military installations, consisting mostly of airfields and communications used in common by the NATO forces, represent but a very small proportion of the total NATO defence effort. Yet they have received publicity because the provision of them involves complicated negotiations for common financing, which in turn affect national, political and economic policies. How much can each country provide? What degree of priority should be attached to infrastructure financing in relation to other parts of the defence effort? Such questions cannot be answered except by reference to the same

considerations that relate to the Annual Review. It is the same problem of reconciling national capacities with the necessities of collective defence.

Other Activities

Other NATO activities also bear some relation to the Annual Review. Exchanges of views on political matters of common concern such as, for example, the EDC Treaty and Indochina, will be taken into account when political and economic factors are reconciled with military estimates of adequate defensive strength. A Council working group has been considering the implications for defence of such problems as unemployment, the need for skilled labour and national emigration and immigration policies. There is the problem of civil defence; how can it be co-ordinated and what priority should be given to it? Finally, as expressed in Article 2, there is the desire of NATO nations to "further the development of peaceful and friendly international relations by strengthening their free institutions" and "by bringing about a better understanding of the principles upon which these institutions are founded". It is true that measures to this end involve more than a defensive joining of hands. Yet, for the present at least, the effort to provide sufficient military strength to deter aggression, with all its ramifications, involves as well the deeper understanding envisaged by Article 2. By voluntarily undertaking the common efforts and sacrifices involved in collective defence, the sovereign states that are members of NATO are, in fact, laying the groundwork for the fuller development of the North Atlantic community.

Formosa

In view of the current interest in the island of Formosa, the following article was prepared to give simply a description of the island together with a chronicle of the chief events in its political and diplomatic history. The article does not attempt to interpret or comment upon recent developments relating to Formosa.

THE island of Formosa might be termed the "Emerald Isle of the China Sea". Although, like Ireland, it is possessed of a luxuriant physical beauty, its history has been marred by jurisdictional disputes and turbulent rebellions. In the 17th century, there was a Chinese saying which summed up the situation in Formosa: "Every three years a disorder and every five years a rebellion". Its history over the past century illustrates the continued pertinence of this saying.

Physical Geography, Products of and Ethnic Groups in Formosa

Formosa, or Taiwan, as it is called by the Chinese, is about four hundred miles south of the mouth of the Yangtze and a hundred from the mainland of China. It lies off the Chinese province of Fukien, from which it is separated by a strait from ninety to two hundred and twenty miles wide. The island is almost exactly bisected by the Tropic of Cancer and lies between 25°20' and 21°50' north latitude. It has a maximum length of 235 miles while its breadth varies from 60 to 80 miles. Altogether it covers an area of 13,836 square miles. It is about one-fourth the size of the State of Illinois, but with an equal population of about eight millions. Formosa constitutes the eastern escarpment of what was once the great Malayo-Chinese continent, and is connected by a submarine plateau with the Chinese mainland. The strategic importance of Formosa is obvious and it has been described as a stationary aircraft carrier poised between Japan and the Philippines, from which position it controls the sea lanes from North Asia through the southeast to Malaya, Burma and India.

Physical Geography

The backbone of the island, extending north and south, is formed by a range of densely wooded mountains, called by the Chinese Chu-Shan, which rise to upward of 14,000 ft.; the height of the highest peak, Mount Morrison, is given as 14,720 ft. Eastward of this range lies a narrow strip of mountainous country, presenting to the Pacific Ocean a precipitous cliff-wall, with in many places a sheer descent of from 1,500 to 2,500 ft. The western side of the range consists of a single broad alluvial plain, stretching from north to south of the island, sealed by innumerable water channels and terminating at the coastline in mud flats and sand banks.

Apart from heavy rainfall in the northern, central and eastern portions of the island, the climate is not exceptional, since the insular position ensures modification of the heat by sea breezes. Malarial fever is, however, prevalent in the north, and violent typhoons are common at certain seasons.

Products

The island is famous for the luxuriance of its vegetation and many hot-house plants, such as orchids and azaleas, grow wild on the mountain slopes and in the valleys. Ferns, tree ferns, camphor- and teak-trees, pines, firs, wild fig trees, bananas, bamboos, palms, indigo and other dye plants, tobacco, coffee and tapioca, all grow in profusion on the island. Forty-three species of birds are indigenous. Fish is plentiful near the coast, but insects and wild animals are scarce. The main crops are rice (two crops of which are grown per year), sugar cane, tea, jute, sweet potato, beans and ground nuts. The chief minerals are coal — of which

there is a large supply — gold, salt, petroleum, natural gas and sulphur. The principal exports, besides camphor, of which Formosa controls the world market, are tea, coal, sugar, jute, hemp and dyewoods. Taihoku (or Taipeh), in the north of the island, is the capital of Formosa, and Tansui and Keelung are its principal ports. Tainan, on the southwest coast, is another important port.

Ethnic Groups

In 1590, Portuguese navigators sailing along the eastern coast were so taken by the precipitous but wooded mountains and wild beauty of the shoreline that they marked the island in their log-book as "Ihla Formosa", meaning "beautiful island". From the other side, the Chinese, who can quite easily reach the western coast in their junks, were struck with the peaceful beauty of the inhabited and cultivated hill-sides of Western Formosa, and they called it "Taiwan", i.e. the "Terraced Bay", which is still the official designation of the island. Before the 16th century, peoples of Malayan or Polynesian origin, related to the peoples of Mindanao and Borneo, inhabited Formosa. The descendants of these head-hunting aborigines, who show both Malayan and negrito characteristics, still live in Formosa. These aborigines, of whom there are about 146,000 living at the present time, reside mainly in the mountainous slopes and even during the Japanese regime controlled about half of the physical surface of the island. They constituted a serious problem for the Japanese, and were enclosed by the Aiyu-Sen or guard-line, which extended for over 360 miles, of which over 230 miles were electrified. The aborigines are divided into two groups: (a) the Jukuban, or "Subdued Savages", comprising over 500 tribes, who are civilized and have vowed allegiance to the government and who number about 116,000; (b) the Seiban, or "Wild Savages", who total about 30,000, comprising 146 tribes, of which by far the most intractable is the head-hunting Taiyal group in the northeast. The camphor gatherers often had to be provided with police escort when venturing into the aborigine-inhabited camphor forests.

In 1938, the population figures for Formosa were:

| | | |
|-------------------------|-----------|--------|
| Chinese ¹ | 5,392,800 | 93.88% |
| Japanese | 308,800 | 5.37% |
| Foreigners ² | 43,400 | .75% |

Early History

The island was known to the Chinese before the Christian era, but does not seem to have attracted any serious attention until the year 605 or 606 A.D. In the 14th century, several Chinese colonies were established in Formosa, but were subsequently withdrawn in the middle of the 17th century. From the 17th century on, Formosa has been under the jurisdiction at various periods of the Dutch, the Spaniards, the Chinese, the French and the Japanese. At times, too, the island has been under the *de facto* jurisdiction of Chinese and Japanese pirates, a Hungarian nobleman, and a group of American merchants from Canton.

In 1624, the Dutch established a base on the southeast shore, called Zeelandia, and maintained a settlement there for 37 years. From this centre, they extended their control over the hinterland, sent in missionaries and encouraged the people to plant sugar and develop camphor cultivation. The Dutch had, in 1619, established the key post of Batavia in Java, and extended their operations from there into the rest of the East Indies, and on to Formosa. In 1644, China was invaded by the Manchus, and the Manchu Ch'ing dynasty supplanted the Chinese Ming dynasty. More than 100,000 Chinese escaped to Formosa, then used as a base of operations by pirates, both Japanese and Chinese. Thousands of other Chinese followed annually, mainly from the densely-populated coastal provinces of Fukien and Kwangtung. Even today the predominant dialect of Formosa is Fukienese. In 1661 Cheng Ch'engkung (known in the west as Koxinga), one of the Ming leaders, escaped from the Manchus and landed at Zeelandia, with a fleet and an army of 25,000 men. The discontented Chinese on the island, combined with the

¹ These "Chinese" include the 146,000 aborigines and Chinese Hakkas related to the tribes of Kwangtung Province in China.

² Almost entirely Chinese who are citizens of the Republic of China.

Japanese and Chinese pirates, at once supported him and, within a year, the Dutch gave up their control of the island. All evidence of Dutch influence soon disappeared. Koxinga managed to retain possession of the island for 22 years.

Part of Manchu Empire

For a period of 200 years after 1683, Formosa was part of the Manchu empire. It was administered by a resident Commissioner of the Governor of Fukien Province, of which it was recognized as a prefecture. Although the Manchu officials maintained a garrison in Formosa of 10,000 to 15,000 soldiers, they were unable to suppress the practically continual rebellions.

By the treaty of Tientsin in 1858, Formosa was opened to trade with the West, particularly with Jardine Matheson and Company and Dent and Company, two British firms of Hong Kong. By the terms of this treaty, Anping (Zeelandia), Tainan, Takao and Tansui were opened to foreign trade as treaty ports. In 1868, the British compelled the Chinese officials to abolish the camphor monopoly, to recognize the right of foreigners to travel and buy freely, the right of missionaries to reside and work on the island, etc.

During the 19th century, Formosa became notorious for the piracy of its inhabitants and the ill-treatment they inflicted upon navigators who chanced to be wrecked on their coasts. In 1869 marines from the German ship "Elbe" touched on the Formosan coast. After the inhabitants fired upon them, the commander landed marines, destroyed the nearest village and killed those who did not escape. In order to obtain redress for the murder of a Japanese shipwrecked crew by aborigines, the Japanese Government, in 1874, invaded the southern part of Formosa, asserting that it did not belong to China because she either would not or could not govern its savage inhabitants. Through the intervention of the British Minister in Peking, Sir Thomas Wade, war was prevented, the Japanese withdrew and the Chinese retained control. Ten years later, during the Franco-Chinese war over Tonkin, a French naval squadron under Admiral Courbet blockaded the island, and for a period of eight

months in 1884 the French-tricolour was planted on the northern portion of the island of Formosa in the coal district of Keelung. As a result of these violent protests against piracy, and because of the obvious strategic value of the island to foreign navies, in 1887 the island of Formosa was raised by Imperial decree from a prefecture of Fukien Province to the full rank of an independent province.

Ceded to Japan

In 1895, China was defeated in the Sino-Japanese war, and by the Treaty of Shimonoseki, Formosa was ceded to Japan on April 18. The Chinese in Formosa were determined to prevent the island from becoming a part of Japan and offered it to the British or to the French. The British, however, declined the offer. During the treaty negotiations, Li Hung-chang, the Chinese plenipotentiary, commiserated with the Japanese on their misfortune in securing sovereignty over the island, and pointed out that Formosa was not amenable to good government for the following reasons:

1. Banditry could never be exterminated;
2. The practice of smoking opium was too deep-rooted and wide-spread among the people to eradicate;
3. The climate was unhealthy;
4. The presence of head-hunters was a constant menace to economic development.

Despite this pretended alacrity of the Chinese Government in Peking to rid themselves of the island, the Formosan people took affairs into their own hands and, on May 23, 1895, they proclaimed a Formosan Republic. It lasted only three weeks in the north, but in the south guerilla warfare successfully defeated the Japanese troops until November 18. It took from four to six more years to subdue the guerilla fighters, whom the Japanese contemptuously called "brigands". These "brigands", however, were powerful enough to mount an assault on the capital of Formosa, Taihoku (Taipeh) in 1900. The head-hunters of the mountainous interior continued to be a problem until the Japanese were able to bribe them to lay down their weapons with salt, of which there was a dearth in the moun-

tains and which is still used as currency by some of the tribes.

In March 1906, over 6000 persons were reported killed or injured in an earthquake in Formosa.

Few Japanese Immigrants

Although the Japanese Government put into force an immigration plan for Formosa to reduce over-population in the Japanese home islands, few Japanese farmers wished to emigrate to the Japanese empire in Korea, Formosa or Manchuria to compete with Korean and Chinese peasants accustomed to a still lower standard of living than themselves. In 1910, the Japanese Government gave land, houses, roads, schools, hospitals, etc. on condition that all advances were to be repaid in ten years. Under this scheme, only 3,368 people were settled in three different regions. Even as late as 1938 only 308,800 Japanese were in Formosa. Most of the Japanese population, apart from official and military personnel, were found in the mining districts of the northeast and sporadically in the plantations along the western coast plain.

Political Movements

In 1918, the first political party of a modern type, the Domeikai, was organized. It was hostile to Japanese rule in Formosa and drew its strength chiefly from Chinese students living in Tokyo; its programme was aimed at the abolition or reform of some of the harsher laws in Formosa. In 1927 the organ of this group, *The Taiwan Youth*, moved to Formosa and published, until its suppression in 1930, articles critical of Japanese administration, particularly in the field of education and culture. By 1928 political movements in Formosa were divided sharply into a moderate group centered around the Bunka Kyokai (Cultural Association) which was particularly strong in the agricultural co-operatives and a leftist or Marxist group attempting to get a foothold in the field of labour. The latter group was soon suppressed by the Japanese when, after 1928, they adopted a policy of stricter control over political and social movements in Formosa.

During the early years of the occupation after 1895, the Japanese were preoccupied with the suppression of Chinese rebellions. For years, however, the war against the aborigines was carried on by regular detachments of the Japanese Army. In 1930 a rebellion by several thousand aborigines was suppressed.

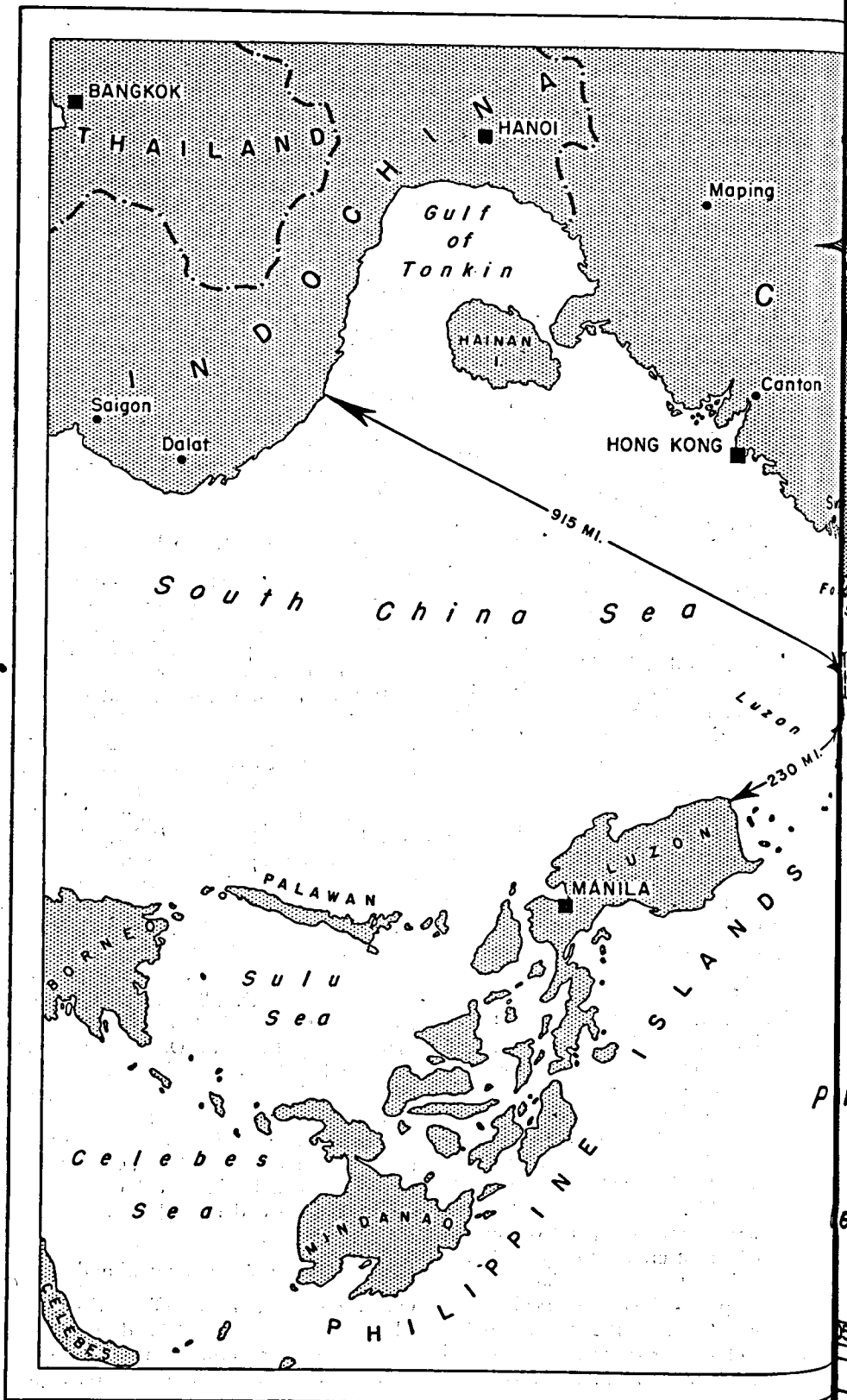
During the Second World War, the Japanese recognized the strategic value of Formosa and used it as a base of operations against Southeast Asia. The Japanese planes that bombed General MacArthur's troops in the Philippines were based on Formosa. The island was severely bombed by the Allies during the war, and this has had a deterrent effect upon the economic recovery of Formosa since 1945.

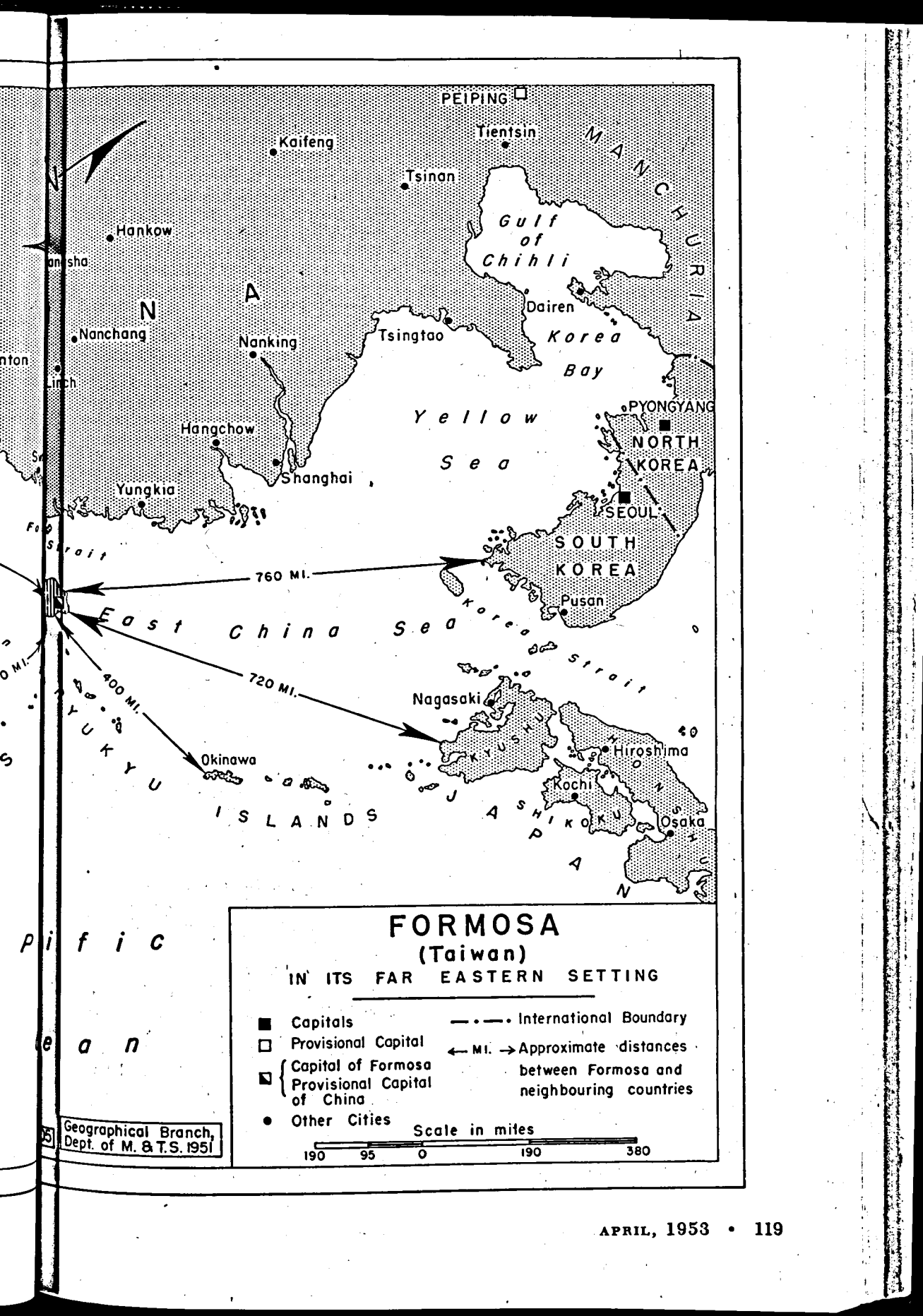
History Since the Cairo Declaration

During the Second World War, President Roosevelt, Prime Minister Churchill and Generalissimo Chiang K'ai-shek met in Cairo to discuss post war conditions in the Far East. The Cairo Declaration, subscribed to by the United States, the United Kingdom and China on December 1, 1943, stated: "It is their purpose that Japan shall be stripped of all the islands in the Pacific which she has seized or occupied since the beginning of the first World War of 1914, and that all the territories that Japan has stolen from the Chinese, such as Manchuria, Formosa and the Pescadores, shall be restored to the Republic of China". This promise was confirmed in the Potsdam Proclamation by the same three powers (the Soviet Union subsequently adhering) on July 26, 1945, in Article 8, which reads as follows: "The terms of the Cairo Declaration shall be limited to the islands of Honshu, Hokkaido, Kyushu, Shikoku and such minor islands as we determine." Thus the dismemberment of the Japanese Empire became one of the conditions enumerated in the Potsdam Declaration for the "unconditional surrender" of Japan.

Chinese Sovereignty Proclaimed

On August 30, 1945, Generalissimo Chiang K'ai-shek proclaimed Chinese sovereignty over Formosa. The Japanese instrument of surrender, signed on Sep-





FORMOSA (Taiwan)

IN ITS FAR EASTERN SETTING

- Capitals
- Provisional Capital
- { Capital of Formosa
Provisional Capital of China
- Other Cities
- · — · — International Boundary
- ← · Mi. · → Approximate distances between Formosa and neighbouring countries

Scale in miles



Geographical Branch,
Dept. of M. & T.S. 1951

tember 2, 1945, was based on the Potsdam Proclamation and provided that the terms of the proclamation should be carried out. Immediately after V-J Day, the Chinese took over Formosa as one of their provinces. On October 24, as a result of an order issued on the basis of consultation and agreement among the Allied Powers concerned, the Japanese forces in Formosa surrendered to the National Government of China, and on October 25, the Chinese Governor-General was installed in Taihoku (now called Taipei). The Chinese troops who landed on the island of Formosa were greeted initially with great enthusiasm by the native Formosans. Unfortunately, however, relations between the Taiwanese and the mainlanders became worse.

Although the reparations payments actually made by Japan were small, all the Japanese assets located in allied countries or liberated areas became the property of the country in which they were found. Thus, the Koreans and Chinese inherited vast capital investments built up over the decades by the Japanese Government and private investors in Korea, Formosa, Manchuria and China proper. The Japanese assets in Formosa were quickly appropriated by Chinese mainland officials.

The tension which mounted between the Taiwanese and the administration from the mainland culminated in an incident on February 28, 1947, involving the mainland police with a native woman who was peddling cigarettes without the license demanded by the Government's "Monopoly Bureau". This led to a series of clashes which resulted in most of the island coming under the control of Formosan leaders headed by a "Settlement Committee". Meanwhile, on March 8, reinforcements arrived from the mainland, as requested by Chen Yi, the Chinese Governor. Armed trucks patrolled the streets and Formosan leaders were executed. Altogether by the end of March 1947, at least 5000 people were killed and thousands more were imprisoned. Kuomintang leaders on the mainland demanded Chen Yi's resignation, and on April 22, 1947, Nanking announced the appointment of Wei Tao-ming as the new Governor. The situation quietened down but the underlying tension remained.

In December 1948, the Executive Yuan of the Nationalist Government evacuated to Formosa. By the end of 1948 most of the Chinese Navy and Air Force had been moved to Formosa. Generalissimo Chiang K'ai-shek himself went to Formosa from Chungking in West China, after the defeat of the Nationalist Armies on the mainland, in 1949.

Status of Formosa

Dealing with the status of Formosa, President Truman issued this statement on June 27, 1950:

The attack upon Korea makes it plain beyond all doubt that Communism has passed beyond the use of subversion to conquer independent nations and will now use armed invasion and war. It has defied the orders of the Security Council of the United Nations issued to preserve international peace and security. In these circumstances the occupation of Formosa by Communist forces would be a direct threat to the security of the Pacific area and to the United States forces performing their lawful and necessary functions in that area.

Accordingly, I have ordered the Seventh Fleet to prevent any attack on Formosa. As a corollary of this action, I am calling upon the Chinese Government of Formosa to cease all air and sea operations against the mainland. The Seventh Fleet will see that this is done. The determination of the future status of Formosa must await the restoration of security in the Pacific, a peace settlement with Japan, or consideration by the United Nations.

The neutralization of Formosa was a unilateral action by the United States Government and did not commit any other member countries of the United Nations.

On August 5, General MacArthur's Deputy Chief of Staff, Major General A. P. Fox, headed a group of 22 officers and men who arrived in Formosa to set up a permanent liaison office between Generalissimo Chiang K'ai-shek and Supreme Commander's Headquarters in Tokyo. General MacArthur had laid great stress on the military importance of Formosa. If it were held by an enemy, he said, it "could be compared to an unsink-

able aircraft carrier and submarine tender ideally located". On August 24, Foreign Minister Chou En-lai of the Communist Chinese Government cabled to the Security Council demanding that it take action against "United States aggression in Formosa." In a press conference on August 31, President Truman said that it would not be necessary to keep the United States Seventh Fleet in the Formosan Straits after the end of the conflict in Korea.

Joint Communiqué Issued

On December 8, 1950, following a conference in the United States, a joint communiqué by President Truman and Prime Minister Attlee was published saying:

On the question of Formosa, we have noted that both Chinese claimants have insisted upon the validity of the Cairo Declaration and have expressed reluctance to have the matter considered by the United Nations. We agreed that the issues should be settled by peaceful means and in such a way as to safeguard the interest of the people of Formosa and the maintenance of peace and security in the Pacific, and that consideration of this question by the United Nations will contribute to these ends.

Although armistice negotiations were inaugurated in July 1951 at Kaesong and subsequently at Panmunjom, the armistice negotiations did not deal specifically with the future status of Formosa.

Generalissimo Chiang K'ai-shek's Regime on Formosa and United States Aid to the Chinese Nationalists

Generalissimo Chiang K'ai-shek's administration on Formosa has been the subject of much controversy. It must be recognized, however, that the superimposition of nearly two million mainland Chinese upon the six million native Formosans was bound to cause problems. Six hundred thousand of the mainlanders are soldiers, two hundred thousand are civil servants and the rest are business men, professional men and intellectuals. This provides an obvious contrast to the native Formosans, of whom ninety-five per cent are peasant farmers. When K. C. Wu, the former Mayor of Shanghai, be-

came Governor of the Province, he enlarged the Provincial Commission to include seventeen Formosans out of a total of twenty-three.

The exact strength of Generalissimo Chiang K'ai-shek's armed forces in Taiwan in May 1951 was estimated by Fred W. Riggs, in his book *Formosa under Chinese Nationalist Rule* (N.Y., 1952), to include the following:

| | |
|---------------------------------|---------|
| Army (Ground Forces) . . . | 345,000 |
| Navy | 45,000 |
| Airforce | 70,000 |
| Combined Service Forces . . | 20,000 |
| Political Officers and Garrison | 120,000 |
| <hr/> | |
| Total | 600,000 |

On May 1, 1951, the United States Military Assistance Advisory Group was officially established on Formosa. M.A.A.G. now has about 600 United States officers and men assigned to reorganize, train and equip Nationalist forces for the "defence of Formosa and maintenance of internal security". This group has now spent about \$300,000,000, primarily for the purchase and shipment of arms, ammunition, vehicles, medical supplies, rations, uniforms and other specialized equipment. This United States group has made progress in providing Formosa with proper airfields, an improved air-warning system, modern harbour equipment and many of the other facilities needed for a military establishment. Recently, too, of course, United States military aid to Formosa has been speeded up.

Economic Assistance

Before the Korean war, Formosa received assistance to the amount of \$40,000,000 in the form of cotton, fertilizer, wheat, petroleum, medical supplies and other commodities from the United States. Since June 1950, an additional \$250,000,000 has been appropriated for economic assistance to the Nationalist Government. Most of these funds have been used to cover the cost of essential imports, including cotton, petroleum, soya beans and chemical fertilizer necessary to maintain Formosa's agricultural production. Proceeds from their sale are used

to meet the Chinese Government's budget deficit, to finance construction of military facilities such as barracks and to meet local currency costs on other phases of the aid programme. The Mutual Security Agency finances the employment by the Chinese Government of the services of such technical experts as the J. C. White Engineering Corporation. On V-J Day electrical power production on Formosa had been reduced to about 50,000 kilowatts. By the end of 1952 it was six times that. Domestic production of chemical fertilizer, which reached 104,000 tons in 1951, was expected to increase by 50 per cent in 1952.

JCRR

However, the major "success story" of the United States in Formosa is the work of the United States and Chinese Joint Commission on Rural Reconstruction. This body was established under the provisions of the China Aid Act of 1948 and began its operations on the mainland. The JCRR faced the agricultural problem of Formosa on four fronts: land reform, agricultural productivity, farmers' associations and rural health. Already land rent has been reduced from approximately 60 per cent to a maximum of 37.5 per cent of the main crop, tenure has been guaranteed for a minimum of three years, and public land has been made available on terms the small farmer can afford. The output of rice has reached 1.5 million dollars annually — the highest in the island's history. The pig population has been raised from 1.3 million two and a half years ago to 1.9 million. This is important news for the Chinese, who often calculate their standard of living by the number of days a month they can afford to eat pork. The JCRR, with its 250 different projects in Formosa, is creating a peaceful social and economic revolution in Formosa's rural life.

Canada's Attitude Towards Formosa

The Japanese Instrument of Surrender, which was based on the Cairo and Potsdam Declarations, was signed by Canada on September 2, 1945. The Canadian Government was notified of the *de facto* administration of Formosa by China

through a note from the Nationalist Government in 1946, stating that Formosa was restored to Chinese sovereignty and that the Formosans had regained their Chinese citizenship, and that, through an agreement, signed with China, the commercial *modus vivendi* with that nation covered all Chinese territories, including Formosa. The Canadian Government's attitude to Formosa was defined in the House of Commons by the Secretary of State for External Affairs, Mr. Pearson, on April 1, 1952. He said:

... At the moment we in the United Nations are pledged at least to try to make peace with Communist China over Korea; and negotiations for the first stage of making peace, the armistice stage, are now under way. That is what we are trying to do. Then if we are successful in the first stage we are pledged to discuss other Far Eastern questions. We have taken that pledge in the United Nations. Should we now say that we will never allow Formosa to go back to Peking, if they do not throw out their present government in China? Should we say that, especially when we have subscribed to international agreements recognizing Formosa as part of China, and when we recognize that now sovereignty legally resides in China? I suggest that that would be rigid, dead-end diplomacy, and not very wise diplomacy to follow at this time in this matter

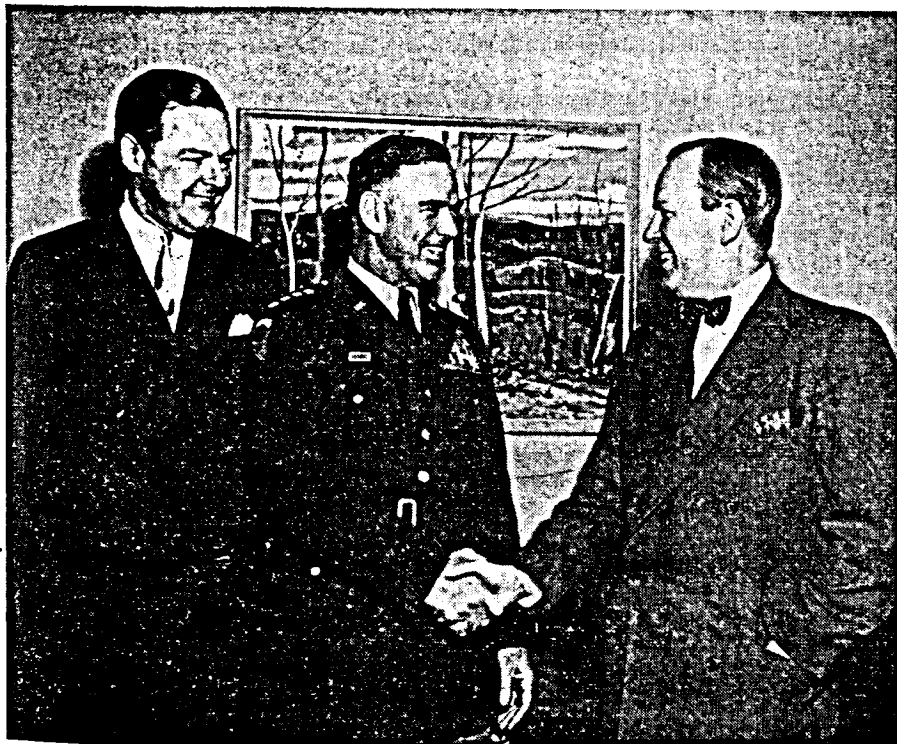
. . . Ultimately, of course, Formosa must be a question of international discussion and decision, preferably through the United Nations, as the Secretary of State for the United States has already intimated.

In such a discussion, which I suppose must come ultimately, there are certain factors which should be taken into consideration by those responsible. The first — and possibly the most important factor of all, though it is very often overlooked — in our discussion of this matter is that the views of the Formosan people themselves should be taken into consideration. They are a people who have not known national freedom, who are in many ways quite separate from the Japanese and Chinese who have ruled over them. Second, consideration should be given to the character and policies of the government or governments of China which may be in power at that time. Fourth, of course, we cannot overlook the fact I have just mentioned, that legally Formosa is part

of China. Both Chinese governments insist on that. It is about the only matter on which they are united. The dispute is over which government shall control Formosa.

Mr. Pearson has expressed himself on this question on several other occasions. Following President Eisenhower's State-

of-the-Union message on February 2, 1953, which modified the Presidential directive to the Seventh Fleet, Mr. Pearson made a statement to the House of Commons on February 5, 1953 on Canadian policy regarding Formosa, the text of which will be found on page 82 of the March issue of *External Affairs*.



—United Nations

FORMER KOREAN COMMANDER VISITS UN HEADQUARTERS

General James A. van Fleet, formerly Commander of the United States Eighth Army in Korea, is greeted by the President of the seventh session of the United Nations General Assembly, Mr. L. B. Pearson, during a recent visit to the United Nations Headquarters. On the left is Mr. Henry Cabot Lodge, United States Representative to the United Nations.

Canada and the United Nations

Economic and Social Council: Work of the Functional Commissions

The following article describes briefly the current work of the so-called functional commissions of the Economic and Social Council. This work is of special interest at the present time (during the fifteenth session of the Economic and Social Council), since it forms a large part of the basic material with which the Council regularly deals.

Plan of Work

There are now eight functional commissions as distinct from the regional economic commissions: the Statistical, Fiscal, Narcotic Drugs, Social, Population, Transport and Communications, Human Rights and Status of Women Commissions. At present a Canadian member sits on the four first-mentioned. There is a rotating membership (except that by an established tradition the five great powers are always represented); and, at its summer session each year, the Economic and Social Council elects the states that are to be entitled to nominate individuals to the vacant seats. Within the framework of the Economic and Social Council, the commissions were intended to be bodies of experts, working in their individual capacities, who would supervise studies and draw up recommendations based on more informed and intensive examination than the Economic and Social Council could expect to devote to each individual problem. The original conception of a body of independent experts has not been entirely realized in the work of the commissions, which, particularly in the less technical fields, have often tended to repeat the patterns of debate familiar in the principal organs of the United Nations. In accordance, however, with a decision taken at the eleventh session of the Economic and Social Council, a review of the commissions' work was undertaken, which, though its results stopped much short of proposals made by the Canadian Govern-

ment and some others, should help to eliminate overlapping and repetitious efforts and to achieve co-ordinated planning. There is to be a further review after a two-year trial period.

Under the revised plan, the commissions, with the exception of the Narcotic Drugs Commission, the Human Rights Commission and the Commission on the Status of Women, are normally to meet every other year instead of annually and are to undertake a thorough review of their individual programmes in order to eliminate overlapping and establish suitable priorities.

Commission Meetings

The meetings so far held or scheduled for this year are the Population Commission (January 19-30), Transport and Communications (February 2-11), Statistical (February 2-13), Status of Women (begun March 16), Narcotic Drugs (begun March 30), Fiscal (beginning April 27) and Human Rights (beginning on April 7 in Geneva). Since the Social Commission, in accordance with a resolution adopted by the fourteenth session of the Economic and Social Council, is requested to report to the Council during 1953 on two special items, it will also be meeting this year.

Three commission reports are due to be considered at the present (fifteenth) session of the Economic and Social Council: those of the Trade and Communications, Statistical and Population Commissions. The attempt to achieve full international comparability of statistics, which has been the chief preoccupation of the Population and Statistical Commissions, may not at first glance seem to be of interest or importance to any but a few specialists in a particularly dry and unrewarding field. Actually, however, it is the starting point of rational and co-ordinated effort to maintain and to raise the living standards of mankind. Just as in medicine accurate diagnosis of disease is the prerequisite of its successful treatment, so in the economic and social field

the exact and uniform phrasing of a question to be included in an industrial census or of a form for the registration of births and other vital statistics makes it possible to infer from the completed returns that such and such is more or less, better or worse, in one area than in another. The problem has two aspects, the development of universally valid standards of statistical practice and assistance to governments and international and national organizations in putting them into effect. With so much ground to cover, it is also necessary to decide the order in which the outstanding tasks must be attacked.

Population Commission

The Population Commission has been concerned with vital statistics and those related immediately to people themselves rather than to their activities. The report of its seventh session, held January 19-30 at United Nations headquarters in New York, speaks of the generally satisfactory results which have been obtained in the task of increasing the availability of demographic statistics and improving their accuracy and comparability. During the years 1950-52 eighty-one national censuses have been taken, the majority of which conform to the minimum standards suggested by the Commission. The series of draft Recommendations on Migration Statistics prepared in 1949 has been submitted to governments and interested international organizations for comment and in many cases administrative steps have been taken to achieve the comparability and accessibility of this group of statistics. Much remains to be done in the field, but work will be concentrated in the near future on the principal task immediately ahead, which is the World Population Conference authorized by the fourteenth session of the Economic and Social Council and now scheduled for September 1954. This is to be a gathering of about 400 experts in demographic statistics who will meet to discuss eight principal topics of importance in their field. The Commission, after examining the provisional agenda already drawn up by a Preparatory Committee, recorded its view that care

should be taken not to include too many topics only loosely related to demography and not to extend the proposed studies too far into speculative and possibly unprofitable fields. It also recommended to the Economic and Social Council that governments which have recently taken censuses should be asked to prepare, in time for the Conference if possible, analytical studies based on either complete or sample counts which would be devoted to the topics of most importance to their programmes of economic and social development. Regional seminars, which are one of the principal means of assisting and encouraging the understanding and use of modern statistical methods, have been planned for Latin America in 1953 and Southeast Asia in 1954, though one of these may have to be postponed owing to the heavy demands made on the responsible branches of the United Nations Secretariat by the plans for the World Population Conference.

Population Trend

Finally, the Commission devoted much of its time to what is regarded as the second stage of its work, to be undertaken when the comparability and accuracy of statistics makes it possible; that is the initiation of studies of the interplay between demographic and economic and social factors and hence of the probable effects of policies designed to influence the size and structure of populations. The basic document before the Commission was a study prepared by the United Nations Secretariat entitled "Determinants and Consequences of Population Trends". It is expected that this study, when it is finished, will help in determining what actual changes may be expected in the social and economic structure of underdeveloped countries as a result of various development programmes which may be contemplated. The Government of India has co-operated with the Secretary-General, and will continue to do so, in making possible field studies of the actual effects of specified economic and social developments upon population growth. Economic development may be defined as an increase in the rate of growth of

production which exceeds the increase of population growth and therefore results in an increase in the levels of consumption. Experts are by no means agreed as to the action and reaction between population growth and increased economic efficiency. The Secretariat study surveys the principal schools of thought and draws the conclusion that there is probably no formula applicable to all situations. From this it follows that the population changes which may be the result of any given programme of economic and social development should be taken into account in the actual framing of the programme, as otherwise they may prejudice the outcome. The Commission recommended to the Economic and Social Council a resolution which would draw the attention of governments to these conclusions.

Statistical Commission

The Statistical Commission, meeting February 2-13, reviewed a number of studies and memoranda aimed at improving the accuracy and assuring the comparability of various categories of statistics. In general, these documents are prepared by the Secretariat, or by groups of experts convened for the purpose, are then submitted to governments and to the interested international organizations for comment, and in their final form transmitted by the Commission to the Economic and Social Council; if they are approved, they may be commended to the attention of member governments and the international agencies concerned. The principal subjects so discussed at the seventh session were as follows: concepts and definitions of capital formation; definitions in basic industrial statistics; standard procedures in compiling external trade statistics; wholesale price statistics and a standard system of index numbers for wholesale price indexes; a system of national accounts and supporting tables; uniformity in air transport statistics; classification of industrial activities of households; distribution statistics; balance of payment statistics and money and banking statistics; cost of living indexes; principles for a vital statistics system (also discussed by the Population Commis-

sion). Resolutions were recommended for adoption by the Economic and Social Council commending to member governments agreed principles relating to definitions in basic industrial statistics, migration statistics, and a vital statistics system. The Secretary-General was asked to bring to the attention of member governments for their comments memoranda on concepts and definitions of capital formation, a system of national accounts, and the classification of the industrial activities of households. The Secretary-General was asked to devote further attention to wholesale price statistics and the development of a standard system of index numbers for wholesale price indexes, and to distribution statistics (i.e. figures on current retail trade, etc.), and also to promote the uniformity of air transport statistics. After examining memoranda from the International Monetary Fund referring to the new manuals it proposes to issue on the compilation of balance of payments statistics and statistics on money and banking, the Commission asked to be kept informed of further progress in the field of balance of payment statistics and recommended that governments and interested national organizations be invited to submit to the Fund their views and recommendations on the organization and presentation of money and banking statistics. The Commission itself had a number of comments on a memorandum from the International Labour Organization regarding its plans for discussing cost of living index numbers at its Eighth General Conference. The Secretary-General was asked to bring these comments to the attention of the International Labour Organization. The Commission concurred in the conclusion reached by the United Nations Technical Seminar on Statistical Organization that countries should examine their basic requirements for statistics so that a realistic schedule of priorities could be established. The Secretary-General was asked to draw this proposal to the attention of governments and to compile a guide or check list which they might use in making surveys of their statistical services. Finally, in a survey of general statistical progress, the Commission noted that the 1950-52 series of

censuses of population and agriculture had been very successful from the statistical point of view and that in the last four years more than thirty areas had produced statistical bulletins for the first time.

Transport and Communications

The Transport and Communications Commission has now drafted and sent to the Economic and Social Council, with the recommendation that it be opened for signature by all parties to the Convention on Road Traffic 1949, a Protocol on a Uniform System of Road Signs and Signals. To the great majority of Canadians, who probably drive only in Canada and the United States, road signs and signals may never have appeared as a serious problem. But a uniform system of picture signals, dispensing as far as possible with the written word, is a matter of some importance in areas with a more polyglot inheritance than that of the North American continent. The Commission made six recommendations to the Economic and Social Council. First, it asked that the Secretary-General be instructed to appoint an expert commission of nine members drawn from the countries most concerned to draft uniform regulations, which would be internationally acceptable, governing the transport of dangerous goods. The task would include the definition of the categories of dangerous goods and the development of a universally recognizable system of markings. As international traffic in dangerous goods has increased, the need of such a standardization has become more urgent. Second, the Commission forwarded for the Economic and Social Council's approval recommendations establishing uniform minimum requirements for licensing the drivers of vehicles, which would be sent to all members of the United Nations and the Specialized Agencies and all signatories to the 1949 Convention on Road Traffic asking that they consider them in framing their own regulations. Third, the Commission examined a Secretariat study on discriminatory practices in the placing of transport insurance and recommended that the Economic and Social Council propose to governments that commercial treaties

concluded by them include clauses for preventing discrimination between different insurance markets in the placing of transport insurance. Fourth, the Economic and Social Council was asked to instruct the Secretary-General to continue his efforts to secure the entry into force of the Intergovernmental Maritime Consultative Organization Convention of 1948. Twenty-one ratifications or acceptances are required and so far only thirteen, including those of Canada, the United Kingdom and the United States, have been received. Fifth, it was recommended that the Economic and Social Council authorize the Secretary-General to ask experts to study the problem of sea-pollution, their findings to be made available to IMCO when founded. Sixth, the Commission recommended that a conference of government representatives be called in Geneva next year to conclude two international customs conventions to facilitate the movements of tourists by enabling them temporarily to import their private cars and personal effects across frontiers.

Status of Women

The Commission on the Status of Women at its last session, in 1952, completed its work on the Convention on the Political Rights of Women which was approved by the General Assembly and which will be open for signature on March 31. It contains three operative clauses guaranteeing to women on equal terms with men the right to vote, to hold public office and exercise public functions and to be eligible for election to public office. The seventh session, which opened on March 16, will be devoted to considering progress reports on the continuing items of the Commission's programme, which are usually grouped under the headings: political rights of women, status of women in private law, status of women in public law, economic opportunities for women, equal pay for equal work, educational opportunities for women, nationality of married women, participation of women in the work of the United Nations and the Specialized Agencies, and the technical assistance programme in relation to the status of women.

Social Commission

Of the three commissions which have still to meet in 1953 and which will presumably be reporting to the sixteenth session of the Economic and Social Council, mention might be made of the Social Commission. The forthcoming session is being held, in accordance with a resolution adopted at the fourteenth session of the Economic and Social Council on July 28, 1952, to enable the Commission to prepare recommendations on a programme of concerted action in the social field. This programme was originally, in accordance with the resolution taken at the sixth session of the General Assembly in 1951, to have been submitted to the seventh session of the General Assembly. The Commission did not, however, have time at its 1952 session to examine the "Preliminary Report on the World Social Situation" prepared by the Secretariat, and an extra session has accordingly been scheduled for 1953. In the meantime, the Secretariat report has been circulated to member governments asking for their suggestions and recommendations for the drawing up of a programme of practical action. Nine governments, including Canada, have so far submitted substantive replies. The Secretariat study itself was confined to a survey of existing conditions and made no suggestions for action. After descriptive chapters under subject headings (e.g. health, education, food and nutrition, conditions of work and employment and so on) it concludes with three regional surveys of social conditions in Latin America, the Middle East, and South and Southeast Asia. The Canadian Government, in its reply to the Secretary-General's enquiry, stated that it considered the Secretariat report a valuable document and that Canada had already supported the proposal that a similar report should be produced at periodic intervals, its chief value lying in the fact "that it

presents not a specific programme of action, but rather a background and an appraisal of current social conditions throughout the world." The Canadian Government's reply also states:

The programme of action to be submitted to the General Assembly in compliance with General Assembly Resolution 535 (VI) should, in the view of the Canadian Government, be prepared by the Economic and Social Council on the basis of the individual examinations of existing programmes which will have been undertaken by the Specialized Agencies, the Social Commission and other bodies concerned, and should in essence consist of an overall review of the existing programmes with recommendations as to the priorities which might be accorded special projects as being most urgent, practical and capable of early solution, together with suggestions for any modifications to ensure that the programmes as a whole are fully practical and that co-ordination between the various agencies in respect of their activities in the social field is ensured. The Social Commission, in addition to a review of its existing programme, will in accordance with the Economic and Social Council resolution of 28 July 1952 have recommendations to make as to this general programme of action. It is considered, however, that it would not be useful for the recommendations which the Social Commission will make to the Council in relation to the programme of action to include proposals for any extensive additions to the existing programmes of the Specialized Agencies and other bodies which have not been considered in these agencies and that the recommendations to the Council would best be related to the overall review of existing programmes which the Council will undertake.

The sixteenth session of the Economic and Social Council this year, will therefore in all probability have before it a report from the Social Commission which will cover a wide range of subjects and will require careful review together with the programmes of the Specialized Agencies and other interested bodies to ensure that the most practical and efficient recommendations in the social field are submitted to the General Assembly.

Technical Assistance Conference

A new period of progress in the United Nations Expanded Programme of Technical Assistance was initiated by a Conference in New York in late February. Under the formal title of the "Third United Nations Technical Assistance Con-

ference", this gathering provided the opportunity for sixty-nine nations to strengthen and increase the exchange of technical skills and knowledge amongst many countries.

This Expanded Programme of Techni-

cal Assistance has been operated as a joint venture by the United Nations and the Specialized Agencies since July 1950. Contributions, which are outside the regular budget of the United Nations, are made on a voluntary basis by member governments and by other countries as well. In addition to the Expanded Programme, the United Nations has been conducting a "regular" programme since before July 1950, with funds included in the normal United Nations budget. This programme, for which the current appropriation is \$1,716,000, is concerned chiefly with providing expert advice in the economic, administrative, industrial, and other fields, arranging fellowships and scholarships, organizing seminars, and establishing demonstration projects.

Nations Contributing

At the end of the two-day session of the Technical Assistance Conference, which was held on February 25 and 26, sixty-four governments had pledged approximately \$21,000,000 (raised to \$22,000,000 since then) as voluntary contributions to be used in the United Nations Expanded Technical Assistance Programme. This amount was the largest in the three-year history of the undertaking, although it was short of the \$25,000,000 previously set as the goal. Canada pledged a minimum of \$750,000 for the 1953 budget, providing the total amount pledged reached \$20,000,000, and a maximum of \$850,000 if the objective of \$25,000,000 was met. (See page 131 for text of Canadian statement).

Of the sixty-nine countries participating in the Conference, fifty-two were members of the United Nations. (The five countries of the Soviet bloc have boycotted the Programme from the beginning, and Guatemala, Jordan and Peru were absent from this Conference). In addition, seventeen countries not United Nations members accepted invitations to participate.

Operations Under Way

In reporting on the progress of the United Nations Expanded Programme of Technical Assistance, Mr. David Owen,

Chairman of the Technical Assistance Board, informed the Conference that 650 projects were under way in 72 countries. These projects involved the services of 1,091 technical experts. In addition, 1,106 nationals of under-developed countries were studying abroad under fellowships and scholarships. It was pointed out that, through the help of experts, peoples in many lands had been enabled to improve agriculture, health and education, transportation and communications, industrial development and vocational training. It was also stressed that the Expanded Programme was not charity but rather a great co-operative venture in which the developed countries were assisting those technically less advanced and in which there was a joint pooling rather than a one-way flow of skills. Its aim was to enable the under-developed countries to help not only themselves but each other, as well as to receive outside co-operation. Thus, for example, Indonesia, which had obtained the aid of outside experts in various fields, had itself arranged for specialists from other countries to study Indonesian techniques of fish culture. Chile, Egypt, India and Mexico provided further examples of countries which had received one form of assistance under the Programme while, at the same time, sending experts to assist other countries in the process of industrial and economic development.

In the first period of the Expanded Programme's operation the requests for co-operation were considerably less in dollar value than the total funds available and a surplus amount was carried over to the following period. In the second stage requests for aid exceeded money pledged by \$5,000,000. At present there are projects in hand or waiting for all funds available and, in fact, some three hundred additional projects could be usefully undertaken if money were available.

Administrative Organization

The operation of the Programme is carefully co-ordinated through the Technical Assistance Board, which consists of the executive heads of the participating organizations under a full-time Executive Chairman. The Specialized Agencies par-

ticipating are: ILO, FAO, UNESCO, ICAO, WHO, ITU and WMO. In addition, two other Specialized Agencies — the International Bank and the International Monetary Fund — co-operate in the operation of the Programme by providing technical assistance; but they do not share in the funds contributed. Co-ordination is also maintained with other sources of technical assistance; the Colombo Plan, the United Nations Point-Four Programme and the Organization of American States. Under-developed countries are given assistance only after the respective governments have defined the kind of help they need and submitted a formal request.

Under the arrangements for financing the Expanded Programme of Technical Assistance, an amount of \$10,000,000 out of the \$21,000,000 to become available will automatically be allocated to Specialized Agencies taking part in the Programme. This is in accordance with a previously established formula. The remainder will be allocated by the Technical Assistance Board according to its judgment of priority and need.

Another recent event of interest in relation to the Expanded Programme has been the four-week tour of the Middle East made by the Director-General of the United Nations Technical Assistance Administration. Dr. H. L. Keenleyside, who, prior to his appointment, was for many years with the Department of External Affairs, served as Ambassador to Mexico and subsequently as Deputy Minister of the former Department of Mines and Resources, has travelled extensively to familiarize himself at first hand with the problems involved in the Technical Assistance Programme. In his recent tour he discussed technical assistance questions with the governments of a number of countries and examined methods by which the Programme could best contribute to plans for economic and social development. He signed two agreements for Technical Assistance — a basic agreement with the Government of Iraq and a supplementary agreement with the Government of Egypt — and he observed progress in the comprehensive technical assistance projects which have for some time been operating in Iran and Jordan.

Canada Gives \$100,000 to Refugee Fund

A Canadian contribution of \$100,000 to the United Nations Refugee Emergency Fund has been authorized by Parliament as a means of assisting with the care of those in need among refugee groups. This amount given by Canada, together with a recent contribution of \$70,000 from Norway brings the total of contributions promised and received to slightly over \$1,000,000, which is a third of the objective.

The Fund is administered by the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees who has, under authority of the General Assembly, concerned himself since late 1950 with protection of the rights of refugees and with the development of permanent solutions of their plight. His main concern has been to repatriate them or to arrange for their assimilation within new national communities, but because of the serious unsolved problems facing refugees who had not been resettled by the end of

the operations of the International Refugee Organization, he has also sought emergency aid for the most needy groups amongst them. An appeal for support of an emergency fund devoted to this purpose was made by the General Assembly a year ago and renewed at the seventh session.

Relief programmes financed from UNREF are at present being carried out in Austria, the Middle East and Greece, and material assistance is being provided by the Fund to a number of European refugees on the mainland of China. The Fund has received support from the following countries: Austria, Australia, Belgium, Canada, Denmark, France, Germany, Greece, Luxembourg, Netherlands, Norway, Sweden, Switzerland and the United Kingdom. The United States, which is contributing very generously towards helping refugees, is doing so through its own programmes.

UNITED NATIONS EXPANDED PROGRAMME OF TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE

Statement by Mr. D. M. Johnson, Representative of Canada at the Third United Nations Technical Assistance Conference, New York, February 26, 1953.

Mr. President,

I welcome the opportunity which is offered me to express once again the wholehearted support of the Canadian Government to the United Nations Expanded Programme of Technical Assistance. The emergence of the idea of technical assistance to less-economically advanced countries constitutes one of the most significant developments in international affairs, since 1945, and has probably brought about some of the most tangible achievements of the United Nations during these difficult years. The Canadian Government has placed great faith in the potentialities of Technical Assistance, and past Canadian contributions to the programmes constitute, I think, ample evidence to this effect.

Since the beginning of the United Nations Expanded Technical Assistance Programme, the Canadian Government has contributed over a million and a half dollars. I should add that this total would have been higher if the response of other governments had been higher. As you know, Mr. President, it is the belief of the Canadian authorities that the real success of the Technical Assistance Programmes can only be assured through universal participation, with all governments contributing to the extent of their respective ability. In order to encourage this universal participation, we have had recourse, like some other governments, to the matching principle.

Matching Formula

It is the intention of the Canadian Government to use again this year a matching formula. I have been authorized to state at this Conference that the Canadian Government is prepared, subject to the usual constitutional processes, to contribute to the Expanded Programme of Technical Assistance for the year 1953 the equivalent of \$750,000, United States dollars, provided the total amount of contributions pledged reaches the \$20 million mark. I have also been authorized to state that the Canadian Government will, subject to the conditions mentioned below, be prepared to increase this contribution, up to a maximum amount of \$850,000 (United States dollars.). As in past years, the decision to increase the Canadian contribution will depend on the response of all other governments to this appeal, before the Final Act of the Conference is closed. The Canadian Government regretted last year that it was not possible, as a result of the response of other governments, to take up the full amount of the Canadian offer for 1952. It is the sincere hope of the Canadian Government that this will not be

the case this year and that the total contributions pledged for the fiscal year 1953 will amount to \$25,000,000 in order that the Canadian contribution may be increased to the maximum amount of \$850,000.

Willing to Co-operate

By its past contributions to the Expanded Programme of Technical Assistance and through its membership on the Negotiating Committee for Extra Budgetary Funds, the Canadian Government has shown its willingness to co-operate fully with the United Nations and with other governments in securing the funds necessary to carry out this essential task of dispensing Technical Assistance to those countries which are seriously in need of it. By this new pledge for the year 1953, the Canadian Government is giving notice of its desire to continue this co-operation and to do everything possible to encourage increasingly wider and more enthusiastic participation on the part of all governments in Technical Assistance Programmes.

In conclusion, Mr. President, I should like to take this opportunity to express on behalf of my Government my appreciation to the officials of the United Nations and of the Specialized Agencies who have continued throughout 1952 to do so much to assure the success of the Technical Assistance programmes. The Canadian Government is fully aware of the administrative and operational difficulties which these officials face in implementing a programme of this nature, and we are grateful to them for their devotion and energy in fulfilling the task assigned to them. The Canadian Government is also grateful to the officials of the Technical Assistance Board for their efforts in insuring an always greater co-ordination between the various activities of the United Nations and its Specialized Agencies in the field of Technical Assistance. The Canadian Government has always attached much importance to the necessity of avoiding overlapping and duplication of efforts. Mainly as a result of the re-organization of the Technical Assistance Board, considerable progress has already been made in this direction; nonetheless, we all know that perfect co-ordination is not a goal which can be achieved once and then forgotten, but is an objective which is never really reached but towards which one must constantly strive. We feel confident that the Technical Assistance Board with the assistance and full co-operation of the Technical Assistance Administration and the Specialized Agencies will continue to strive for this objective and thus keep in the field of Technical Assistance the highest possible degree of co-ordination and effectiveness.

CANADIAN REPRESENTATION AT INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCES

This is a list of international conferences at which Canada has been represented during the month of March 1953. Earlier conferences will be found in previous issues of "External Affairs".

The Department of External Affairs, through its International Conferences Section, is responsible for co-ordinating all invitations to international conferences. It should be noted, however, that the decision as to the participation of the Canadian Government at such conferences is made by the Secretary of State for External Affairs or, where appropriate, by Cabinet, upon the recommendation of the department of government functionally concerned.

Standing International Bodies on Which Canada is Represented

Published annually. Only new standing international bodies on which Canada is represented will be listed in the intervening months. See "External Affairs" January 1953, for the last complete list.

Conferences Attended in March

1. *ILO 121st Session of the Governing Body and its Committees, Geneva, March 3.*
2. *8th Session of the Economic Commission for Europe, Geneva, March 3 - 14.*
3. *North Atlantic Industrial Raw Materials Planning Committee, Paris, March 4.*
4. *North American Wildlife Conference, Washington, D.C., March 9 - 11.*
5. *WMO Commission for Climatology, Washington, March 12.*
6. *7th Session of the Commission on the Status of Women (ECOSOC) New York, March 16.*
7. *Executive Board and Programme Committee of UNICEF, New York, March 19 - 25.*
8. *Technical Assistance Committee of the United Nations, New York, March 23-26.*
9. *American Congress on Surveying and Mapping, Washington, D.C., March 23-25.*
10. *International Tin Study Group, 7th Meeting, London, March 23.*
11. *NATO Food and Agriculture Planning Committee, Paris, March 24.*
12. *8th Session, Narcotic Drugs Commission, New York, March 30 - April 24.*
13. *15th Regular Session of ECOSOC, New York, March 31.*

CURRENT DEPARTMENTAL PUBLICATIONS

Treaty Series 1952, No. 9:—Exchange of Letters between Canada and the Netherlands constituting an agreement to safeguard the rights of bona fide holders of bonds of Canada that were looted from their Netherlands owners during world war II. Signed at Ottawa, April 10, 1952. English and French texts. (Price: 25 cents)

Treaty Series 1952, No. 16:—Agreement for the settlement of disputes arising under Article 15(a) of the treaty of peace with Japan. Signed by Canada at Washington June 13, 1952. English and French texts. (Price: 25 cents)

Treaty Series 1952, No. 17:—Final act of the Second United Nations Technical Assistance Conference. Signed at Paris, France, February 7, 1952. English and French texts (Price: 25 cents)

Treaty Series 1951, No. 18:—Exchange of Notes between Canada and Pakistan giving formal effect to the Statement of Principles agreed between the two countries for co-operative economic development of Pakistan. Signed at Karachi September 10, 1951. English and French texts. (Price: 25 cents)

Treaty Series 1951, No. 14:—Exchange of Notes between Canada and the United States of America constituting an agreement amending the Agreement of March 12, 1942, respecting unemployment insurance. Signed at Ottawa July 31 and September 11, 1951. English and French texts. (Price: 25 cents)

Treaty Series 1951, No. 21:—Exchange of Notes between Canada and Pakistan constituting an agreement regarding the entry to Canada for permanent residence of citizens of Pakistan. Signed at Karachi October 23, 1951. English and French texts. (Price: 25 cents)

CURRENT UNITED NATIONS DOCUMENTS†

A SELECTED LIST

(a) Printed Documents:

Resolution adopted by the General Assembly at its Seventh Session during the period from 14 October to 21 December 1952; New York 1952; document A/2361. Pp. 72. 80 cents. General Assembly Official Records: Seventh Session, Supplement No. 20.

Population Commission — Report of the seventh session (19-30 January 1953); 11 February 1953; document E/2359, E/CN.9/110. Pp. 16. 20 cents. ECOSOC Official Records: Fifteenth Session, Supplement No. 3.

**Transport and Communications Commission — Report of the sixth session (2-11 February 1953)*; 19 February 1953; document E/2363, E/CN.2/142. Pp. 16. 15 cents. ECOSOC Official Records: Fifteenth Session, Supplement No. 4.

**Economic Survey of Asia and the Far East 1952*; Bangkok, 1953; document E/CN.11/362. Pp. 104. \$1.00. (Also issued as Vol. III, No. 3 of the Economic Bulletin for Asia and the Far East.)

**A study of trade between Latin America and Europe*; January 1953; document E/CN.12/225. Pp. 117. \$1.25. Sales No.: 1952.II.G.2.

**Economic Survey of Europe since the War — A reappraisal of Problems and Prospects*; Geneva, February 1953; document E/ECE/157. Pp. 385. \$3.50. Sales No.: 1953.II.E.4.

**United States Income Taxation of Private United States Investment in Latin Ameri-*

ca (A description of the United States system and some of its implications); 20 January 1953; document ST/ECA/18; Pp. 80. 75 cents. Sales No.: 1953.XVI.1 (Department of Economic Affairs).

World Health Organization:

a) *Proposed Programme and Budget Estimates for the financial year 1 January-31 December 1954*; Geneva, December 1952; Pp. 536. \$3.00. Official Records of WHO, No. 44.

b) *The work of WHO 1952 — Annual Report of the Director-General to the World Health Assembly and to the United Nations*; Geneva, March 1953. Pp. 204. \$1.25. Official Records of WHO, No. 45.

Statistical Yearbook 1952 (Fourth Issue) New York 1952. Pp. 554. \$6.00. Sales No.: XVII.1. Bilingual (Department of Economic Affairs).

(b) Mimeographed Documents:

Slavery, The Slave Trade, and other forms of Servitude; 27 January 1953; document E/2357. Pp. 83.

**Report of the International Children's Centre on the work of its Services for the year 1952*; 30 January 1953; document E/ICEF/216. Pp. 73.

**Rebuilding education in the Republic of Korea — The final report of the UNESCO-UNKRA Education Planning Mission to Korea*; Paris, February 1953; document UNKRA/AG/23. Pp. 134.

† Printed documents may be procured from the Canadian Sales Agent for United Nations publications, the Ryerson Press, 299 Queen St. West, Toronto (English) and Les Presses Universitaires Laval, Quebec (French); mimeographed documents can only be procured by annual subscription from the United Nations Secretariat, New York. Publications and documents may be consulted at certain designated libraries listed in "External Affairs", January 1953, p. 36.

* French version not available until noted in a future issue of "External Affairs".

STATEMENTS AND SPEECHES

(Obtainable from the Information Division, Department of External Affairs, Ottawa, Canada.)

The following serial numbers are available abroad only:

No. 53/8 — *Some Aspects of a National Transportation Policy*, an address by the Minister of Transport, Mr. Lionel Chevrier, to the 37th Annual General Meeting of the Canadian Traffic League, Toronto, February 18, 1953.

No. 53/9 — *Canadian Goodwill Trade Mission to Latin America*, a statement by the Minister of Trade and Commerce,

Mr. C. D. Howe, made in the House of Commons, February 26, 1953.

The following serial numbers are available in Canada and abroad:

No. 53/10 — *The United Nations and What it Stands For*, an address by the Secretary of State for External Affairs, and President of the United Nations General Assembly, Mr. L. B. Pearson, made at Founders Week Convocation, Rollins College, Winter Park, Florida, February 23, 1953.

No. 53/11 — Canada's International Situation and Point of View, the Text of an address by the Secretary of State for External Affairs, Mr. L. B. Pearson, opening the Town Hall Forum "Canada — Nation on the March", on March 3, 1953, in New York City.

No. 53/12 — The Korean Question, a statement by the Acting Chairman of the Canadian Delegation to the seventh session of the United Nations General Assembly, Mr. Paul Martin, made in the First Committee, March 5, 1953.



HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR CANADA IN PAKISTAN

The High Commissioner for Canada in Pakistan, Mr. K. P. Kirkwood, in conversation with the Prime Minister of Pakistan, Mr. Khwaja Nazimuddin.

CANADIAN REPRESENTATIVES ABROAD

| Country | Designation | Address |
|-------------------------|--|--|
| Argentina..... | Ambassador..... | Buenos Aires (Bartolome Mitre, 478) |
| Australia..... | High Commissioner..... | Canberra (State Circle) |
| "..... | Commercial Secretary..... | Melbourne (83 William St.) |
| "..... | Commercial Counsellor..... | Sydney (City Mutual Life Bldg.) |
| Austria..... | Minister (Absent)..... | Vienna 1 (Strauchgasse 1) |
| "..... | Chargé d'Affaires a.i. | |
| Belgian Congo..... | Trade Commissioner..... | Leopoldville (Forescom Bldg.) |
| Belgium..... | Ambassador..... | Brussels (35, rue de la Science) |
| Brazil..... | Ambassador..... | Rio de Janeiro (Avenida Presidente Wilson, 165) |
| "..... | Consul and Trade Commissioner..... | Sao Paulo (Edificio Alois, Rua 7 de Abril, 252) |
| Ceylon..... | Trade Commissioner..... | Colombo (Galle Face Hotel) |
| Chile..... | Ambassador..... | Santiago (Avenida General Bulnes 129) |
| Colombia..... | Trade Commissioner..... | Bogota (Calle 19, No. 6-39 fifth floor) |
| Cuba..... | Ambassador..... | Havana (No 16 Avenida de Menocal) |
| Czechoslovakia..... | Chargé d'Affaires..... | Prague 2 (Krakowska 22) |
| Denmark..... | Minister..... | Copenhagen (Osterbrogade 26) |
| Dominican Republic..... | Trade Commissioner..... | Ciudad Trujillo (Edificio Copello 410 Calle El Conde) |
| Egypt..... | Trade Commissioner..... | Cairo (Osiris Building, Sharia Walda, Kasr-el-Doubara) |
| Finland..... | Minister (Absent)..... | Helsinki (Borgmästarbrinken 3-C. 32) |
| "..... | Chargé d'Affaires a.i. | |
| France..... | Ambassador..... | Paris XVI (72 Avenue Foch) |
| Germany..... | Ambassador..... | Bonn (Zittelmann Strasse, 22) |
| "..... | Head of Military Mission..... | Berlin (Lancaster House, Fehrbelliner Platz) |
| Greece..... | Ambassador..... | Athens (31 Queen Sofia Blvd.) |
| Guatemala..... | Trade Commissioner..... | Guatemala City (28, 5a Avenida Sud) |
| Hong Kong..... | Trade Commissioner..... | Hong Kong (Hong Kong and Shanghai Banking Corporation Bldg.) |
| Iceland..... | Minister..... | Oslo (Fridtjof Nansens Plass 5) |
| India..... | High Commissioner..... | New Delhi (4 Aurangzeb Road) |
| "..... | Commercial Secretary..... | Bombay (Gresham Assurance House) |
| Ireland..... | Ambassador..... | Dublin (92 Merrion Square West) |
| Italy..... | Ambassador..... | Rome (Via Saverio Mercadante 15) |
| Jamaica..... | Trade Commissioner..... | Kingston (Canadian Bank of Commerce Chambers) |
| Japan..... | Ambassador..... | Tokyo (16 Omote-Machi, 3 Chome, Minato-Ku) |
| "..... | Chargé d'Affaires a.i., | |
| Lebanon..... | Trade Commissioner..... | Beirut (P.O. Box 2300) |
| Luxembourg..... | Minister..... | Brussels (c/o Canadian Embassy) |
| Mexico..... | Ambassador..... | Mexico (Paseo de la Reforma No. 1) |
| Netherlands..... | Ambassador..... | The Hague (Sophialaan 1A) |
| New Zealand..... | High Commissioner..... | Wellington (Government Life Insurance Bldg.) |
| Norway..... | Minister..... | Oslo (Fridtjof Nansens Plass 5) |
| Pakistan..... | High Commissioner..... | Karachi (Hotel Metropole) |
| Peru..... | Ambassador..... | Lima (Edificio Boza, Plaza San Martin) |
| Philippines..... | Consul General and Trade Commissioner..... | Manila (Ayala Bldg., Juan Luna St.) |
| Poland..... | Chargé d'Affaires..... | Warsaw (31 Ulica Katowika, Saska Lepa) |
| Portugal..... | Minister (Absent)..... | Lisbon (Avenida da Praia da Vitoria) |
| "..... | Chargé d'Affaires a.i. | |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Singapore..... | Trade Commissioner..... | Singapore (Room D-5, Union Building) |
| Spain..... | Trade Commissioner..... | Madrid (Avenida José Antonio 70) |
| Sweden..... | Minister..... | Stockholm (Strandvägen 7-C) |
| Switzerland..... | Minister..... | Berne (Thunstrasse 95) |
| Trinidad..... | Trade Commissioner..... | Port of Spain (Colonial Bldg.) |
| Turkey..... | Ambassador..... | Ankara (Müdafaayi Milliye Caddesi, No. 19, Cankaya) |
| Union of South Africa..... | High Commissioner..... | Pretoria (24 Barclay's Bank Bldg.) |
| " | " | " |
| " | Trade Commissioner..... | Cape Town (Grand Parade Centre Building, Adderley St.) |
| " | " | " |
| " | Trade Commissioner..... | Johannesburg (Mutual Building) |
| Union of Soviet Socialist Republics..... | Ambassador..... | Moscow (23 Starokonyushny Pereulok) |
| " | Chargé d'Affaires, a.i. | " |
| United Kingdom..... | High Commissioner..... | London (Canada House) |
| " | " | " |
| " | Trade Commissioner..... | Liverpool (Martins Bank Bldg.) |
| " | " | " |
| " | Trade Commissioner..... | Belfast (36 Victoria Square) |
| United States of America..... | Ambassador..... | Washington (1746 Massachusetts Avenue) |
| " | " | " |
| " | Consul General..... | Boston (532 Little Bldg.) |
| " | " | Chicago (Daily News Bldg.) |
| " | Consul and Trade Commis- sioner..... | Detroit (1035 Penobscot Bldg.) |
| " | " | " |
| " | Consul..... | Los Angeles (510 W. Sixth St.) |
| " | Consul and Trade Commis- sioner..... | New Orleans (201 International Trade Mart) |
| " | " | " |
| " | Consul General..... | New York (620 Fifth Ave.) |
| " | " | " |
| " | Honorary Vice-Consul..... | Portland, Maine (443 Congress Street) |
| " | " | " |
| " | Consul General..... | San Francisco (400 Montgomery St.) |
| Venezuela..... | Consul General..... | Caracas (2° Piso Edificio Pan-Ameri- can, Puente Urapal, Candelaria) |
| Yugoslavia..... | Ambassador..... | Belgrade (Proliterskih Brigada 69) |
| North Atlantic Council..... | Permanent Representative..... | Paris XVI (c/o Canadian Embassy) |
| •OEEC..... | Permanent Representative..... | Paris XVI (Canadian Embassy) |
| United Nations..... | Permanent Representative..... | New York (Room 504, 620 Fifth Avenue) |
| " | " | " |
| " | Secretary..... | Geneva (La Pelouse, Palais des Nations) |

•Organization for European Economic Co-operation.

Ottawa, Edmond Cloutier, C.M.G., O.A., D.S.P., Printer to the Queen's
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Department of External Affairs
Ottawa, Canada

The Colombo Plan*

Pakistan

IN normal times Pakistan produces sufficient food for its own needs and has usually been able to count on a small surplus for export. It was natural, therefore, that Pakistan's six-year development plan, while making provision for increased food production, did not give the same emphasis to that aspect of economic development as did India, nor is it surprising that the projects put forward by Pakistan for consideration by Canada should have been for the most part in fields other than agriculture. Pakistan's economy is seriously lacking in basic industries and electric power and like all other countries in the area, is weak in its transportation facilities.

Results of Partition

Partition resulted not only in a grave economic dislocation in both countries but also in a large-scale movement of refugees in both directions, a migration which caused serious economic and social problems and which was potentially a political danger. The total exchange of refugees amounted to something in the neighbourhood of 14 million people, equal to the entire population of Canada. The Pakistan Government, as part of its effort to provide for refugees, is organizing a large-scale colonization scheme in the Punjab in a region called Thal. The Thal Development Authority was set up to administer the project and some progress has already been made. The region, lacking in water was nothing but a desert waste. Irrigation will transform it into fertile land, as is proven by the results of the small amount of irrigation already carried out. The whole colonization scheme envisages irrigated farm lands, water supply for other uses, small industries and the power plants to run them, and, of course, the housing, the schools, hospitals and other facilities which will make of the area a reasonably

prosperous and comfortable community. Here large numbers of refugees will not only enjoy better living conditions themselves but will also contribute to the increased productive capacity of the country as a whole.

Thal Projects

The Thal colonization scheme is important in the national development plan of Pakistan but it is described here in some detail because Canada, through its Colombo Plan activities, is itself contributing to the development of this area. One of the basic requirements for getting on with the Thal scheme is substantial quantities of cement. Its most important use is for lining the irrigation canals to prevent the water seeping through the porous sand. The irrigation project on which the entire colonization scheme depends, could not be carried through without the use of cement. Cement is also needed for buildings, for small industries, and for the usual uses to which it is put in any permanent community. There is, however, no cement within anything like reasonable distance of the Thal area and very little manufactured in the whole of Pakistan. The provision of cement, therefore, posed a serious problem to the Pakistan authorities in relation to the practical development of their colonization scheme. The obvious and sensible solution to this problem was the construction of a cement plant in the Thal region, where the essential raw materials are, fortunately, to be found in abundance. The plant could be a source of supply for the colonization project and for later needs in and around the area. The Pakistan Government proposed that Canada should construct such a cement plant under its Colombo Plan Programme. The proposal was accepted by the Canadian Government and \$5 million set aside to cover the cost. The plant and machinery will be manufactured in Canada and will be erected at Thal by the Canadian contractor. The Pakistan Government will be responsible for pro-

*Published in two parts of which this is the second. The first part of this article was published in the April issue of *External Affairs*.

viding local labour and materials for the construction of the building which will house the plant. The entire project will be completed in two years and its capacity will be 100,000 metric tons of cement annually.

Canadian assistance is being given to another project in the Thal area, less important and far less expensive, but one which could make a significant contribution to long-term agricultural developments in the region. This is a model livestock farm which is jointly sponsored by Australia, Canada and New Zealand. These three contributing members of the Colombo Plan have agreed to establish the livestock farm and to maintain it in the initial stages. Livestock, equipment and technical experts are being provided according to the varying abilities of the three sponsoring countries. The Canadian share is primarily the provision of agricultural machinery and related equipment. For this purpose \$200,000 has been earmarked, about half of which has already been spent.

Transportation System

The Pakistan Government is very anxious to improve its transportation system and has been able to secure a loan of \$27.2 million from the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development for the rehabilitation and development of its railway system. With the loan, Pakistan is purchasing locomotives and other mechanical equipment but the full requirements for this first stage in the railway development plan cannot be entirely met from the Bank loan. The Pakistan Government asked Canada to consider using Colombo Plan funds to provide Pakistan with a substantial quantity of wooden railway ties which would fit in with the over-all railway project. The Canadian Government has accepted this proposal and over the next year railway ties to the value of \$2.8 million will be shipped from the Canadian West Coast to Pakistan.

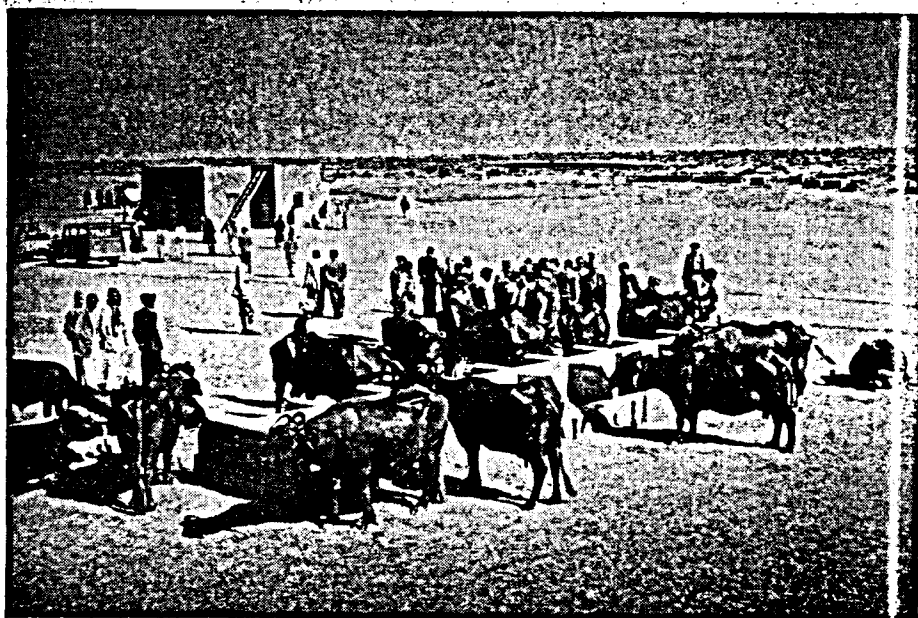
An interesting Canadian project which should be of unusual long-term value to Pakistan's economic development is a resources survey of most of West Pakistan. A Canadian photographic survey company is carrying out this project which

includes aerial photography, a geological survey, mosaicing and mapping. Canadian personnel with Canadian planes and equipment have been in Pakistan for some months and have made good progress. In order that the results of the survey can be put to the best use by the Pakistan Government and that a permanent survey unit in Pakistan can be set up, arrangements have been made for the training of Pakistan technicians during the course of the survey operation.

The Pakistan projects described above all formed part of the Canadian programme of aid for the first year of the Colombo Plan, that is, 1951-52. This year Pakistan, like India, asked that Colombo plan funds be used to provide wheat to help meet a grave and unusual food deficit. While Pakistan has normally produced more than enough food for its own needs, several factors combined to bring about a critical food shortage in the fall of 1952 and the Pakistan Government was forced to import millions of dollars worth of wheat in order to provide for the basic necessities of the country. In these circumstances, the Canadian Government agreed to assist Pakistan's food import programme by allocating \$5 million of Colombo Plan funds for the provision of wheat to Pakistan on the same kind of counterpart fund basis as was done in the case of India. That is to say, the Pakistan Government will set up a special account to which will be credited the proceeds of the sale of the Canadian wheat in Pakistan and the resultant counterpart funds, to equal in rupees the \$5 million Canadian grant, will be used for local costs in connection with some economic development project to be mutually agreed upon by the two Governments.

Warsak Project

Another project which has been approved for assistance under the Canadian programme of aid to Pakistan for the second year of the Colombo Plan is the construction of a hydro-electric project at Warsak in the North West Frontier Province. The preliminary engineering on this project has been done by the Pakistan authorities and the results indicate, to the satisfaction of engineering ex-



Cattle being watered on a farm in the Thal area of Pakistan.

perts including International Bank staff and Canadian consulting engineers who surveyed it, that the project is technically feasible and economically sound. When completed it would generate 150,000 kws. of electric power, a large proportion of which would be distributed to the neighbouring province of the Punjab where the need for power for industrial uses is great and growing. The availability of electric power in this general district can be expected to make a substantial and permanent contribution to the basic economic development of Pakistan. The project will also contribute to increased food production through the irrigation of 93,000 acres of land.

Five or six years would be required to construct the Warsak project and a preliminary and rough estimate places the external costs for equipment which must be obtained from abroad, at about \$14 million. In addition there would, of course, be heavy costs incurred in rupee capital by the Pakistan authorities for all the labour and materials required for the preparatory work involved in building the dams, barrages and earthen works for the project. The sum of \$3.4 million has been allocated out of Canadian Colombo Plan funds for the purchase of the ma-

chinery and equipment required in the initial stages. Continued Canadian aid for Warsak will, of course, be subject to appropriations by Parliament in the remaining years of the Colombo Plan.

Ceylon

In June of 1952, arrangements were made for a visit to Ottawa by an official of the Ceylonese Government to place before Canadian authorities, on behalf of the Ceylon Government, certain specific proposals for Canadian Colombo Plan capital aid. As a result of these conversations, the Canadian Government agreed in principle to the extension of Colombo Plan aid to Ceylon and the Statement of Principles, referred to earlier in this article, was mutually accepted by an Exchange of Notes on July 11, 1952.

The Ceylonese Government had put forward three specific projects whose estimated total cost somewhat exceeded \$2 million. One of these projects, a fisheries research and development scheme, was accepted promptly and \$1 million earmarked as the Canadian contribution. The other two suggested projects were a rural development scheme and a rural electrification project. While Canada was

interested, in principle, in helping rural development in Ceylon and was anxious to obtain the necessary general information about the project Ceylon had in mind and specific requirements in the way of farm tools and other items, unexpected difficulties have delayed the Ceylonese authorities in organizing the project and submitting it in detail for Canadian consideration.

Gal Oya Project

More progress has been made on the rural electrification scheme. A large hydro-electric plant has already been constructed at Gal Oya by an American engineering firm, the costs of the project having been met by the Ceylonese Government. The plant forms part of a general development plan for this whole region which includes the resettlement of farmers from other less desirable and less productive parts of Ceylon; the establishment of small industries like rice mills, sawmills, etc.; the improvement of the water supply by the installation of pumps; the development of cottage industries and other benefits which normally accompany the establishment of electric power. The specific request made of Canada was to provide transmission lines and ancillary equipment to distribute the power from the plant to the adjacent communities. Canadian engineers have recently returned from a first-hand examination of the project and will provide the Canadian Government with a report on the technical and economic aspects of the project and detailed specifications of the distributive equipment which would be supplied by Canada if it were decided to take on the project.

Fisheries Project

On the fisheries research and development project, it was possible to take immediate action because the scheme as presented by Ceylon was based on careful investigation and detailed recommendations made by a Canadian fisheries consultant who had been in Ceylon for a year under the technical assistance part of the Colombo Plan, acting in an advisory capacity to the Ceylon Ministry of Fisheries. Despite the island status of

Ceylon, its annual production of fish meets only about 25 per cent of the national requirements. Methods of catching, handling and marketing fish are inefficient and obsolete and the present sphere of fishing operations is confined to the shore and to shallow water. Moreover the extremely low yield per fisherman results in such a high cost to the consumer that many people are unable to purchase this protein food.

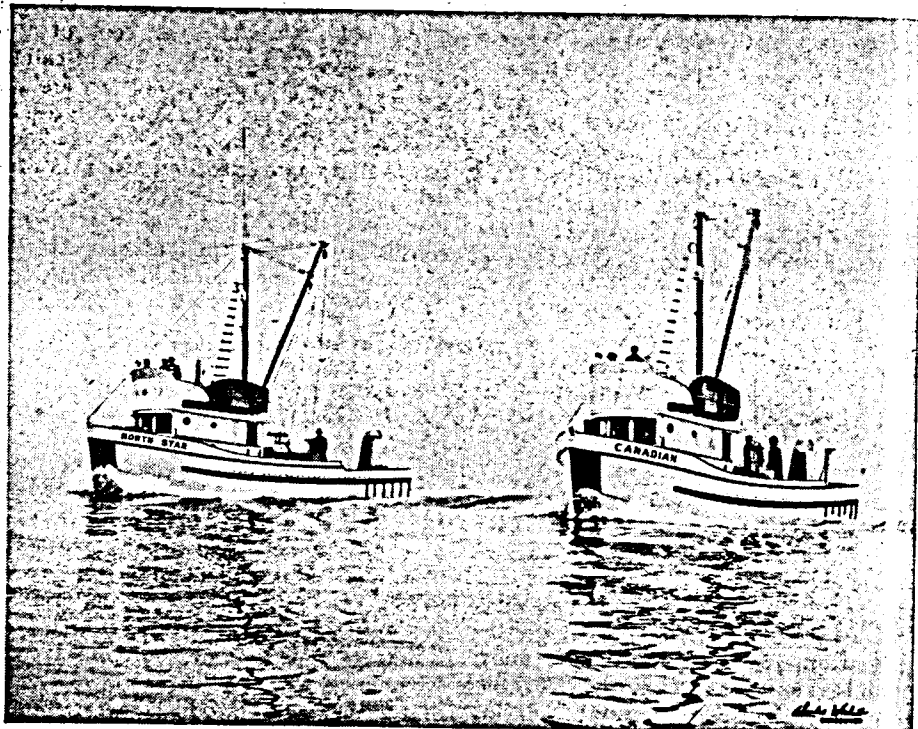
Purpose of Fisheries Project

The purpose of the fisheries project to be carried out by Canada is to determine fish population potentials in the coastal waters of Ceylon and the most efficient method of harvesting these tropical seas, to demonstrate the effectiveness of a moderate degree of mechanization in fishing and to assist in the modernization of the fish handling and distribution methods in Ceylon. It is hoped that the results of this experimental project will be such as to promote the development of a fishing industry which will serve the needs of the Ceylonese people.

The actual contributions being made by Canada in connection with the fisheries project consist of two fishing vessels complete with fishing gear, one steam trawler, a fish refrigeration plant, miscellaneous related equipment and the expert personnel necessary to instruct Ceylonese fishermen and technicians in the operation of the ships and of the plant.

Technical Co-operation

The Colombo programme for technical co-operation has a two-fold objective, to supplement the technical assistance activities of the United Nations and its Specialized Agencies in South and Southeast Asia and to help increase the technological know-how which is essential to the success of the Colombo Plan for the economic and social development of that area. The activities of the programme of technical co-operation are co-ordinated through a small permanent Bureau established in Colombo, through which requests for technical assistance, offers of training facilities and experts, nominations of individuals, etc., are channeled. The programme is operated on a bilateral



—Charles Wishart

Canadian fishing vessels on trial run off British Columbia coast before being sent as Colombo Plan gift to Ceylon.

basis but the services of the Bureau facilitate arrangements between the governments concerned. In addition, an inter-governmental body, known as the Council for Technical Co-operation, meets from time to time, generally in Colombo, to supervise the conduct of the programme, review progress and agree on general policies.

Term of Programme Extended

It was originally intended that the Colombo programme for technical co-operation should continue for a three-year period beginning July 1, 1950. However, the many difficulties which are now seen to be inevitable in getting a new programme of this kind into action, resulted in slow progress in the initial stages and by the end of 1951 it had become clear that the goals set at the beginning would not be reached within three years. Canada, therefore, agreed with other participating governments that the programme for technical co-operation should remain

in operation for the same period as the economic development part of the Colombo Plan, that is, until June 30, 1957. During the past few months as administrative difficulties and organizational problems have been resolved and the participating countries have become more familiar with the available facilities, the programme has gained momentum.

In the light of the experience gained to date, member governments have concluded that while the programme for the training of Asians abroad has in the main been successful and will undoubtedly contribute to the economic development of the region, greater emphasis should be placed on increasing training facilities in the Colombo Plan area for foremen, skilled labour and other middle and lower grade workers. Co-operating countries have also agreed that the provision of equipment for training purposes in the area should be a recognized feature of the programme. This would allow not only for the supply of essential training equipment along with an expert appoint-

ed under the Colombo Plan but would also present a positive opportunity for integrating activities under the Colombo programme for technical co-operation with the technical assistance activities of the United Nations. Thus a project sponsored by the United Nations or one of its Specialized Agencies in South or Southeast Asia might be assisted by the provision of a "missing component" by Canada as part of its Colombo Plan programme.

Canadian Experts Recruited

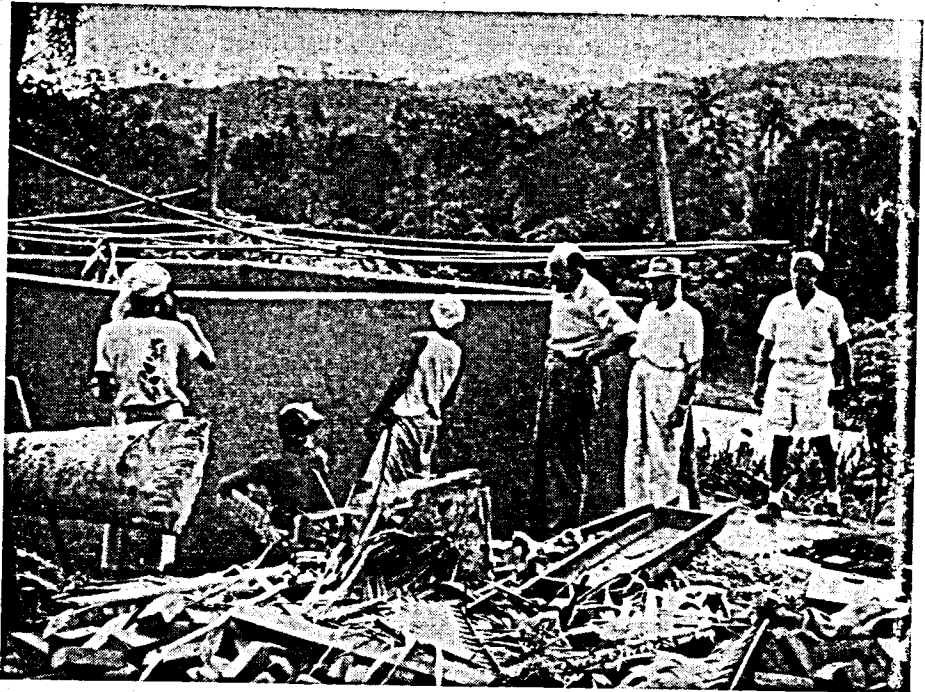
During the earlier phase of its participation in the programme for technical co-operation, the Canadian contribution was restricted for the most part to making available in Canada training facilities for persons nominated by the Asian governments. More recently efforts to recruit Canadian technical experts for service in the under-developed countries have met with greater success. The difficulties in locating suitable, highly-qualified experts who are prepared to devote a year or more to service in the Colombo Plan area are considerable. Canada is, itself, engaged in a colossal programme of economic development and the need and the opportunities for technically trained Canadians are great. Disruption in normal personal life is often a deterrent to prospective candidates, particularly to the man with a family. Balancing these factors, however, is the interest and satisfaction to be gained from participating in a co-operative effort to help the Asians toward a better life, the opportunity for demonstrating Canadian techniques to people unskilled in technology but enthusiastic in their determination to learn, and the practical experience which may prove extremely useful to the expert on his return to take his place in the Canadian economy. Certainly the recruitment of experts and teachers will continue to be difficult. But the search goes on, and more and more Canadians are being found to fill technical and educational positions in the Asian countries. It is of interest to note that the services required of Canadian experts are not limited to advisory functions: the greatest demand is for the type of expert who combines the giving of technical advice to the

recipient government with the training of people in that country who can carry on with the development project or with the local training programme long after the Canadian expert has returned home.

Relationship Between Capital and Technical Assistance

Frequently the provision of technical assistance is connected with, or leads to, or results from a capital aid project. A good example of this is to be found in Canadian assistance to the fishing industry in Ceylon. It was on the basis of the advice and recommendations of a Canadian fisheries expert that the Ceylon Government proposed, and Canada accepted, the fisheries project which was described in some detail earlier in this article. Canadian technical assistance for this particular project did not end, however, with the assignment of the expert who worked out the details of the project. He himself will be remaining in Colombo beyond the period of his original term of duty in order to see the project through its initial phase. Moreover, four Canadian fishermen will accompany the two fishing vessels and will instruct Ceylonese fishermen in the operation of the craft and in mechanized fishing methods. The trawler also will be officered by experts who will remain in Ceylonese waters until a Ceylonese crew and Ceylonese officers have been sufficiently well instructed to carry on on their own. Similarly, the cold storage plant will remain under the supervision of Canadian technicians until the Ceylonese are thoroughly familiar with its operation. As a matter of fact, a Canadian expert in refrigeration has been in Ceylon for over a year and is already associated with the plans for the cold storage plant.

The construction of a cement plant in Pakistan, which forms part of Canada's capital aid programme, provides another illustration of the inter-relationship between capital and technical assistance. As the project goes forward, selected Pakistani workers and engineers will be trained in the maintenance of the plant and in actual cement-making methods. The photographic and geological survey of Pakistan, another capital aid project, also includes the training of Pakistani personnel both in the field and in the Canadian



Canadian experts inspect the finishing operations of a water supply tank on the new experimental area at the University of Ceylon.

laboratories of the company carrying out the survey.

Agricultural Assistance

In the field of agriculture, two Canadian experts have recently accepted assignments in Ceylon under the Colombo programme for technical co-operation. One of these, formerly Professor of Agriculture at the Ontario Agricultural College, is serving in Ceylon for a period of three years as Head of the Department of Agriculture of the University of Ceylon. He will, in effect, be reorganizing the University's Department of Agriculture. It may well be that as a result of his work further assistance will be given by Canada to the University, including the provision of staff members and of training facilities in Canada for Ceylonese agriculturists who will replace experts lent by Canada. The other Canadian agricultural expert, who is on loan from the Soils Department of the University of Alberta, is serving in Ceylon for one year as Director of a Soils Division of the Government of Ceylon.

Last year a Canadian biological expert, who is an officer of the Commonwealth Biological Control Institute, undertook a three-month mission to India and Pakistan to investigate the possibility of setting up Commonwealth biological control institutes in those countries. As a result of his survey, the Governments of both India and Pakistan have made applications for Canadian assistance under the Colombo Plan in the establishment of biological control stations. These stations will provide instruction and demonstration in pest and weed control for those not skilled in use of insecticides. Action is now being taken on the Indian and Pakistan requests and it is expected that this same Canadian expert will be returning to the subcontinent to serve as director for the stations in both countries.

Assistance in Co-operative Field

At the time of writing, a Canadian agricultural and co-operative team is in the subcontinent to investigate what further technical assistance Canada can give in the agricultural and co-operative fields.

The team, consisting of two officials from the Department of Agriculture, the Director of Extension of St. Francis Xavier University and the Chief Inspector of the Fédération des Caisses Populaires of Quebec, will be spending three months in all visiting India, Pakistan and Ceylon.

While more emphasis is being placed upon recruiting of Canadian experts and instructors to give technical assistance in the under-developed countries, the training in Canada of persons sent here from these countries continues as an important feature of the Colombo Plan programme of technical co-operation. In large part the success of this part of Canada's technical assistance programme has been made possible by the co-operation of universities, provincial government and private agencies and individuals across the country who have received these persons for training.

Course for Administrative Officers*

Among the more interesting and successful of the training programmes arranged in Canada under the Colombo Plan was the comprehensive five-months' course given to 12 junior administrative officers from the Civil Service in Pakistan. Their programme, which included instruction at all levels of public service, was made possible by the collaboration of different agencies of the federal government, the Provinces of Alberta, Saskatchewan, Ontario and Quebec, Laval and St. Francis Xavier Universities, and many other institutions and industrial firms. During their stay in Canada these young Pakistanis lived in private homes and were thus able to get a picture of normal life in Canada as well as the opportunity to study and observe administrative methods in this country.

Health Mission

Another interesting programme was arranged during the past year for six senior health officers from India and Pakistan who came to Canada to study the organization of federal and provincial health services and Canadian medical facilities in general. While in Canada they participated in the annual meetings of the Canadian Public Health Association and the

Canadian Tuberculosis Association in addition to the particular study they made of the organization of health services in certain Canadian provinces. The mission was particularly interested in the progress made in lowering tuberculosis death rates and in the development of health services for Canadians living in rural communities.

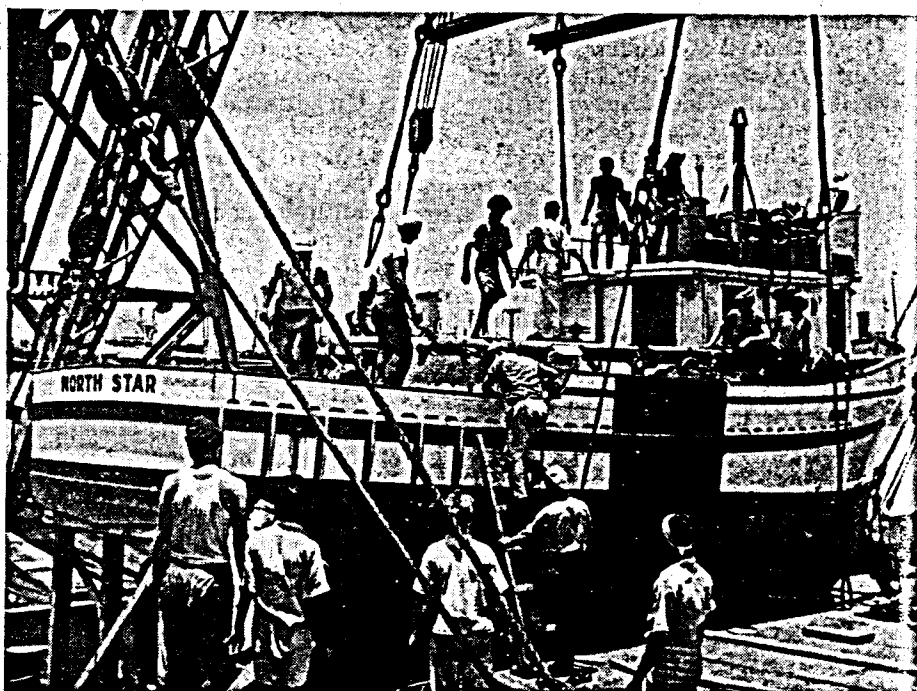
For the most part, technical assistance is requested on an individual basis and courses are arranged for individual trainees in their own particular fields. Since the inception of the Colombo programme, approximately 100 Asians have received or are receiving training in Canada. They have come from India, Pakistan and Ceylon and courses of training have been offered them in such fields as agriculture, engineering, medicine, public administration, fisheries, forestry, railways, education, co-operatives and industrial management and development.

The technical assistance given by Canada under the Colombo programme as outlined above is, of course, additional to the similar contribution which Canada has given in providing experts and offering training facilities in Canada in connection with the programmes of technical assistance carried on by the United Nations and its Specialized Agencies. Many of the services furnished by Canada in co-operation with the U.N. programmes have been directed towards the countries of South and Southeast Asia. Thus Canadian technical assistance to the countries in the Colombo Plan area is provided through the United Nations and its Specialized Agencies as well as through the Colombo programme itself.

Administration

The execution of Canada's Colombo Plan programme, both capital and technical, entails a considerable volume of administrative work which is handled by a special unit established for the purpose in the Government service, the International Economic and Technical Co-operation Division of the Department of Trade and Commerce, under the direction of Mr. R. G. Nik Cavell. This Division is responsible for locating experts to serve abroad, arranging training programmes in Canada for fellows and schol-

* See page 160.



—Fisheries Research Station

Canadian fishing vessels being unloaded in Colombo Harbour.

ars from under-developed countries and for all other administrative duties in connection with both the Colombo and U.N. programmes of technical assistance, and for investigating the supply situation in Canada in regard to capital equipment requirements. Moreover, Mr. Cavell, in his capacity as Administrator, visits the Colombo Plan area annually to discuss with Government officials and Canadian diplomatic representatives in the region particular projects which Canada might assist and to examine at first hand those projects which seem most suitable for inclusion in the Canadian programme of Colombo Plan aid. As a result of these discussions with officials directly responsible for economic development in the receiving countries and of the on-the-spot survey of likely projects, the Canadian authorities are provided with useful advice to assist in the selection of sound and worthwhile projects suitable for Canadian assistance.

Experience has shown that in most cases it is extremely difficult, if not impossible, to form a sound judgment on the practicability, from the point of view

of Canadian assistance, of an economic development project in Asia on the basis of correspondence alone. Even when a particular project appears to be most desirable in principle, it may be that engineering risks or lack of preliminary engineering tests, or the possibility of a long time-lag before capital equipment can be used, or some other circumstance or combination of circumstances, will make it inadvisable to commit Canadian Colombo Plan funds until all such doubts are cleared up. It is, therefore, becoming normal practice for Canada to send Canadian consulting engineers to the site of an economic development project in which Canada is interested in order to make a professional examination and to report on the technical feasibility and soundness of the project and to advise in respect of the capital equipment requirements, before a final decision is taken to allocate Colombo Plan funds to the project.

Thus in working out its Colombo Plan programmes, Canada is guided by the wishes of the receiving governments and is assisted in making its final selection

of projects by continuing discussions with those governments through their representatives in Ottawa and Canadian representatives in their capitals, by the information provided by Mr. Cavell as a result of his periodic trips and by the technical advice of Canadian consulting engineers.

Conclusion:

Canadian interest in the Colombo Plan is based on several considerations. In the first place, Canada, as a member of the community of free nations, is concerned in the maintenance of political stability in this vast and important region. The people of South and Southeast Asia are at the crossroads; the direction they take will depend, in part, on the degree of sympathy and understanding and practical co-operation they find in the more industrialized and economically advanced countries of the West. These countries, including Canada, can give no more convincing proof of the values of democracy than to lend a helping hand to the Asian peoples in their own tremendous efforts to improve their living standards. On

economic grounds, too, the development of South and Southeast Asia is in Canada's long-term interests for, as one of the most important trading nations of the world, Canada is bound to benefit from the expanding world trade which will result from the increased productivity and prosperity of this large and populous area.

It was political, economic and humanitarian considerations of this kind which led Canada to join with other Commonwealth countries in launching this programme of economic development for South and Southeast Asia. *The Colombo Plan* itself, as published in October 1950 by the initiating governments, contains in its final paragraph this brief but complete summary of the motives underlying the co-operation of the sponsors:

In a world racked by schism and confusion it is doubtful whether free men can long afford to leave undeveloped and imprisoned in poverty the human resources of the countries of South and Southeast Asia which could help so greatly, not only to restore the world's prosperity, but also to redress its confusion and enrich the lives of all men everywhere.

Distinguished Visitors to Canada

DURING the last week of March and the first three weeks of April, Canada welcomed a series of distinguished visitors from India, France, Cambodia, the United Kingdom, Germany and Japan. The unusual series of visits to the national capital began on March 26 with the arrival in Ottawa of Madam Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit, Chairman of the Indian Delegation to the General Assembly of the United Nations, and sister of India's Prime Minister, and reached a climax on April 19 with the arrival in Ottawa of His Imperial Highness Prince Akihito, Crown Prince of Japan. In the interim, leaders of the Governments of France and Germany, the King of Cambodia and Field Marshal Montgomery visited Ottawa. The visits reflected the growing interest of other countries in Canada and the increasingly active role being undertaken by Canada in world affairs. From Canada's standpoint, they provided opportunities for discussing a number of international questions and contributed to international co-operation and goodwill. A brief account of these events is given to indicate the range of subjects with which the visitors were concerned.

Madam Pandit

In addition to spending two busy days in Ottawa, Madam Pandit addressed meetings in Montreal and Toronto. During the first day of her visit to Ottawa, she was the guest of honour at a dinner given by the Canadian Government. Earlier in the day she had lunch at Government House and conferred with the Prime Minister. During the following day, Madam Pandit had afternoon tea with Madame St. Laurent and dinner with the Executive of the United Nations Association before addressing the members of the Association at a public meeting. In Montreal Madam Pandit addressed the Montreal Branch of the Canadian Institute of International Affairs and later dined with Mr. Warwick Chipman, Q.C., former High Commissioner for Canada in India. In Toronto she ad-

ressed the Canadian Club and the Canadian Institute of International Affairs.

Mr. Mayer

Following a visit to Washington, Mr. René Mayer, President of the Council of Ministers in France; Mr. Georges Bidault, Foreign Minister, and Mr. Maurice Bourges-Maunoury, Minister of Finance, arrived in Ottawa on March 29 for a two-day programme of conferences with officials of the Canadian Government. Mr. Mayer laid a wreath at Canada's national war memorial. He and his colleagues conferred with Mr. St. Laurent, Mr. Pearson, Mr. Abbott and Mr. Howe. The following joint communiqué was issued prior to the departure of the distinguished visitors:

The Prime Minister of Canada, accompanied by Mr. Howe, Minister of Trade and Commerce and of Defence Production; Mr. Claxton, Acting Secretary of State for External Affairs, and Mr. Abbott, Minister of Finance, had a full discussion of outstanding international questions with Mr. René Mayer, Prime Minister of France, Mr. Georges Bidault, Minister of Foreign Affairs and Mr. Bourges-Maunoury, Minister of Finance. During this exchange of views in which particular attention was given to the problems which will face the North Atlantic Council at its next session, there was complete agreement between the two Governments regarding the objectives of the Alliance. It was recognized that the free countries must not relax in any degree their defensive effort.

Mr. Mayer and Mr. Bidault described to the Canadian Ministers the French Government's plans with a view to putting into effect the European Defence Community Treaty.

The French Ministers also described the present situation in Indo-China and underlined the importance of this theatre of operations in the protection of the free world, with particular reference to the growing participation of the Associated States of Viet Nam, Cambodia and Laos in the burdens and responsibilities of the war.

The French and Canadian Ministers, after proceeding to a joint examination of the general economic and financial problems of today, agreed in estimating that the suppression of the obstacles to trade and payments was essential to the development of production, the strengthening of the



—Capital Press

CROWN PRINCE OF JAPAN TOURS CANADA

During his visit to Canada April 11-21, His Imperial Highness, Prince Akihito visited the House of Commons in Ottawa. He is shown above with the Speaker of the House of Commons, the Hon. W. Ross MacDonald, in the Speaker's Chamber.

defence of the free world and the improvement of the standard of living. They recognized that the re-establishment of the convertibility of currencies constituted a common objective calling for concerted action on the part of the two Governments as well as of all the other governments concerned. It was considered that it was necessary to strengthen existing international institutions through which the nations of the free world could co-operate in order to obtain these objectives.

Specific questions of an economic, commercial and financial character arising out of the relationship of the franc area and Canada were also discussed. It was considered that the objective was a satisfactory balance of Franco-Canadian trade at a level corresponding more fully to the productive capacity of the two countries and the traditional bonds between them. This expansion of trade calls for the working out of technical details on the part of the two countries and has been referred to a

Fránco-Canadian Joint Committee. The two Governments have decided that the Committee should meet in the near future.

King of Cambodia

His Majesty, Nordom C. Sikanouk, King of Cambodia, arrived in Montreal from France April 12 for a private and non-official visit to Canada. The King was accompanied by the Prime Minister of Cambodia, Ty Kin Sour. The royal party visited Ottawa, industrial establishments in Eastern Canada and Niagara Falls before proceeding to the United States. During the visit, the King expressed appreciation to Canada for having extended recognition to Cambodia. This new country was established in 1950 as "an independent state within the French Union".

Field Marshal Montgomery

Field Marshal Montgomery visited Canada from April 15-21 in his role as Deputy Supreme Commander of North Atlantic Treaty Forces. In Ottawa, where he was the guest of the Governor General at Government House, Field Marshal Montgomery conferred with Mr. St. Laurent, Mr. Claxton and the Chiefs of Staff. Later he visited military establishments at Kingston, Hamilton, Quebec City and Montreal. Two distinguished compatriots of the Field Marshal, Lord Ismay, Secretary General of NATO, and Mr. R. A. Butler, Chancellor of the British Exchequer, visited Ottawa in February and March respectively.

Chancellor Adenauer

Dr. Konrad Adenauer, Chancellor and Foreign Minister of the Federal Republic of Germany, visited Ottawa April 17 and 18 after spending several days in the United States. He was accompanied by his daughter, Dr. Lotte Adenauer, and senior diplomatic and trade officials. Although they were in Ottawa less than twenty-four hours, Dr. Adenauer and his associates were able to confer with the Prime Minister, Mr. Howe, Mr. Claxton and Mr. Pearson. A highlight of the visit was the conferring on Dr. Adenauer of an honorary degree of Doctor of Laws by the University of Ottawa. Similar degrees

had been conferred earlier by the University on two distinguished colleagues of Dr. Adenauer in the rebuilding of Europe — Premier de Gasperi of Italy, and the former Foreign Minister of France, Mr. Schuman. During the special convocation at the University of Ottawa, Dr. Adenauer announced the presentation to the University of two scholarships enabling students to spend one year of study in Germany.

The following joint communiqué was issued on the conclusion of Dr. Adenauer's visit to Ottawa:

The Prime Minister of Canada and the Ministers of Finance, National Defence, and Citizenship and Immigration, have had friendly and constructive conversations with the Chancellor of the Federal Republic of Germany and his State Secretary of Foreign Affairs. The Canadian Minister of Trade and Commerce has also had a frank and helpful exchange of views with the Chief of the Foreign Trade Office of the German Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

Dr. Adenauer and Mr. St. Laurent agreed that their two countries were now engaged in the same struggle for the defence of freedom and for peace and that renewed hope for success in this struggle lay in the growing strength and unity of the free world. Dr. Adenauer expressed his pleasure that Canadian troops were the first to be in Germany as part of the NATO defence force, and that Canada was the first country to ratify the NATO-EDC protocol. Mr. St. Laurent, for his part, was gratified by continuing efforts for closer European co-operation, in which the German Government was playing a constructive and helpful part. This European development was considered in Canada to be an important aspect of the growing Atlantic community. The Prime Minister and the Chancellor shared the view that the sincerity of recent Sino-Soviet overtures would be tested by the willingness of these Communist regimes to take practical steps to reduce international tensions both in Europe and the Far East.

Dr. Adenauer and State Secretary Hallstein expressed their appreciation of the immigration policy of the Canadian Government, under which a substantial number of Germans had settled in Canada over the last two years. At the same time they noted the enormous difficulties still facing the Federal Republic and the authorities of West Berlin, not only in the assimilation of the millions of persons driven from their homes immediately following the war, but also in providing care and shelter for the growing stream of refugees now coming from the Eastern Zone of Germany. Mr. Harris said that the Canadian Government was fully aware of the heavy load imposed upon the Government of the Federal Re-



—Newton

FRENCH GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS VISIT CANADA

At the invitation of the Government of Canada, Mr. Rene Mayer, President of the Council of Ministers of France, Mr. Georges Bidault, Foreign Minister, and Mr. Maurice Bourges-Maunory, Minister of Finance, visited Ottawa at the end of March. They were met on arrival by the Prime Minister, Mr. St. Laurent, and the Minister of National Defence, Mr. Brooke Claxton. Left to right: Mr. Bourges-Maunory; Mr. Mayer; Mr. St. Laurent; Mr. Bidault; Mr. Claxton.

public and the authorities of West Berlin in this connection, and agreed that the procedures for the examination of refugees should be as expeditious as possible consistent with the requirements of Canadian immigration regulations.

Discussions on commercial and financial matters revealed an identity of view on the desirability of liberal policies leading to an extension of multilateral trade and, eventually, to the free convertibility of currencies. Questions of trade opportunities open to Canadian and German producers were also discussed, and useful ideas exchanged regarding the means by which an expansion of German-Canadian trade might be effected. Technical questions relating to sequestered German assets and other matters were also discussed. It was also felt desirable for the two Governments to consider further the question of giving effect to certain pre-war agreements between them or, alternatively, of negotiating new and broader agreements in certain instances.

Dr. Adenauer and Mr. St. Laurent expressed confidence that German-Canadian friendship within the community of peace-

ful and democratic nations would deepen and grow.

Prince Akihito

The Crown Prince of Japan visited Ottawa en route to London to attend the Coronation. He and his suite travelled across Canada by train after arriving by ship in San Francisco on April 11. Traveling with the Crown Prince across Canada were approximately 20 representatives of Japanese newspapers, press associations, newsreel and radio organizations. These provided generous coverage of the trip across Canada for Japan. On April 20 the Prime Minister and the Leader of the Opposition took note in the House of Commons of "the presence of a distinguished visitor in the Gallery — the Crown Prince of Japan." The Prime Minister said:



GERMAN CHANCELLOR VISITS OTTAWA

—Capital Press

Dr. Konrad Adenauer (right), Chancellor and Foreign Minister of the Federal Republic of Germany, accompanied by his daughter, Dr. Lotte Adenauer, is met at Rockcliffe Airport by the Prime Minister, Mr. St. Laurent, on the occasion of their visit to Ottawa.

Mr. Speaker, I think all hon. members would wish me to mention at this time that we are honoured today by the presence in the diplomatic gallery of His Imperial Highness the Crown Prince of Japan. I am sure we are all unanimous in wishing to extend to him a most warm welcome on this occasion. His Imperial Highness is visiting Canada on his way to London to attend the coronation of our own beloved sovereign Queen Elizabeth. The devoted affection we all have for our own sovereign makes it quite easy for us to understand the high regard in which his illustrious father and the imperial family are held by the people of Japan.

His Imperial Majesty the Emperor of Japan is a symbol of his state, and of course the history of the relations between Japan and the Western world was darkened by heavy shadows during the tragic years of war. But that is now something of the past. I think that the presence here of His Imperial Highness the Crown Prince, and the

important mission on which he is engaged at this time, is a happy confirmation of the fact that those tragic years were of short duration and were, in fact, repugnant to the intimate feelings of all the people of the nations who were engaged in war during those tragic years. This mission of His Imperial Highness is a happy omen of better relations between our peoples, and of a more effective and keener desire in all our countries to work together for the welfare of the whole free human race.

We are most happy to welcome His Royal Highness and to say to him that we hope he is enjoying, and will enjoy, his visit throughout Canada, and that he will take back to his country the knowledge that there is a genuine good will towards his country in this land of ours which, like his own, borders on this great highway of the Pacific Ocean which has been, and will continue to be, a highway for the maintenance of political, economic and trade relationships that will be mutually beneficial to

our two peoples.

On conclusion of the Prime Minister's remarks, the Leader of the Opposition, Mr. Drew, said:

Mr. Speaker, I am happy to join with the Prime Minister (Mr. St. Laurent) in extending a hearty welcome to the Crown Prince of Japan who in himself here today expresses the similarity between our own monarchical system and that which he represents. As the Prime Minister has already said, the relationship between our respective nations has had its unhappy period. It would also be well to remember that we had an earlier period of alliance in which our relationship was warm and friendly. It is part of the genius of our free system, which is now represented in the parliamentary system of Japan as well as that of Canada, that out of conflict we seek friendship in the years afterwards.

I would hope that the visit on this occasion of His Imperial Highness to this country may emphasize in the minds of the people of his own nation as well as of ours that, with the lessons of the tragic years still clearly in our minds, we are seeking to build stronger understandings of the value of freedom.

We recognize the great achievements of a nation which has reached a proud position in the world as a producer of goods of high quality. We recognize the industry of the people of Japan. We recognize their loyalty to their own traditions. In extending this welcome today to His Imperial Highness, who is part of the system of democratic monarchy which has been established in Japan, we earnestly hope that during the future these nations may come closer together in striving for great achievements along the paths of peace.



INDIA'S CHIEF U.N. DELEGATE VISITS OTTAWA

—Capital Press

Madam Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit, second from left, Chairman of the Indian delegation to the United Nations General Assembly, visited Ottawa March 26-28. On her arrival at Ottawa Airport Madam Pandit was greeted by, left to right, the Minister of National Defence, Mr. Brooke Claxton; His Excellency R. R. Saksena, High Commissioner for India in Canada, and Mrs. Saksena.

Canadian Council for Reconstruction Through UNESCO

BY DR. GARNET T. PAGE*

THE first general conference of UNESCO, held in Paris, in November 1946, called upon member states to accept a goal of \$100,000,000 for educational, scientific and cultural reconstruction in war-devastated countries throughout the world. When the request was transmitted to the Government of Canada, there was not in existence in Canada any national co-ordinating body for UNESCO. In March 1947, the Department of External Affairs suggested to the United Nations Association in Canada that it might undertake to see what Canadian response through voluntary agencies might be possible. The Association was already representing to the people of Canada the interests and the activities of the United Nations and its Specialized Agencies; it received from the Government a small annual grant in aid; and it had within its structure an Advisory Committee on UNESCO matters.

This Advisory Committee met in Ottawa, July 5, 1947, agreed that the needs of reconstruction within the competence of UNESCO were pressing, and decided to recommend that a meeting of interested national agencies be convened. The United Nations Association invited some 75 organizations, about 50 of which were represented at a meeting held at Emmanuel College, Toronto, on July 29, under the chairmanship of Major Vincent Price, Q.C. then Chairman of the National Executive Committee of the United Nations Association in Canada.

The meeting elected as its provisional officers within a continuing organization, Major Price as Chairman, Senator the Honourable Thomas Vien, P.C., Q.C., as Vice-Chairman, and Mr. C. F. Fraser as Chairman of the provisional Executive Committee. Nine other members were named to this Committee.

To assist the provisional organization

in its initial operation, the Canadian United Allied Relief Fund offered a loan of \$10,000. Subsequently, this loan was generously converted into a gift to the Canadian Council for Reconstruction through UNESCO. At the instance of Senator Vien, office space and secretarial assistance were provided by C.U.A.R.F. in premises at 139½ Sparks Street, Ottawa, from which CCRU carried on the major part of its activities until December 22, 1949. The headquarters office was formally closed on April 30, 1951, under arrangements by which the General Manager of the Chemical Institute of Canada undertook to serve as a channel for any remaining items of business requiring attention.

Public Campaign for Funds

A grant of \$200,000 offered through the Department of External Affairs was placed at the Council's disposal in December 1947. The condition specified by the Department was that in due course vouchers should be delivered showing the purchase in Canada of materials for "the purposes of educational, scientific and cultural reconstruction" to a total of \$200,000. This requirement was formally discharged, to the satisfaction of the Department on March 24, 1949.

During December 1947, the National Council for the United Nations Appeal for Children in Canada was formed, with particular representation from labour unions and co-operatives. This Council represented a Canadian response to the suggestion made originally by a member of the United Nations Secretariat, that every working person in the world might contribute one day's pay towards the International Children's Emergency Fund, created as an agency under the United Nations Economic and Social Council to continue aid previously assured by UNRRA.

*Dr. Page, who was treasurer of the C.C.R.U., is general manager of the Chemical Institute of Canada.

The campaign of UNAC in Canada had been planned for April 1948. As it was obvious that two public appeals could not be undertaken within three months, and recollecting that a resolution of the UNESCO general conference in 1947 had recommended the merging of reconstruction appeals and UNAC appeals wherever possible, an agreement was entered into, under the aegis of the Department of External Affairs, by which the two organizations, CCRU and UNAC, would undertake one appeal, under the title of Canadian Appeal for Children, in February 1948.

The share of total proceeds of the Canadian Appeal for Children accruing to CCRU amounted to \$939,230.22.

School Projects: Basic School Supplies and CARE Parcels

From the first planning of CCRU projects it had been apparent that a substantial measure of assistance should go to schools and to children of school age.

A "School Box" Committee was set up, consisting of: Mr. G. G. Croskery, Chairman, Mr. Henri Masson, Rev. Father A-M Morisset, Mr. Frank G. Patten, Dr. John E. Robbins, with Mr. Neil McDonald of the CCRU staff. This committee conducted extensive investigations with manufacturers of school supplies and educational authorities to decide what should be sent for the use of school children. The approved list of contents was: 40 ink notebooks, 40 pencil notebooks, 1,000 sheets of ink foolscap, 1,000 sheets of newsprint pencil paper, 12 boxes of crayons, ink powder to make one gallon, 48 pencils, 40 pen-holders, one gross of pen points, one gross white chalk and 24 sticks colored chalk, six rulers, 36 erasers, one pound of cold water paste and 100 sheets of colored construction paper.

In addition, to provide a representative selection from Canadian literature each box included a combination of the following items: A *Pocketful of Canada*, *Morceaux Choisis d'Auteurs Canadiens*, *Canada From Sea To Sea* and *Canada*. A calendar bearing a reproduction of "The Jack Pine" by Tom Thomson, and the CCRU insignia, and two other reproductions in colour of Canadian paintings

were added, together with maps of Canada. To accompany the *Help Us To Go To School Chart*, a letter of greeting signed by Mr. David C. Munroe as President of the Canadian Teachers Federation was included. The allocation of school boxes to particular countries was agreed upon after extended enquiries. The distribution of the school boxes was: Austria 1,850; Belgium 1,500; Ethiopia 500; France 3,000; Greece 3,000; Germany 3,000; Italy 3,000; the Netherlands 1,500; Malta 500; and Poland 2,000.

Co-operation of Canadian Missions and Other Agencies Abroad

The problems of internal distribution within European countries received careful attention. To satisfy CCRU interests, distribution had to be equitable, carried out at a minimum cost, and in a manner which would ensure that letters from European recipients would come back to the Canadian classroom from which the school charts had been forwarded. The arrangements finally settled upon were determined specially for each country; and in those countries where Canadian missions were established, the heads of mission were invited, through the Department of External Affairs, to exercise a discretionary power and to use every opportunity for the identification of these supplies as gifts from the children of Canada. For those countries to which no Canadian Mission was accredited, other channels were made available.

Teachers, as well as students, were remembered through the sending of parcels of food, woollen suiting, and knitting wool, through the agency of Canadian CARE to a value of \$50,000. The countries aided were selected by the World Organization of the teaching profession in co-operation with CARE. Distribution, by CARE, was made to needy teachers selected by teachers' groups in the countries concerned, which included France, Germany (all Zones), Poland, Greece and the Island of Rhodes, Italy, Belgium, the Netherlands, Austria, Malta, Czechoslovakia and Finland. It is estimated that at least 25,000 teachers in European countries and 800,000 pupils were brought into a direct contact with Canada through this project.



CCRU CHARTER SURRENDERED

—NEB

The Charter of the Canadian Council for Reconstruction through UNESCO was surrendered on April 10 in a brief ceremony to the Under-Secretary of State for External Affairs, Mr. L. D. Wilgress, by the President of the organization, Major Vincent Price. Left to right: Dr. Garnet T. Page, Treasurer of the Council; Major Price; Dr. James A. Gibson, Chairman of the Executive Committee; Mr. Wilgress; and Dr. Adrien Pouliot, Vice-chairman of the Executive Committee.

Scientific Equipment for War-Devastated Universities

The very great need of universities and of scientific institutions of war-devastated countries for scientific equipment to carry on their research was apparent from the years of war. During the summer of 1948 an extensive survey of reconstruction needs of European universities was undertaken by Dr. Adrien Pouliot, Dean of the Faculty of Sciences of Laval University, Vice-Chairman of the Executive Committee. Following his report it was agreed that the provision of scientific and laboratory equipment, chemical supplies, technical reference books and journals of professional and learned societies should have priority in the programme of University and Scientific Reconstruction. A committee with this title was formed under Dr. F. J. Alcock's chairmanship with the following additional members: Dr.

O. E. Ault, Dr. James E. Gibson, Dr. Garnet T. Page, Dr. Adrien Pouliot, Dr. John E. Robbins, Mr. Marcel Roussin and Dr. H. H. Saunderson.

The Committee recommended a programme of aid by which each of the 20 selected institutions was to receive a grant of \$3,000, to be spent in the United Kingdom.

The co-operation of the Department of External Affairs was most generously afforded. The heads of missions in the countries concerned transmitted in the first instance the offers of the CCRU grant, together with information about the placing of orders in the United Kingdom. Actual requests for equipment and materials were transmitted to London and verified and approved by the Chief Scientific Liaison Officer of the National Research Council (Canada) before being passed to the suppliers. The materials were shipped wherever possible in care

of the Canadian mission in the country concerned, and on several occasions special ceremonies of presentation were undertaken by the Ambassadors or Ministers of Canada.

A special allocation of unusual interest was made to the Pasteur Institute in Paris. On the basis of a request transmitted by the Prime Minister of Canada (the late Rt. Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King, O.M.) the Council granted a sum of \$15,000. A letter conveying this grant signed by Mr. Mackenzie King, was handed to the Director of the Institute at a ceremony in Paris on January 5, 1949. The Council was represented by the Chairman of the Executive Committee and the Treasurer. The Canadian Ambassador to France was among the distinguished company, and the proceedings were recorded for broadcasting throughout France.

A sum of \$25,000, allocated for food and clothing, was given to International Student Service in Canada, acting as agent for World Student Relief (Geneva) for the provision of medical supplies, food and clothing. The whole of this sum was spent in Canada, and the bulk of the purchases were consigned to South-east Asia.

Subscriptions to Professional and Learned Periodicals

To meet the great need for learned and professional publications, especially periodicals, offers of three-year subscriptions to any ten among a selected list of such periodicals in 18 separate fields, 35 in the English language and eight in French, were made to 93 universities, including 22 in France, 11 in Italy, 12 in Germany, six in the Netherlands, four in Belgium, six in Poland, five in Japan, and three each in Austria and Roumania, two each in Greece, Hungary, Norway, Czechoslovakia and the Philippines, and one each in Bulgaria, Yugoslavia, Ethiopia, Finland and Malta, G.C.

Assistance for International Student Service Seminar

Assistance to the International Student Service was begun in 1948 with a grant of \$16,500 towards the Seminar conducted that year at Schloos Ploen in Germany

with a Canadian staff and a student constituency recruited half from Canada and half from European countries. For many of the German students, this Seminar represented their first contact with English-speaking and French-speaking students since the end of the Second World War. The I.S.S. initiative was warmly commended both in Germany and elsewhere in Europe. Following the success of the 1948 Seminar, a 1949 Seminar was conducted along similar lines at Breda in the Netherlands. Towards this Seminar, a grant of \$16,500 was made; for the Third Seminar, held in 1950 at Pontigny in France, a grant of \$17,000 was arranged. The reports of the Seminars, published by I.S.S. in Canada, have been illuminating documents.

Canadian Committee for Friendly Relations with Students from other Countries

As an encouragement to the pioneering work of the Canadian Committee for Friendly Relations with Students from other Countries, and in view of the increasing importance of this work in Canada, the Committee was glad to be able to allocate \$2,000 as a grant-in-aid.

Supplementary Assistance in Scientific Equipment

The needs of Greece for assistance in scientific reconstruction continued almost unabated through 1949 and 1950, partly because of destruction and despoiling during the war and enemy occupation, and partly because civil conflict and political uncertainties had so gravely hindered the progress of national recovery. When it became apparent that the whole of the original budgetary provision for overseas shipping would not be required for this purpose, the Council gave consideration to additional requests from the University of Athens for specialized equipment in two particular departments, biochemistry, and seismology. Having satisfied itself that the desired equipment was unlikely to be supplied from any other source, and taking note of a resolution, in the latter field, of the competent international body (the International Union of Geodesy and Geophysics) the Council determined to

provide for these departments grants of \$3,500 and \$5,500 respectively.

Assistance to Creative Artists in Austria, France, Germany and Italy

In the consideration of educational, scientific and cultural reconstruction, the role of creative artists justifiably came to the fore and the Council was desirous of affording some assistance to those who had suffered in an especially crippling sense by the ravages and the dislocations of war.

Immediately after the Council meeting in May 1948, a committee representing the arts in Canada, to administer the fund of \$46,250 which the Council had authorized for assistance in this field, was formed with the following membership: Mr. Claude E. Lewis, Chairman, Dr. Jean Bruchesi, Mr. A. J. Carson, Mr. Philip Child, Mr. Charles Comfort, Mr. Emmanuel Hahn, Mr. Fred Haines, Mr. Geza de Kresz, Mrs. Geza de Kresz, Mr. F. Grant Marriot, Mr. Mark Mountfield, Mr. Will Ogilvie, Mr. Carl Schaefer, Mr. Leonard Shore and Miss Elizabeth Wyn Wood.

The Council committee determined on a programme of aid to four countries in Europe and to Ethiopia, in the following amounts: Austria \$10,000; France \$12,000; Germany \$12,000; Italy \$10,000; Ethiopia \$2,000. These amounts to be spent in the United Kingdom on materials for the arts were made available to the UNESCO National Commission or other appropriate body having contacts with all artists in the country concerned. In Ethiopia, the money was used to assist the reconstruction of folk-art. The terms and the administration of these grants were identical with those of the University Reconstruction project.

Canada-UNESCO Fellowships Project: Study Opportunities for "Mature Persons"

From the earliest discussions of the UNESCO programme, emphasis has been placed upon the necessity for exchange of persons, and CCRU recognized the advisability of allocating some of its resources to work of this kind. A Fellowships Committee was established at the

Council meeting in May 1948 to examine a working paper prepared on this matter and to lay more detailed plans for fellowships administration.

This committee which directed the Canada-UNESCO Fellowships project consisted of: Dr. James A. Gibson, Chairman; Dr. F. J. Alcock, Dr. O. E. Ault, Mr. T. C. Daly, Mr. C. F. Fraser, Mr. W. B. Herbert, Dr. Leon Lortie, Dr. Garnet T. Page, Mr. Frank G. Patten, Dr. C. E. Phillips, Dr. Adrien Pouliot, Dr. John E. Robbins, Mr. J. K. B. Robertson, Dr. H. H. Saunderson, Rev. Father Henri St-Denis, Dr. D. L. Thompson, Miss Elizabeth Wyn Wood, Madame B. Pare and Mr. B. C. Salamis.

The committee determined that CCRU should offer its fellowships to mature individuals at a high level, such as university professors, specialists in mass media, governmental administrators, teachers, engineers and scientists, rather than to students and early post-graduate workers. The stipend for each individual fellowship was fixed at an average amount of \$2,500. This figure was designed to provide for the awarding of approximately 64 fellowships among various countries from a budget allocation of \$182,000 for this project. It was agreed that the UNESCO Exchange of Persons Service should be asked to suggest what countries might receive these grants. UNESCO's recommendation for the Canada-UNESCO Fellowships, which was reviewed and accepted by the Fellowships Committee, was as follows: Austria two, Belgium four, Denmark six, Ethiopia one, France nine, Greece seven, Italy nine, Luxembourg one, Netherlands five, Norway six, Philippines four, Poland four, and Malta-Malaya five.

Appointed for a period of six months, Canada-UNESCO Fellows received a monthly stipend of \$180, in addition to their travelling expenses from and to their country of origin. Funds were provided also for travel in Canada and for institutional and other fees. A comprehensive health insurance scheme provided for medical care and hospitalization in the event of illness. On completion of the tenure of their Fellowships, Fellows returned to their own countries, where they were expected to contribute, through

their Fellowship experience, to the needs of educational, scientific and cultural reconstruction.

Of the sixty-two Fellowships awarded, one was for study in the creative arts, 17 in education, 11 in mass media, 26 in science and technology and eight in social sciences and the humanities.

Book Centre Project and "March of Books"

One of the cruellest of all kinds of destruction during the Second World War was the damage to world-renowned libraries with precious collections of books which had been accumulated with care and practice over many years. During June 1948, a campaign for books for war-devastated libraries in Europe, conducted by the American Book Centre, aroused an interest in the possibilities of a comparable project in Canada. In the following month, under the joint auspices of CCRU and the Canadian Library Association, a Joint Book Project Committee was created with Miss Margaret S. Gill, as Chairman, and, as additional members, Dr. O. E. Ault, Dr. A. E. Chatwin, Mr. C. F. Fraser, Mr. R. M. Hamilton, Mr. F. A. Hardy, Monsignor Olivier Maurault, Rev. Father A-M Morisset, Miss E. H. Morton, Mr. Angus Mowat, Dr. Garnet T. Page and Miss Vernon Ross. The Canadian Book Centre was created at Halifax, and began operations with a full-time staff headed by Mrs. Margaret N. Reynolds, in September 1948. This centre was the base of operations for the receiving, screening, cataloguing and eventual dispatching overseas of some 250,000 books and periodicals.

The Joint Committee decided that a central organization should be created in Ottawa for an extensive campaign to collect from every part of Canada the scientific, technical and other professional books for which requests were likely to be received. The National campaign organization known as "March of Books" (*En Avant Les Livres*) had as its honorary co-chairman Msgr. Olivier Maurault, Rector of the University of Montreal, and Dr. James S. Thomson, then President of the University of Saskatchewan. The President of the National Advisory Committee was Dr. C. H. Best, C.B.E., of

Toronto, and regional committees under provincial headquarters were established from coast to coast.

The books and periodicals approved for shipment abroad in answer to specific requests were classified into 14 main subject categories. For each of these categories a list was made up and printed, and after a preliminary sampling of needs, 7,664 copies of all categories of these lists were forwarded to over 700 addresses in the nine countries designated as beneficiaries. These were Belgium, France, Germany (Western Zone), Greece, Italy, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, Poland and Ethiopia. With the book lists were forwarded request forms on which exact titles already catalogued and shelved in Halifax could be entered. With alacrity these lists came back to Halifax, and the available books were allocated by categories. Nearly 85,000 items were sent to the nine European countries mentioned, each individual item in answer to a specific title request. In addition, nearly 15,000 school text books were sent to Ethiopian Ministry of Education, nearly 16,000 books and periodicals not otherwise requested were sent to New Delhi at the charges of the Government of India, and nearly 15,000 items to the Director of Education at Port of Spain, Trinidad. The Book Centre also forwarded a number of enclosures marked "for onward shipment." In number and variety of requests, the Western Zone of Germany was well in the lead, followed by Poland, the Netherlands and France. Within the subject fields, medical and biological sciences were most in demand (especially in periodicals) with literature and languages next in order.

Winding-up of CCRU

In April 1953, the Council's financial commitments in connection with its various projects were all discharged, and, at the final meeting of the Executive Committee, the following disposition was made of the balance of its funds.

1. The sum of \$3,000 was paid to the United Nations Association in Canada, as a grant toward the cost of operating a Canadian clearing centre for the UNESCO Gift Coupon Plan.
2. The sum of \$3,000 was allocated for

the preparation of a critical report and appraisal of the Canada-UNESCO Fellowships Project, to convene a meeting of experts to discuss the report before it is published, and to publish the report.

3. The sum of \$10,000 was paid in trust to the Canada Foundation, to be used to pay the costs of three Canada-UNESCO (CCRU) Fellowships, for

candidates distinguished in the research or creative fields, tenable in Canada for up to six months.

4. The remaining balance of funds, estimated at about \$2,500, was paid over to the Canada Foundation to serve as a "revolving fund" to assist worthy applicants who require small financial assistance to attend international meetings and similar purposes.

Pakistani Civil Servants in Canada

Four officers of the Civil Service of Pakistan, one of whom has spent a number of years in government service and is an expert on tribal affairs, came to Canada on May 1, under provisions of the Colombo Plan for the Co-operative Development of South and Southeast Asia. During their stay in this country, these officers will study public administration in the federal, provincial and municipal fields. They will also have an opportunity of seeing something of the agricultural, industrial and social life of Canada, thereby extending the range of their experience.

Twelve junior officers of the Civil Service of Pakistan spent five months in Canada last year. The Government of Pakistan has indicated that the experiment was so successful that it might be repeated to the advantage of other officers and their fellow countrymen. Accordingly, arrangements have been made by the Technical Co-operation Service of the International Economic and Technical Co-operation Division to provide a similar course of study.

The four officers are:

Ataullah Jan Khan, 48, who was serving as Political Agent in South Waziristan until his recent transfer from the Provincial Civil Service to the Civil Service of Pakistan. He has spent a number of years in government service, and is considered one of the leading experts on tribal affairs. Mr. Khan has also served as Secretary to the Governor of the Northwest Frontier Province.

Riazuddin Ahmad, 34, who is at present Deputy Secretary to the Government of the Punjab in the Department of Finance. This officer was appointed to the Indian Civil Service in 1944 and was posted to Madras.

Following partition in 1947, he elected to return to the Punjab, his home province, where he has held a number of responsible positions, including that of Deputy Commissioner.

Husain Haider, 33, who is Deputy Commissioner of Sylhet, East Bengal, near the border of Assam. He served in the army during the Second World War and, on the conclusion of hostilities, was appointed to a position in the Indian Administrative Service. Following partition in 1947, he was absorbed into the Civil Service of Pakistan, and appointed Collector at Dacca, in East Bengal.

Hammad Raza, 32, who is Deputy Commissioner at Montgomery, in West Punjab. He served in the Indian Army during the Second World War and, after partition in 1947, was appointed to the Civil Service of Pakistan as a war service candidate. Mr. Raza was Colonization Officer before being promoted to his present rank.

These four officers arrived in Montreal by air on May 1 from Karachi, and after attending a two week series of introductory lectures on administration in Ottawa, they will then spend three days at the Institute of Islamic Studies, McGill University. They then return to Ottawa for a month, during which they will work with the Organization and Methods Service of the Civil Service Commission. A short tour of industrial plants in Ontario will be arranged before the officers leave for Western Canada, where they will study municipal and local government procedure, and court procedure. It is expected that a week will be spent in Vancouver before they return to Ottawa, and leave Canada on July 31 for the United Kingdom, completing a stay of three months in this country.

Canada and the United Nations

A Summary Review of Work at the General Assembly February 24 - April 23

Agenda

On April 23 the seventh session of the General Assembly was adjourned, to reconvene if events in Korea should make another meeting necessary. The achievements of the first part of the session, October 14 - December 22, have already been discussed in the January issue of *External Affairs*. The following is a brief account of the work accomplished since February 24, when the session was resumed. There are short articles elsewhere in this section dealing with the debates on the Disarmament Commission's report and with the appointment of the new Secretary-General, Mr. Dag Hammarskjold of Sweden. The First Committee was the only one to convene after Christmas, since the ten items left on the agenda were all political. One more item was added during the course of the session, when the Assembly decided to discuss the "complaint of the Union of Burma regarding the aggression against her by the Government of the Republic of China". This question relates to the presence in Burma of Chinese troops which the Burmese Government claims are being assisted by the Chinese authorities in Formosa.

Personnel Policy in the Secretariat

During the first part of the seventh session, considerable publicity was given to certain difficulties which had arisen regarding personnel policy in the Secretariat, and in particular regarding the attitude which the Secretary-General should properly adopt towards any members of the Secretariat (who were United States citizens) suspected or accused of being subversive or disloyal towards the United States Government. On October 20, 1952, the Secretary-General appointed a Commission of Jurists, "to advise me on certain issues arising out of the hearings of the United States Senate Sub-Committee on Internal Security". On December 5 he announced

that he intended to use the conclusions and recommendations of the jurists' opinion, "as the basis of my personnel policy in discharging the responsibilities entrusted to me by the Charter and staff regulations of the United Nations". Time did not permit of any discussion of the matter at the Assembly before Christmas, and at the request of the Secretary-General, an item was put on the agenda of the resumed session. On January 30, 1953, Mr. Lie issued a report on his personnel policies. Discussion at the resumed session of the Assembly was on the whole moderate in tone. The essence of the question, as expressed by the Acting Head of the Canadian Delegation, was "a reasonable and wise reconciliation of the rights and freedoms of United Nations employees and the security of the state in which they serve". On April 1 the Assembly adopted by a vote of 41 in favour (including Canada), 15 against and 4 abstentions, a resolution citing Articles 100 and 101 of the Charter, expressing confidence that the Secretary-General will conduct personnel policy with these articles in mind, and requesting him to submit a progress report to the next session of the Assembly. Article 100 of the Charter asserts the exclusively international character of the responsibilities of the Secretary-General and his staff and Article 101 states that the paramount consideration in the employment of staff and in the determination of conditions of service shall be the necessity of securing the highest standards of efficiency, competence and integrity. The Secretary-General's report will be commented upon by the Advisory Committee on Administrative and Budgetary Questions, and then the Secretary-General and Advisory Committee, after consultation with the heads of the Specialized Agencies, will submit their recommendations as to any further action that may be required by the Assembly.

Bacteriological Warfare

One item placed on the agenda at the request of the United States referred to the question of an impartial investigation of charges of bacteriological warfare. It will be remembered that for over a year communist propaganda has made continual and sweeping charges that the United States forces in Korea have engaged in bacteriological warfare. Several attempts on the part of the Western powers to initiate an impartial investigation of these charges have been evaded or ignored by the communists, who have carried out several so-called investigations of their own. A resolution tabled by sixteen co-sponsors, including Canada, provided for the setting up of a commission of five states to carry out an investigation, its work to begin immediately the President of the General Assembly has received an indication from all the governments and authorities concerned of their acceptance of the investigation proposed. The states named as members of the commission were Brazil, Egypt, Pakistan, Sweden and Uruguay. This resolution was adopted by the General Assembly on April 23 by a vote of 51 in favour 5 against (the Soviet bloc) and 4 abstentions. At the time of writing there has unfortunately been no indication that the necessary acceptances are likely to be forthcoming from the governments most concerned, that is, the People's Republic of China and the People's Democratic Republic of North Korea.

Czech Complaint Against the United States

The Czechoslovakian Government requested the inclusion in the agenda of an item entitled in part the "Interference of the United States of America in the internal affairs of other states". The complaint was that funds voted under the United States Mutual Security Act had been used to foster espionage and subversive activities in various countries. A draft resolution introduced by the Czech Delegation condemning this alleged interference was defeated on April 8 by a vote of 5 in favour, 40 against (including Canada) and 14 abstentions and consequently no further action was taken by the Assembly on this matter.

Polish Omnibus Item and Korea

At the beginning of the seventh session an item entitled "Measures to avert the threat of a new world war" was proposed by the Polish Government. A draft memorandum was submitted with it which referred to the desirability of ending the Korean war; bacteriological warfare and the Geneva Protocol of 1925; the treatment of prisoners-of-war and the Geneva Conventions; the "aggressive North Atlantic bloc"; the prohibition of atomic weapons and the reduction of armaments. An omnibus draft resolution attached called for the immediate cessation of hostilities in Korea; the return of all prisoners-of-war to their homelands; the withdrawal of all foreign troops from Korea; the unification of Korea under the supervision of a commission composed of neutral states as well as those with forces in Korea; the reduction by one-third of the armed forces of the five great powers and the calling of a conference to effect the reduction of their armed forces by all states; the unconditional and immediate prohibition of atomic weapons; the accession by all states to the Geneva Protocol of 1925 prohibiting bacteriological and chemical weapons; and the conclusion by the five great powers of a peace pact to which all other states should adhere. This Polish omnibus resolution was largely a repetition either of proposals previously advanced in the United Nations by members of the communist bloc or of long standing elements in the general communist propaganda such as bacteriological warfare and the Five-Power Peace Pact. It was expected at first that the proposed resolution would be made the excuse for long and abusive propaganda attacks, but the changed tone of communist policy and statements since the death of Premier Stalin afterwards led observers to hope that the discussions might take a more conciliatory tone. The debate which began on April 8 in committee and ended on April 18 in plenary session eventually justified this expectation, as the Polish Delegation finally announced that it would not press its resolution to a vote. Even more encouraging was the unanimous adoption of a resolution on Korea sponsored by Brazil which noted "with deep satisfaction" the agreement for the

exchange of sick and wounded prisoners, expressed the hope that further negotiations in Panmunjom would result in achieving an early armistice in Korea consistent with the United Nations principles and objectives, and requested the President of the General Assembly to reconvene the session for consideration of the Korean question either upon the conclusion of an armistice or when in the view of a majority of members other developments in Korea required it. This concession by the communist group of delegations on an important political issue is the first in many years and has undoubtedly made a deep impression on many members. It has at least brought what the United States Delegate at the Assembly described as "a solemn moment of hope".

Chinese Nationalist Troops in Burma

Upon the request of the Government of Burma, the General Committee on March 31 recommended for inclusion in the agenda an item entitled "Complaint of the Union of Burma regarding action against her by the Government of the Republic of China". During the debate on the subject which began on April 17, it was not denied that General Li Mi had allied himself with dissident and rebel elements in certain areas of Burma and had subsequently increased the size of his original force of Chinese troops by recruitment among these elements. The Burmese Government had submitted a resolution by which the General Assembly would have recommended to the Security Council that it condemn the "Kuomintang Government of Formosa" for its acts of aggression against Burma and also that the Council take all necessary steps to ensure the immediate cessation of those acts of aggression. The resolution finally adopted on April 23 by a vote of 59 in favour and one abstention (China) was submitted by the Mexican Delegation. It calls upon the foreign forces in Burma to abandon arms and to leave the country or to submit to be interned. All states are asked to respect the territorial integrity and political independence of Burma and are urged both to refrain from assisting the foreign troops

and to help the Government of Burma, upon its request, in getting rid of them. The Burmese Government is to report on the matter to the next session of the General Assembly.

Other Items

The report of the United Nations Korean Reconstruction Agency was noted by the Assembly and a resolution was adopted by a vote of 55 in favour (including Canada) to 5 against commending and continuing the work of the Agency.

The Assembly reviewed the work of the Collective Measures Committee and instructed it to continue its task of studying methods which might be used to maintain and strengthen peace and security in accordance with the purposes and principles of the Charter.

The efforts of the International Red Cross Committee to secure the repatriation of members of the Greek armed forces still held as prisoners were commended by the Assembly, which asked the President to approach the detaining states with a view to securing the release of the prisoners, and has also asked the Secretary-General to keep the issue under constant review. At the final plenary meeting of the session, the Vice-President, in the absence of the President, reported that three governments (the U.S.S.R., Poland and Czechoslovakia) had replied that their position was known and they had nothing to add.

Assessment

Considering the high propaganda content of many of the questions to be discussed, it was at one time feared that debates at the resumed session might be both acrimonious and sterile. At the meetings continued, however, a somewhat less tense atmosphere developed and culminated in the almost unanimous adoption of the two resolutions on Korea and the Burmese question. The outcome of the Assembly's discussions thus far may therefore, in the words of the President, Mr. L. B. Pearson, be regarded as "auspicious and encouraging".

The Appointment of a New Secretary-General

On November 10, 1952, the first Secretary-General of the United Nations, Mr. Trygve Lie, announced his resignation, to be effective as soon as a successor could be found. On April 10, 1953, Mr. Dag Hammarskjöld, Deputy Foreign Minister of Sweden, was sworn in as the new Secretary-General. During this interval of five months no progress was made towards the solution of the problem, until the Security Council made its recommendation on March 31. At the fifth session of the General Assembly in 1950, when Mr. Lie's first five-year term was due to expire, the Security Council had been unable to make a nomination and the Assembly extended Mr. Lie's term for a further three years (until February 1, 1954). In order better to understand why these difficulties have arisen and why Mr. Lie chose to resign before his renewed term had come to an end, it may be helpful to examine briefly what the Secretary-General of the United Nations is and does.

Powers and Functions of the Secretary-General

The Secretary-General is more than the administrative head of an international secretariat; alone among the members of the Secretariat he holds a position to which a degree of political influence can be, and has been, attributed. Article 99 of the Charter empowers him to bring to the attention of the Security Council any matter which in his opinion may threaten the maintenance of international peace and security. Articles 97 and 98, in addition to providing that he shall act as the chief administrative officer of the organization in all meetings of the General Assembly, Security Council, Economic and Social Council and Trusteeship Council, specify that he shall perform such other functions as are entrusted to him by these organs and shall make an annual report to the General Assembly on the work of the organization. He is also empowered by the Rules of Procedure to place on the provisional agenda all items which he deems necessary to put before the General Assembly. The report of the Preparatory Commission of the United Nations

in 1946 noted that Article 99 endowed the Secretary-General with "a quite special right which goes beyond any power previously accorded to the head of an international organization". The concept of the Secretary-General as an international statesman, someone who "more than anyone else represents the United Nations as a whole," stands in contrast to that of the Secretaries-General of the League of Nations, who functioned vis-a-vis the Council and Assembly purely as administrative officers and whose political interventions were confined to important, but nevertheless somewhat shadowy, efforts to mediate between governments outside the actual framework of the organization.

Political Activities of the Secretary-General

It was the knowledge that the League had been unable to prevent the disaster of the Second World War which led the founding fathers to write into the Charter and procedure of the United Nations provisions which might open to the Secretary-General the possibility of participating to some extent in political discussions as the representative of the ideals of international co-operation embodied in the United Nations. In his final statement before the General Assembly, which was made on March 10, Mr. Lie himself drew attention to this fact saying "... I need only recall the Iranian case, the question of the representation of China, my Ten-Point Peace Programme, Korea, and my annual reports on the world situation as evidence of my desire to uphold and strengthen the constitutional position of the office of Secretary-General in this respect. There have also been the innumerable private discussions and negotiations on issues before the United Nations in which I have participated and frequently taken the initiative." The division of the world into two camps, a division which until very recently had steadily hardened, was bound to create exceptional difficulties for the Secretary-General in the exercise of his international responsibilities. Both as a mediator, and as the representative of goals of inter-

national behaviour which were supposed to be those of *all* members of the United Nations, he was confronted by a gulf which at times must have seemed impossible to bridge. In this connexion, it is perhaps worth remarking that the Secretary-General of the League of Nations could more easily have exercised such responsibilities, if he had possessed them, since the international scene was then filled by five or six great powers of more nearly equal strength, and the area of manoeuvre and concession was correspondingly greater.

Korean Action and its Effects

It was, of course, the Korean crisis which brought the difficulties implicit in the Secretary-General's position to a head. Then, for the first time, the Secretary-General explicitly invoked Article 99 of the Charter and brought the fact of North Korean aggression to the attention of the Security Council on June 25, 1950. The Soviet Union had been boycotting the United Nations since January of the same year on the issue of Chinese representation, and in the absence of the Soviet delegate on the Council resistance to the aggression was quickly begun in the name of the United Nations. Since that time, the five members of the communist group of states have been highly critical of Mr. Lie, claiming that the entire United Nations action in Korea, which he supported, was "illegal" and contrary to the Charter, and have refused to recognize the extension of his term of office later agreed upon by the General Assembly. This situation has not materially interfered with the administrative efficiency of the United Nations Secretariat, since the communist states recognized the Secretariat, though not its chief. Politically, however, the position was difficult and Mr. Lie appears to have become increasingly convinced that his incumbency of the post of Secretary-General militated against its full effectiveness in easing world tensions since he himself could no longer hope to have any influence in bringing the communists and the Western world together.

Because of the constitutional provisions governing the choice of the Secretary-

General, this state of affairs led to the difficulties which have only now been resolved. The Charter lays down that the Secretary-General shall be appointed by the General Assembly upon the recommendation of the Security Council, which, in the absence of any provision to the contrary and in the light of a General Assembly resolution adopted on January 24, 1946, requires the concurring votes of the five permanent members. In these circumstances, the Soviet Union was able later in 1950 to block the attempts of the Security Council to recommend a further five-year term for Mr. Lie and, as we have seen, the General Assembly finally decided to extend his first term to February 1, 1954. When, therefore, the Secretary-General on November 10, 1952, announced his intention of resigning in the hope that ". . . a new Secretary-General, who is the unanimous choice of the Five Great Powers, the Security Council and the General Assembly, may be more helpful than I can be", it was difficult to see how such a candidate could be found.

Discussions at the Seventh Session

When the Security Council held the first of its meetings on this subject on March 13, there was as yet no real indication whether any of the candidates informally suggested would be able to secure the support of all five permanent members. It eventually — but only after a surprisingly long time — became clear that the Soviet Union would blackball any candidate associated with the North Atlantic Treaty or a national of any country which had co-operated in the military opposition to North Korean aggression. This decisively ruled out Mr. L. B. Pearson of Canada, who was President of the North Atlantic Council during the year 1952 and who was voted on at the Security Council's first meeting on March 13. Though the meeting was a closed one, it is clear from statements made to the press that the Soviet Union exercised its veto against Mr. Pearson. The two other candidates, Brigadier General Carlos P. Romulo of the Philippines and Mr. Stanislas Skrzesezewski of Poland, failed to secure a majority, the latter receiving

only one favourable vote. The five permanent members, at a private meeting, produced a list of nine names. On March 19 one of these, Mrs. Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit of India, was voted upon at the motion of the U.S.S.R. but was rejected by two in favour, one against and eight abstentions. No additional names were formally suggested and no votes taken until the representative of France advanced the name of Mr. Hammarskjold. At a meeting of the permanent members on March 31, the Soviet representative stated that he would not oppose the recommendation of Mr. Hammarskjold and the Security Council met the same day to adopt this nomination by a vote of ten in favour and one abstention. The nomination of Mr. Hammarskjold came as an unexpected development at a stage when many of those who had been following the proceedings closely thought that agreement on a candidate was highly improbable and that it might be necessary to ask Mr. Lie to remain in office for some further time. On April 7 the General Assembly in plenary session adopted a Canadian resolution providing that the new Secretary-General's terms of appointment should be the same as those of his predecessor and by a secret ballot of fifty-seven in favour, one against and one abstention, accepted the recommendation of the Security Council.

The New Secretary-General

Mr. Dag Hammarskjold is widely known in Europe for his activities as an economist and in the field of banking and public finance. He was at one time Chairman of the Board in the National Bank of Sweden, has taken an active role in the Organization for European Economic Co-operation and was Vice-Chairman of the Organization in 1948 and 1949. When this new post was offered to him, he was a Minister without portfolio in the Swedish Government with special responsibility for economic foreign relations. He was present at the session of the General Assembly in 1951 as Vice-Chairman of the Swedish Delegation and in 1952 as Chairman.

At the formal ceremony of installation on April 10, the new Secretary-General made a brief statement in which he said:

I am here to serve you all. In so doing I shall count on your understanding, on your advice and on your will to give to what I have to say the attention it may deserve. I am animated by a desire to meet all problems with an open mind. It is for you to judge how I succeed. It is for you to correct me if I fail.

With these words, Mr. Hammarskjold has dedicated himself to a task of incalculable importance and one which we can perhaps hope may be carried out under less difficult conditions than heretofore.

Disarmament and the United Nations*

On April 8 last the General Assembly of the United Nations adopted, by a vote of 52 (including Canada) to 5 (Soviet bloc) with 3 abstentions, a resolution on disarmament requesting the Disarmament Commission to continue its work with a view to formulating a comprehensive plan for (a) the regulation, limitation and balanced reduction of all armed forces and armaments; (b) the elimination and prohibition of all major weapons, including bacteriological, adaptable to mass destruction; and (c) the effective international control of atomic energy to insure the prohibition of atomic weapons and the use of atomic energy for peaceful purposes only. The Commission is called upon to report to

the General Assembly and to the Security Council not later than September 1, 1953.

This decision of the Assembly constitutes the last of a series of steps taken by the United Nations on the question of disarmament which it may be useful to summarize briefly at this stage.

The first step of the United Nations was the creation of an Atomic Energy Commission by the General Assembly on January 24, 1946 at its first session in London. A Commission for Conventional Armaments was established by the Security Council on February 13, 1947. These two Commissions met separately at irregular intervals until 1952, when the present Disarmament Commission was established.

* See also p. 177.

Atomic Energy Commission

The resolution establishing the Atomic Energy Commission, consisting of the eleven members of the Security Council and Canada when not a member thereof, provided that it should submit to the Security Council specific proposals: (a) for extending between all nations the exchange of basic scientific information for peaceful ends; (b) for control of atomic energy to the extent necessary to ensure its use only for peaceful purposes; (c) for the elimination from national armaments of atomic weapons and of all other major weapons adaptable to mass destruction; (d) for effective safeguards by way of inspection and other means to protect complying States against the hazards of violations and evasions.

Commission Reports

The Commission submitted three reports to the Security Council. The first report, dated December 30, 1946, contained general findings and recommendations indicating *inter alia* that the control of atomic energy was practicable from the scientific and technical point of view and pointing out that the problems raised by the discovery of atomic energy "are not essentially matters of domestic concern of the individual nations, but rather have predominantly international implications and repercussions". The report underlined that effective control of atomic energy could only take place at the supra-national level as a result of an international agreement providing for a universal system of control and inspection applying to all states without exception, and with regard to which the right of veto of the permanent members of the Security Council would not apply.

The second report of the Commission, dated September 11, 1947, reiterated the need for an international system of inspection and contained specific proposals providing, among other things, for the ownership by an international authority of all uranium and thorium extracted from the territories of all nations and also for the ownership and control of all atomic energy activities in the world. These proposals also included a system of inspection by the international authority to prevent or detect clandestine activities.

Consideration by Security Council

When the first report of the Commission was considered by the Security Council, the Soviet Union had suggested the elimination of the Commission's recommendation that the permanent members of the Security Council should relinquish their right of veto in matters pertaining to the international control of atomic energy. It became evident during the discussion of the proposals contained in the second report of the Commission that, while advocating the immediate outlawing of atomic weapons and the destruction of all atomic bombs within a three-months period, the U.S.S.R. was not ready to accept the measures of international control and inspection which, in the eyes of the majority of members, were considered essential for the effective control of atomic energy by the international community. Thus the Soviet Union insisted that the international authority should be subject to the jurisdiction of the Security Council where permanent members could use their right of veto. There was moreover no indication that the U.S.S.R. was ready to accept a system of continuous inspection. This divergence of views led the Commission to a deadlock which was the subject of a third report submitted on May 17, 1948.

Action by the Assembly

The general findings and recommendations of the Commission's first report together with the specific proposals contained in its second report were not approved by the Security Council in spite of their receiving 9 affirmative votes as against 2 negative, in view of the fact that the U.S.S.R. exercised its right of veto. The three reports were nevertheless sent to the General Assembly which approved the recommendations and proposals of the Commission (now referred to as the United Nations Plan for the International Control of Atomic Energy) on November 4, 1948 by a vote of 40 (including Canada) to 6 with 4 abstentions. The Assembly at the same time expressed its concern at the impasse reached in the Commission and requested its six permanent members (the five permanent members of the Security Council

and Canada) to meet together in order to determine if there existed a basis for agreement on the international control of atomic energy. Although these consultations failed to produce any positive results, on November 23, 1949 the General Assembly nevertheless asked the permanent members to continue their discussions and called upon all nations to do everything in their power to make possible, by the acceptance of effective international control, the prohibition and elimination of atomic weapons.

The permanent members' consultations were resumed in December, 1949. They ended abruptly in January 1950, when the representative of the Soviet Union walked out as a result of the Commission's refusal to exclude the representative of China from its deliberations.

Commission for Conventional Armaments

When the Security Council established a Commission for Conventional Armaments as previously indicated, it acted upon the recommendations contained in the General Assembly resolution on disarmament of December 14, 1946. This resolution recommended that the Security Council take prompt action with a view to formulating practical measures for the general regulation and reduction of armaments and armed forces. The resolution recognized that the establishment of an international system of control and inspection was essential to any disarmament plan in order to protect states complying with the plan against possible violations and evasions. The Assembly consequently urged the establishment of an international system of inspection. In a second resolution adopted the same day, the General Assembly called upon the Security Council to determine the information which governments should be asked to furnish in order to permit the implementation of disarmament proposals.

Principles of Work

On October 12, 1948, the Commission, composed of the eleven members of the Security Council, set out the following general principles which should govern the regulation and reduction of armaments and armed forces:

(1) A system for the regulation and reduction of armaments and armed forces should embrace all States, though it may be initiated with the adherence of all States having substantial military resources;

(2) To put such a system into effect there must be international confidence and security, but the regulation and reduction of armaments and the existence of confidence are reciprocal;

(3) The conditions essential to international confidence and security include an adequate system of agreements under Article 43 of the Charter, an effective control of atomic energy and the conclusion of peace settlements with Germany and Japan;

(4) To conform with Article 26 of the Charter, armaments and armed forces under such a system must be limited to those consistent with and indispensable to the maintenance of international peace and security and must not exceed those necessary for the implementation of Members' obligations and the protection of their rights under the Charter;

(5) To ensure observance, such a system must include adequate safeguards, including an agreed system of international supervision;

(6) Provision must be made for effective enforcement in the event of violation.

Three-Point Proposal by U.S.S.R.

During the third session of the General Assembly in the fall of 1948, the U.S.S.R. submitted a three-point proposal recommending as a first step towards disarmament, (a) the reduction by one-third during one year of the armaments and armed forces of the permanent members of the Security Council; (b) the prohibition of atomic weapons; and (c) the establishment within the framework of the Security Council of an international control body for the purpose of the supervision of the implementation of the measures for the reduction of armaments and armed forces, and for the prohibition of atomic weapons.

The arbitrary reduction of armed forces and armaments by one-third was not acceptable to the Western powers whose

armaments and armed forces had been considerably reduced after the hostilities. In spite of increases in Western military expenditures since then, it was clear in the eyes of the Western powers that the application of the arithmetical formula suggested by the Soviet Union would leave that country in a position of unwarranted advantage in relation to other powers.

With regard to the establishment of an international control body, the majority of member countries of the United Nations considered that the implementation of this measure, on which there was universal agreement, required that all states without exception accept its implications in full. There was no indication yet that the Soviet Union had accepted these implications and in particular the relinquishment of the right of veto by the permanent members of the Security Council.

The Soviet Union proposals were decisively rejected by the General Assembly, which on November 19, 1948, adopted a resolution recommending that the Security Council pursue its work. This resolution underlined that disarmament could only take place in an atmosphere of international confidence and suggested that the Commission devote its first attention to the formulation of proposals "for the receipt, checking and publication, by an international organ of control of full information to be supplied by member states with regard to their effectives and their conventional armaments". This proposal was adopted by a vote of 43 (including Canada) to 6 and 1 abstention.

Census of Arms

On August 1, 1949, the Commission approved detailed proposals for the census and verification of the armed forces and conventional armaments of member states of the United Nations. The Assembly resolution had suggested that such a census should apply to conventional armaments only. Since the original terms of reference of the Conventional Armaments Commission indicated that matters coming within the competence of the Atomic Energy Commission would be excluded from its jurisdiction, the plan did not cover information concerning

atomic weapons. As a result of this, the U.S.S.R. and the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic were opposed to it.

On October 18, the Commission's plan was submitted to the Security Council for approval. The Council's vote was 8 in favour, 2 against and 1 abstention. However, the plan could not be considered as having been approved since one of its permanent members (the U.S.S.R.) had cast a negative vote. A Soviet Union proposal that the Assembly should recognize as essential the submission of information on both conventional armaments and atomic weapons was rejected by a vote of 6 in favour, 39 against and 9 abstentions. The Commission's plan for the submission of information on conventional armaments and armed forces was finally approved by the Assembly on December 5, 1949 by a vote of 45 (including Canada) in favour, 5 against and 5 abstentions. The Assembly recommended at the same time that the Security Council and the Commission for Conventional Armaments continue their work in spite of the lack of unanimity among the permanent members. When the Commission re-convened in the early part of 1950, the representative of the Soviet Union refused to participate further in its work following the Commission's refusal to exclude the Chinese representative from its deliberations.

Disarmament Commission Established

Many of the proposals put forward by the Soviet Union in the Commission for Conventional Armaments as well as in the Atomic Energy Commission dealt concurrently with atomic and conventional weapons and the suggestion was repeatedly made that atomic energy and conventional armaments were but one aspect of the general problem of disarmament and should therefore be given joint consideration. On October 24, 1950, the President of the United States expressed his agreement with this suggestion in an address to the General Assembly and on December 13 the Assembly appointed a Committee of Twelve, composed of the members of the Security Council and Canada, which would examine the problem of co-ordinating the work of the two

commissions, and of merging their functions within a single commission. In its report to the sixth session of the Assembly, the Committee of Twelve recommended that a new commission be established and that the commissions already in existence be dissolved. On January 11, 1952, the Assembly established a new Disarmament Commission (the 11 members of the Security Council and Canada when not a member thereof). At the same time, it dissolved the Atomic Energy Commission and recommended that the Security Council dissolve the Conventional Armaments Commission. This the Security Council did on January 30, 1952.

Principles of Work

The Disarmament Commission was asked by the General Assembly to prepare proposals to be embodied in a universal agreement which would provide for the regulation and balanced reduction of all armed forces and all armaments including atomic weapons, for the prohibition of all major weapons adaptable to mass destruction and for effective control of atomic energy.

The Assembly decided the Commission should be guided in its work by the following principles:

- (a) In a system of guaranteed disarmament there must be progressive disclosure and verification on a continuing basis of all armed forces — including para-military, security and police forces — and all armaments including atomic;
- (b) Such verification must be based on effective international inspection to ensure the adequacy and accuracy of the information disclosed; this inspection to be carried out in accordance with the decisions of the international control organ (or organs) to be established;
- (c) The Commission shall be ready to consider any proposals or plans for control that may be put forward involving either conventional armaments or atomic energy. Unless a better or no less effective system is devised, the United Nations plan for the international control of atomic energy and the prohibition of atomic weapons should continue

to serve as the basis for the international control of atomic energy to ensure the prohibition of atomic weapons and the use of atomic energy for peaceful purposes only;

- (d) There must be an adequate system of safeguards to ensure observance of the disarmament programme, so as to provide for the prompt detection of violations while at the same time causing the minimum degree of interference in the internal life of each country.

By taking these important decisions the Assembly was implementing proposals which had been submitted jointly by the United States, the United Kingdom and France. The vote was 44 in favour (including Canada) 5 against (Soviet bloc) and 10 abstentions.

Counter-Proposals by the U.S.S.R.

The Soviet Union submitted counter-proposals recommending (a) that the unconditional prohibition of atomic weapons be proclaimed and strict international control come into effect simultaneously; (b) that the five major powers should reduce their armed strength by one-third in one year; (c) that, within a month of the Assembly's decision to prohibit atomic weapons and reduce the armed strength of the major powers, all states should furnish complete information on their armed forces, including data on atomic weapons and on military bases abroad; (d) that an international control organ should be established within the framework of the Security Council to implement these decisions; and (e) that a world conference to consider these arrangements should be called not later than June 1, 1952.

On January 19, 1952, the Assembly decided that these proposals be referred to the Disarmament Commission.

The Commission held twenty-six meetings between February and October 1952.

United States and Tripartite Proposals

On April 5, the United States submitted a working paper containing "Proposals for Progressive and Continuing Disclosure and Verification of Armed Forces and Armaments".

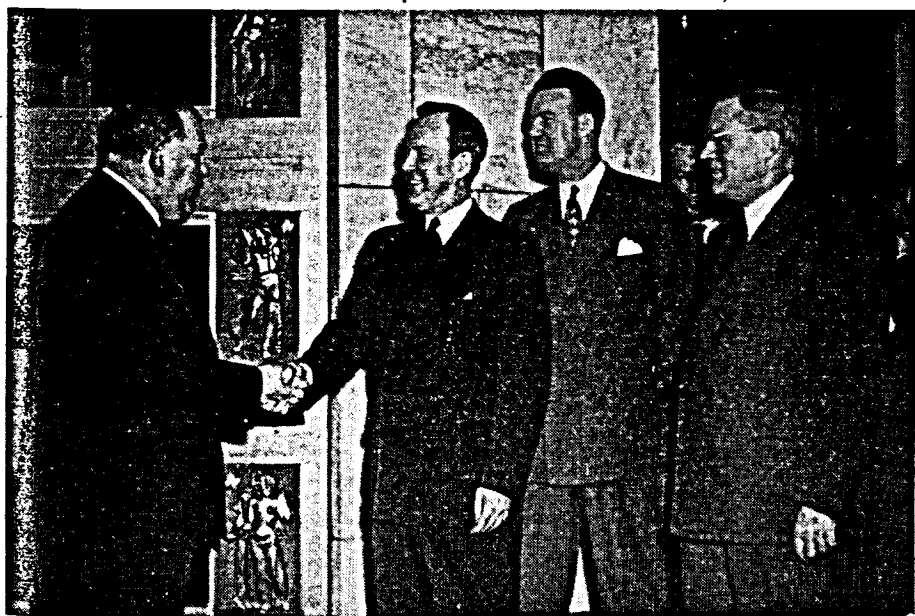
On April 24, the United States submitted a proposal entitled "Essential Principles for a Disarmament Programme".

On May 28, France, the United Kingdom and the United States submitted a working paper setting forth "Proposals for Fixing Numerical Limitation of all Armed Forces". A supplement to this tripartite paper was submitted on August 12.

It is not practicable within the limits of this article to describe the contents of these proposals, most of which are detailed. Perhaps the most significant was the tripartite proposal for the numerical limitation of armed forces. The three powers suggested a "working formula" which set numerical ceilings of 1 million to 1.5 million for China, the United States and the U.S.S.R. and 700,000 to 800,000 for France and the United Kingdom. The ceiling suggested for other states having substantial armed forces was one per cent of the population, "except in very special circumstances".

The various proposals put forward by the Western powers were rejected by the Soviet representative, who insisted on the adoption of the Soviet proposals which, as previously indicated the Assembly had submitted to the Commission. This the Western powers were not prepared to consider pending a clarification of these proposals, which the Soviet representative failed to furnish. Moreover, the Western powers had yet to be satisfied that the Soviet Union was ready to effect the surrender of sovereignty which is a condition of effective international control of all armaments and armed forces.

The Commission submitted a progress report on May 28 and a final report on October 13. Neither of these reports contained any recommendations or conclusions, the deliberations of the Commission having so far failed to bring about a reconciliation of the views held by the Western powers and the Soviet Union on the subject of disarmament.



—United Nations

THE CANADIAN GIFT OF DOORS TO THE UNITED NATIONS

The Canadian gift of seven nickel-silver doors was formally accepted on behalf of the United Nations by the Secretary-General Trygve Lie on March 27. In making the presentation, the Secretary of State for External Affairs spoke of the thousands of people who, by going through these doors, show their interest in the work of the United Nations and he expressed the hope that in future they would have a better international life, "one in which tolerance, justice and peace will prevail everywhere." Seen in the picture from left to right are Mr. Trygve Lie, Mr. L. B. Pearson, Mr. T. N. Beaupré, Assistant Deputy Minister of Defence Production and Mr. David Johnson, Permanent Representative of Canada to the United Nations.

NATIONAL FREEDOM AND INTERNATIONAL CO-OPERATION

Text of the Jonathan Peterson Lecture, by the Secretary of State for External Affairs, Mr. L. B. Pearson, delivered at Town Hall, New York, April 15, 1953.

It is a privilege for me to be asked — as a Canadian — to give the Jonathan Peterson lecture at Town Hall. This lecture series, which has included, in previous years, so many distinguished speakers, commemorates a great citizen of New York who, for his success in life, drew upon a rich heritage of character and achievement which reached far into the past and linked him with a long and distinguished record in public life of his forbears.

Purpose of Lecture

The lecture each year is devoted, in the terms of its endowment, to the promotion of a better understanding among the English-speaking peoples and to the advancement of those principles upon which modern English-speaking civilization rests — namely, respect for human personality, justice for all with individual freedom under law. These are principles of which we should keep reminding ourselves these days when there are so many pressures and persons that would deny them.

These are worthy aims, close to the hearts of English-speaking and, indeed, of all free peoples. You will know, of course, that, in the neighbouring country from which I come, English is only one of our two official languages, and that in the General Assembly of the United Nations, over which I have been presiding, we have five official languages, to say nothing of the other languages spoken in the sixty countries which make up our membership. Today, therefore, I will interpret "English-speaking" in a liberal sense!

Language, after all, is only a rough guide to mutual understanding. At times a common language may even be a contributor to misunderstanding by making it too easy to read the less desirable headlines that are written or to listen to the less complimentary things that are said.

In a talk which I gave at this same Town Hall some weeks ago, I spoke of the friendly partnership which existed between Canada and the United States, and I said:

"In some parts of the world where smaller countries lie next to more powerful neighbours, the dominant keynote is fear and subordination. In North America, it is friendship and confidence, founded on a free and fruitful association. Proximity arising from the facts of politics and geography can often breed mistrust. In the case of our two peoples, it has bred deep and mutual respect. Proximity does not for us mean the imposed leadership of the master or the enforced obedience of the reluctant satellite. It means partnership, based on consultation and co-operation, and it includes the right to agree — or to disagree.

"This tradition of the good neighbour derives not merely from the fact that we are the joint occupants of a continent en-

dowed with great material resources and developed by the industry and spirit of Americans and Canadians. Nor is it due only to the fact that we know — and act on the knowledge — that our defence recognizes no national boundaries; that it lies in collective measures shared with our neighbours and our friends, and in the pledges we have made — and which we are honouring — as members of the United Nations.

"The sources of our good neighbourhood lie deeper. They are found in the faith which illuminates our search for the security and the welfare of our own peoples, and of others as well; in respect for freedom, and for the rights and dignity of individual men and women."

Unity of Free World

This problem of deepening and strengthening understanding among the English-speaking peoples, of which Jonathan Peterson was so deeply conscious, is part and parcel of the wider problem of strengthening the unity of the whole free world, which includes more than the Atlantic world, or even the Western. Hence Canadian-American relations or those between the English-speaking countries do not exist, and could not exist, in a vacuum. In addition to the general responsibility of inter-dependence, each of our countries has specific ties and obligations which extend across the earth's surface.

Canada, for instance, is a member of a world-wide and multi-racial Commonwealth of Nations. As such, she is linked to the peoples of other continents, not by constitutional instruments or legal forms, but by sentiment, long association and a common love of freedom and free institutions.

The United States, in its turn, has assumed global responsibilities matching its material and moral strength, and is the leader of a powerful defence coalition on whom the free world counts heavily now, as it will in years to come. We are both associated with other countries for many purposes, and not least for the common defence. And we are pledged by our membership in the United Nations to strengthen the fabric of international co-operation, and to fulfil our obligations as members of the world community.

This wider co-operation, however, need not prevent or prejudice a closer and more intimate association between the members of smaller groups where the natural conditions for such closer association exists. Indeed it may have the opposite effect, for it has been frequently the case in history that men confronted with a particular problem have found it to be soluble only in the context of far-reaching and imaginative solutions on a larger scale than the original problem which faced them. It may therefore be found that the strengthening of the special bonds be-

tween the English-speaking peoples — or between the NATO members — will be assisted rather than hindered by our common endeavours to face constructively the greater issue of co-operation between *all* free peoples; of every race and culture and creed.

This broader co-operation and growing unity must now rest on the unqualified acceptance of and ultimate realization of national freedom and self-government. There is no other alternative. It is because of the necessity for accepting this as a prerequisite to good international relations that I have called my lecture this morning "National Freedom and International Co-operation".

I do not know of any more important problem than that of bringing together in a constructive relationship these two political concepts, unless it be that of the reconciliation of personal liberty and national security in the modern state.

"National Freedom and International Co-operation" is a subject in which a Canadian may be expected to have a special interest and on which, because of the history and experience of his country, he may even have some special claim to speak.

Independence by Evolution

Canada is a country which has gained its national independence by evolution from colonial status, rather than revolution against it. This is, of course, not the most exciting method of nation-building; by conference, rather than by convulsion; by the signing of papers, rather than the flashing of sabres. It has, however, been completely effective with us, though its result in the Canada of today is not yet fully realized in all other countries; even in the United States, where we are still supposed, in certain quarters, to be some kind of advanced British colony.

The fact that Canada sealed its nationhood by fighting with, rather than against, British soldiers, and for the cause of human freedom, which transcends national boundaries or national rights, is one reason, I suppose, why so many people in the United States still think that we are governed by Downing Street and that great man, Mr. Winston Churchill.

It might conceivably be a good thing, if we did not have so many other more important preoccupations, to arrange a sham battle with some British Red Coats, suitably televised over every American network, to prove beyond any possibility of doubt in the Deep South or the Middle West, that Canada is indeed now a fully self-governing state, as independent as any state has the right to be in this interdependent age. But, as I have said, we have more important things to do; and furthermore, if this sham battle were to have the desired effect, the British soldiers would have to agree to be defeated and capitulate to the Canadians. Then we would be faced with the problem of the voluntary repatriation of the prisoners back to the United Kingdom. Canada is such a happy and fortunate land in which to live!

The nature of and the experience gained

from Canada's national development, and the circumstances under which it took place, have taught us two things, at least.

One, the inevitability, and the permanence, of gradualness.

Two, an awareness that national freedom is not enough; that independence and interdependence are inseparable.

As to the first—"gradualness" is not now a popular principle in political evolution or, indeed, in any other manifestation of modern life. A wave of impatient and insurgent nationalism, especially throughout the Asian and African world, has resulted in the emergence, in some cases the very sudden emergence, of new independent states. This has created unrest and confusion in some areas; and, indeed, has prompted some premature and unrealistic decisions in those international agencies, especially the United Nations, where national feeling now has a powerful platform on which to express itself. In the name of the sacred principle of independence, the United Nations, for instance, has decided that a former colony like Italian Somaliland, weak and poor and primitive, is to be given in seven years the privilege and the responsibility of governing itself as a sovereign state. It may prove to be unequal to the responsibility, in which case the ultimate result would be a set-back for national freedom itself.

This national urge cannot be stopped, nor should it be, though it might usefully be guided and its pace controlled in some cases. Perhaps, however, it is right, as it is probably inevitable, that nationalism must find its expression in political freedom before its limitations are realized, and its relationship to international co-operation fully understood.

This is, I think, more easily appreciated in a country like Canada which has developed slowly towards freedom without losing its political and sentimental contacts with the older lands which had once directed and assisted its growth and gave that growth depth and stability.

Isolation Impossible

The other lesson we have learned from our own history is that independence is not enough and that isolation from international developments is impossible. If our history has taught us this, geography and the emergence of our North American neighbour, the United States, as the greatest of the world powers has driven home this lesson. It may have been possible for the United States to be isolationist in the XIXth century. It is not possible for a neighbour of the United States, in the last half of the XXth.

No country in the world, in fact, through the inescapable facts of history, geopolitics and economics, has less chance of an isolated national existence than Canada. No country, therefore, has more cause to be concerned with her relations with other countries.

Today, we in Canada and you in the United States find ourselves in a world in which narrow nationalism — an insistence on the full recognition of every aspect of national

sovereignty — could spell disaster. It would certainly make international co-operation, if not impossible, at least unrewarding and sterile. The value of such co-operation, for instance, in deterring aggression or defeating it if it occurred, would be greatly reduced if insistence on the formal and legal equality between states were pushed to the point where it prevented any delegation of authority, which might be required to make collective action effective. On the other hand, co-operation which means that the weaker members of a coalition of free states must automatically accept all the decisions of the leader or of any smaller body, without adequate consultation, is not reconcilable with national freedom and is inadmissible.

Soviet Communism has its own solution to this problem, its own simple blueprint for unity. The design is found in the rigidity of Communist orthodoxy, and the strict obedience of Communist satellite states and Communist satellite individuals to the Kremlin. Within the Soviet state there is a unity superimposed from the top through party discipline; in the Soviet borderlands there is a unity through the subservience of the "people's democracies" to Moscow.

According to Lenin's interpretation of Marx — an interpretation taught as gospel to millions of young Communists — our Western civilization has reached its inexorable climax and is bound to achieve self-destruction in a succession of internal capitalist crises and wars. The only escape route is through proletarian revolution. After its violent triumph, world unity will be achieved in the form of a global union of Communist states.

The nations of the non-Communist world, however, demand other terms than these on which international co-operation and unity can be achieved. They reject this blueprint which provides only for the loss of their freedom and their absorption in a swollen and monolithic empire.

No Single Formula

In seeking their own form of unity, the nations of the free world are not, however, wedded to any single formula. Their outlook is based on the principle that there is not a simple and single answer to every question, that all human solutions are fallible, and that the right answers can often only be found through practical experience.

The United Nations action in Korea is one such experience in the field of international collaboration. It also illustrates the complexity and the difficulty of such collaboration when it expresses itself in collective military and political action, and not merely in words.

The problem as we have faced it in Korea, however, is to some extent modified by the fact that, because of the exigencies of military operations, the full consultation and participation in decisions which would be essential in an international association for non-belligerent purposes is not in all cases demanded.

The action against aggression in Korea is in theory and in principle United Nations

action. But that theory is substantially modified by fact. To begin with, the Soviet Communist group in the United Nations have from the beginning opposed this United Nations resistance to aggression and have actively assisted the aggressor. Then of those member states that have accepted the United Nations resolutions establishing the aggression, only a minority of 16 have participated in collective military action — and that participation has varied from a few hundred soldiers to the great military, naval and air effort made by the United States.

The Government of the United States — designated as the Unified Command by the Security Council and representing the country which has made by far the largest military contribution — apart from the soldiers of the Republic of Korea — has, in fact, and because of these special circumstances, directed and controlled operations in Korea. Yet it is impossible to control military operations in modern war without making decisions that are political in their result.

Truce Negotiations

Today, for instance, the truce negotiators in Panmunjom on the United Nations side are American, and their day-to-day instructions — which, at times, must have more than military implications — come from Washington. To take just one illustration, no representative from a nation of the British Commonwealth which has supplied troops, ships and aircraft, sits in on these discussions and no report of them can be made to any United Nations member participating in the Korean conflict, except through Washington.

I do not criticize these arrangements in the circumstances that exist and I think it would be unwise now to change the pattern that has been established. I also have good reason to know that a great deal of information is regularly given on Korean developments by the United States authorities to the representatives in Washington of those United Nations members who have forces in Korea. Nevertheless, from the point of view of international co-operation, this is obviously not the best way to carry on a genuinely collective operation by a group of freely associated states. If the reply is made that a greater military contribution by more of those states would have brought about more genuine collective control and supervision of the Korean by the United Nations, I can only express some doubt whether this, in fact, would have occurred; at least in a way to satisfy all the states directly concerned.

I recall, for instance, that in World War II my own country had a million men and women in the armed services, and made a significant contribution to the common victory. Yet it was not a member of the Allied Combined Chiefs of Staff who dictated the strategy of the war, nor did it participate directly in the big political discussions which laid down the basis for that strategy.

We did not complain about this, because when national survival is at stake, efficient

and centralized control of operations and policy is far more important than matters of prestige or equality.

But what is accepted in a war of survival may not be as acceptable in a United Nations collective police action or in the work of a coalition to prevent war such as the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. In these less critical situations, such things as national autonomy and prestige, the desirability of consultation with all before a decision is taken by one, become an essential element of international co-operation. This is inevitable as long as such co-operation is between free states which are, in theory, equal, however much they may vary in power and responsibility.

Let us again use the present situation in Korea as an illustration.

The American military negotiators at Panmunjom (who have shown so much wisdom and patience in the past) will decide on instructions from their Government, and within the limits of the resolutions passed by the United Nations, what can be included in any armistice agreement to make it acceptable. They presumably will also decide whether new proposals put forward by the Communists on the prisoner-of-war question are worthy of discussion at all and whether they are in conformity with United Nations principles and resolutions. But such decisions far transcend military factors, as do the consequences of any armistice agreement which may be reached. If and when the present draft armistice agreement goes into effect, important political consequences would immediately begin to operate. For instance, the present draft provides for a political conference within 90 days of the end of fighting. For what purposes, and by whom — on the United Nations side? The draft is vague about all this, and possibly wisely so; but if and when that vagueness has to be clarified, presumably in the United Nations Assembly, we will be face to face again with difficulties of reconciling national and international considerations.

Economic Aspect

So far I have been dealing with the strictly political aspects of international co-operation between free and sovereign states. There is, however, an economic aspect of this question where the reconciliation of independence and inter-dependence provides almost equally formidable difficulties. Theoretically, every free country has control of its own economic and commercial policies. Practically, the complete exercise of that control without reference to the interests of other states is difficult, even for larger countries; and quite impossible for smaller. In Canada we have had to realize that, in this sphere also, national freedom has to be qualified by the necessities of international co-operation. Those necessities quite effectively limit in practice our theoretically unlimited sovereignty. If we tried to act without reference to the position of others, we would soon discover that the national in-

terest would be hurt rather than helped by the action we had taken.

Need for Economic and Political Co-operation

It is, I suppose, not so easy for a country like the United States, with its tremendous economic power and its varied resources, with its high standard of living, and its enormous domestic market, to make the same discovery. Yet it is essential for the United States to draw the right international conclusions from her dominating economic and creditor position in the world. If the wrong ones are drawn, the free world coalition is unlikely to survive in any really effective way. International co-operation in the political field and international conflict in the economic field are not reconcilable. NATO agreement, for instance, on collective military policies can hardly be carried out if there is disagreement on commercial and economic policies.

To take a concrete illustration: how can we expect Denmark, for instance, to accept pressure to increase its NATO defence expenditures, if pressure is also successfully exerted at the same time by groups in the United States to exclude Denmark's dairy products, on which she depends so much for that economic stability, which is the basis of her defence effort?

I could give another example nearer home. Canada is being urged, and quite rightly, by her colleagues in the North Atlantic coalition, including the United States, to develop defence industries and defence production. We are short of the electric power which is essential for this development, and yet are unable to secure a decision in Washington which would make new development of such power from the International Rapids Section of the St. Lawrence River possible.

There is a third and final aspect of this problem of international co-operation which I can merely mention — namely, the impossibility of divorcing it from the social and political ideals of the co-operating states. Co-operation is, of course, possible between states which have different forms of government. Indeed, such differences are not particularly important. What is important is that the governments and peoples concerned accept and apply the same basic principles of social and political belief and organization; that they uphold the fundamental freedoms of speech, of worship, of opinion; practice tolerance and the rule of law; support the dignity and worth of the individual and his right to immunity from persecution for holding unpopular views and for heresy.

It is difficult for co-operation to be deep and genuine between states and peoples which have not the same approach and the same devotion to these fundamental principles. It is true that in a crisis or emergency, fear of a common foe, or of a common danger can join people in a co-operative effort for their own salvation who normally would not be able or willing to work closely together. But that is an ephemeral bond of unity.

It is also true that we have this common

danger now. As a result, fear has brought together states in a way, to an extent, and in a period of time which would not have been possible in more normal conditions. Fear, in fact, was one of the chief ingredients which brought about the formation of the North Atlantic association on its present broad basis of membership. Something more than fear will have to keep it going.

Fear and crisis, then, provide no permanent or solid foundation for international co-operation or for the development of sound international organization. We must have something stronger and more enduring than that. That is why in NATO we are trying to build up an association which is better and deeper than a military alliance; one which will survive the crisis which, in the first instance, may have brought it into existence.

This association is now being subjected to new strains which may well determine its strength and its permanence. In the first four years of its existence it has stood the test of threat, bluster and direct political assault. It is now, apparently, to be subjected to the test of peaceful blandishment and disarming gestures.

The purpose in both cases may well be the same; to weaken the strength and unity of a group of free states, whose determination to come together and pool their growing strength for collective defence is, at the present time, the strongest obstacle to aggressive Communist imperialism.

More Than a Military Association Needed

This co-operation, however, I repeat, must express itself in some more enduring form than a military association of sovereign states. If such a development is impracticable now on a broad international basis, then the way should be shown, and a good example given, by strengthening further the ties which have already drawn together the English-speaking members of the free world; ties of sentiment, history, geography and national self-interest.

However it may be done, on a broader or on a narrower basis — slowly and gradually through the evolution of events, or more speedily under the spur of fear and insecurity, the trend is towards closer co-operation and greater unity, especially between those states, such as the English-speaking ones, where the conditions already exist that make such a development natural and practicable.

The physical basis for such greater unity already exists, the political compulsion for it grows, the necessity for it on grounds of security and stability becomes more and more apparent. The facts of modern national life combine to minimize national boundaries and make unrealistic and out of date many of the ordinary manifestations of national sovereignty.

Professor Toynbee has recently shown us how the revolution in technology and communications has operated to "shrink the geography of the globe". The former English Channel, he writes, which was still an effective strategic obstacle as recently as 1940, has

now become almost as invisible as the jet plane that now streaks across it at 40,000 feet and at 600 miles per hour. The British Isles have been reduced to the former dimensions, and have been parked in the former location of what used to be called the Channel Islands. North America has now succeeded Britain as an island moored between two oceans. The Atlantic Ocean is now the Channel, and the West is now surrounded by the world.

It is as futile, and as dangerous, to ignore the effect of these changes on international political developments as it was for Canute to try to hold back the tides.

Will this inevitable development towards closer unity among the English-speaking and other free states be postponed by the removal of that fear of aggression from Soviet imperialism which, as I have said, has been one of its main incentives?

We do not know because we do not know whether anything has happened to make the danger more remote or the fear less menacing. Time alone will tell us whether any real change in Soviet policy has occurred or is likely to occur. The countries of the free world cannot, however, sit back and wait for time to bring its answers, in the hope that the answers will be happy ones. We must consider what our own policy should be, after the best analysis we can make of the circumstances we face. We must meet new situations as they develop, without being unduly elated or unduly excited by phenomena which should be interpreted as representing only a shift in tactics, designed to achieve the same old objectives in a new way; until results in action prove to us that there has been a real change in the direction of strategy and policy.

Need for Unity Still Exists

We should, I think, be unwise to alter our own policy of strengthening co-operation between countries of the free world on the likelihood that the members of the international Communist conspiracy will, in the near future, enter whole-heartedly into the peaceful and friendly family of nations. It would be folly to think that it would be safe now or in the months ahead to abandon or weaken the collective defensive arrangements which have been necessitated by the common danger we face.

It would, of course, be equally foolish not to seize any and every real chance to relax the tension that has existed since the last war, however slight and however temporary that relaxation might be. But we should never relax our vigilance. The Russians are very fond of that word "vigilance". It is a good word for us too.

We should be firm, then, and we should be vigilant. We should not be provocative and we should not be gullible. We should be ready to welcome changes for the better, and to meet genuine initiatives for peace in the future, as we have always done in the past, half way. But above all, we should not abandon our efforts to build up our defence —

military, economic and moral; or be lured away by some mirage from the policy of strengthening the co-operation and increasing the unity of the nations of the free world.

In this way we will not bring peace or security overnight; or the one co-operating

free world of which we dream. But we shall at least have helped to create a situation of political confidence and physical strength; a basis on which the settlement of issues which now so tragically divide the world may one day become possible.

DISARMAMENT

Statement by the Permanent Representative of Canada to the seventh session of the United Nations General Assembly, Mr. David M. Johnson, made in the First Committee, March 20, 1953.

For those of us — and I am sure they include the great majority — who still hold to the conviction that the primary role of our organization is to conciliate differences between nations, it is distressing to see how often and how easily the undertow of the cold war pulls our debates down to the propagandist level.

Under this item we are not attempting to "prove" anything. We are not attempting to score points off those delegations which disagree with us. We are simply considering the very objective and factual report of a Commission which has not been able to do what it was asked to do at the last Session of the Assembly. We naturally have drawn our own conclusions, as I shall explain later, as to why the Disarmament Commission was not able to do more. But as we wish the Disarmament Commission to continue the process of negotiation, no matter how frustrating the task and how unpropitious the climate, I see no point at this stage in asking those delegations which have not taken part in this difficult process in the Commission to approve or disapprove by means of a formal resolution the proposals which one side or the other has so far presented. That explains why the resolution my delegation is co-sponsoring is couched in rather general terms.

The very nature of the problem of disarmament gives each of the great powers a more effective veto than they possess in the Security Council. Although there is no rule specifying that the great powers possess a veto in the Disarmament Commission, it is obvious that, unless all the powers are agreed, no disarmament can take place. We have already — and to our cost — made two experiments in unilateral disarmament, and it would be flying in the face of history and experience to try it again. If there is not general disarmament including all the great powers, there will be no disarmament. There must be general agreement as to how disarmament can take place so that it will be effective without imposing greater risks on one side than on the other at any given time during the process of disarmament. That is to say, there must be no disequilibrium which might be dangerous to world peace during the process of disarmament. Disarmament must be not only general; it must be balanced.

Even to begin that process, however, seems to require a far greater degree of confidence than exists at the present time between the

powers. While the Korean fighting continues, it is difficult to see how any system of disarmament, no matter how perfect on paper, could be put into effect. The armaments race — for that is obviously what it is — therefore continues, and with fighting actually going on in Korea there is always the appalling risk that a general conflagration might begin. The peace we have today is not the peace to which we pledged ourselves in the Charter — the peace of mutual co-operation and trust — but a peace based on fear.

Canadian Objective

As the Canadian Prime Minister, Mr. St. Laurent, has said, our objective and the objective of those nations with whom we are most closely associated is "to prevent a third world war, not to win one". We have already given our views during the debate on collective measures on the subject of collective security. The resources which the Canadian Government and people have reluctantly decided must be devoted to increasing our military strength are a sacrifice on our part to the cause of peace and freedom. Earnestly as our people desire disarmament, we realized that we should have to give up living in the illusion that we could negotiate from weakness and see what we could do in the future through negotiations from strength. Our logic may not appeal to the Soviet representative, but it seems perfectly rational to me, bearing in mind always that our goal is *negotiations* and a peace based on confidence rather than *military strength* as an end in itself.

The strength which the free world has been building during the past four years, by sacrificing more pleasant and more productive things, does not constitute a threat to the Soviet Union and the countries associated with it, despite the bogies which they are continually raising about the "aggressive designs of the North Atlantic bloc". Whether or not we have reached that position of strength which we hoped would be sufficient to produce a change of policy on the part of the Soviet Union, we do not know. We can only continue our course steadfastly until we have some concrete evidence that serious negotiations are possible.

Unhappily, we have no such evidence from the work of the Disarmament Commission thus far. But we must not become discouraged

and give up. This door to negotiations must not be closed, however depressing the record of the past year.

It may be, of course, that negotiations which could eventually lead to disarmament might begin over some quite different subject. Apart from Korea there are many other questions, on which the Soviet Union could demonstrate its desire to achieve an easing of the tension. It could do so, to take a still simpler example, by refraining from its virulent "hate campaign" against the United States, of which the germ-warfare charges are merely the crudest example.

Commission's Task

Wherever the vicious circle of fear can be broken by any agreement no matter how tentative and small, the results may in time be felt in the Disarmament Commission. In the meanwhile it need not be wasting its time. It has before it a rather formidable technical task, which can be pursued usefully, although within limits, even in the present state of affairs. The ground can in other words be cleared of certain technical problems and the way prepared to hasten the conclusion of a disarmament agreement, perhaps by many months, as soon as the will to agree exists not merely on one side but on both. For in this field, as I have said, it takes two to make an agreement.

Although we should, I believe, temper our debate by looking more to the future than to the past, we cannot and should not in all candour ignore the Disarmament Commission's record during the past year. I should like for a moment to turn to what the Disarmament Commission has been doing and state as simply and objectively as I can, and without rancour or bitterness, the essential positions on both sides as I see them.

I think I can do this best by taking the proposals of the Soviet Union as a starting point. As reiterated yesterday, they are disarmingly simple; but that is the only disarming thing about them. I must confess . . . that I was disappointed in the Soviet representative's statement. To my mind one of the most discouraging features of the Disarmament Commission's work last year was the inability of any Western delegation — and my delegation among others tried on several occasions — to get concrete answers from the Soviet representative as to what his government meant by the slogans in which it had expressed its proposals during the Assembly's debates on disarmament in Paris when the Disarmament Commission had been set up. Yesterday he said that the Soviet position was perfectly clear and then went on to repeat word for word proposals that we have heard on every occasion when disarmament has been discussed since 1947. As far as my delegation was concerned, we would have been very glad to have devoted more time to discussing the Soviet proposals in the Disarmament Commission last year. There was ample room under the agreed plan of work for a full discussion of them. But there is a limit to the amount

of discussion that is possible when every time you try to elicit information on a point which seems unclear, the only reply you get is a repetition of the same all too carefully worded formula. It was for this reason that there was very little discussion of the Soviet proposals. From our point of view there was very little to discuss.

Need for Clarification

Without wishing to impose upon this Committee a technical review which I feel more properly belongs to the Disarmament Commission, I should like, in view of the Soviet statement yesterday, to explain some of the points on which we need further clarification from the Soviet representative, either here or in the Commission, if any further progress is to be made or indeed if there is to be any real discussion — as distinct from repetition — of the Soviet proposals. I hope I am not being unfair to the Soviet position if I summarize it in the following way, using as far as possible the language employed by Soviet spokesmen.

In the first place, they think the Assembly should proclaim the unconditional prohibition of atomic weapons and the establishment of strict international control over enforcement of this prohibition, it being understood that the prohibition of atomic weapons and the institution of international control should be put into effect simultaneously.

In the second place, they propose that the permanent members of the Security Council should reduce their armaments and armed forces by one-third within one year.

In the third place, they say that all states should within one month submit complete official data on their armaments and armed forces including atomic weapons and foreign military bases.

And finally, they propose that an international control organ established within the framework of the Security Council should conduct inspection on a continuing basis but should not interfere in the domestic affairs of states.

Although there are a number of difficulties in these superficially simple proposals, the most fundamental objection which we have to them concerns the Soviet concept of inspection.

Inspection, the Key of Safeguards

Now, whatever disarmament plan could ever be arrived at would inevitably require a system of safeguards which would give both sides the maximum possible warning and protection against violations and evasions of the provisions of the disarmament agreement. The key to any such system of safeguards is inspection.

At the present stage at least, inspection seems to me to be the nub of the technical problem as distinct from the more general political problem — the problem of confidence to which I have already referred. The Soviet Delegation's position in the Commission has been, in the words I have quoted, in favour of strict international control and of inspection

on a continuing basis. That sounds promising. But then this is qualified and perhaps undercut entirely by the insistence of the Soviet Delegation that inspection should not interfere in the domestic affairs of states.

Another possible escape clause in the Soviet proposals of June 1947, which the Soviet representative re-read yesterday, is the unexplained formulation that they will agree "to study production operations", as they say, "to the extent necessary for the control of the use of atomic materials and atomic energy".

We have not been able to find out what the effect of these qualifying phrases means. We simply do not know how far the Soviet Union will go on the question of inspection. As things stand at present they will not go very far. They have not, as I understand it, been able to agree to continuous inspection but only to inspection "on a continuing basis". The best we have been able to find out about the meaning of this phrase is that it does not include the right of international inspectors to be stationed all the time in atomic installations, for example. We consider this an essential component of any plan covering the inspection of atomic energy. The Soviet Delegate says that this would be interference in their domestic affairs. If I am wrong about this, I hope he will correct me and explain his position more clearly.

The fact of the matter is that any form of international inspection can be interpreted as interference in the domestic affairs of states. Certain forms of co-operation require less stringent measures of inspection, others more. Are we to take the mere say-so of the Soviet Government on matters of such vital concern to the future of the peoples for whom we speak? If they were able to do so, there would be no problem. We should not be faced with the problem of rearmament and increasing international tensions and the risk of war. The whole point is that neither side trusts the other. Both may be able to trust the United Nations. We would. Would they?

United Nations inspectors must be permitted to go anywhere at any time in any of the major countries of the world. The international control authority must be so constituted as to be impartial and the impartiality of its agents must be trusted. This is a field of policy in which no country can afford to make mistakes and no people can risk being duped, for the stakes are their survival as free men.

Soviet Version

Whether the proposal is to prohibit the atomic weapon unconditionally or to cut the armaments and armed forces of the great powers by one-third this year, the question comes back to whether it is possible to agree on effective inspection. As I understand it, the Soviet Union still go no further than saying that they will permit agents of an international control authority to inspect places they choose at times of their choosing, but they will not have United Nations inspectors stationed permanently anywhere, and they will not give them the right to go wherever

they think necessary whenever they wish. This means that their kind of inspection would amount to no more than continuing periodic visits to selected plants — in other words the international inspectors would be allowed to go where it was safe to take them and they would see what it was safe to show them. Again I ask the Soviet representative to correct me if I misrepresent his position.

We must all agree that this kind of inspection would mean a minimum of interference in the domestic affairs of states; but it would not be effective inspection. No disarmament plan can ever be based on this kind of inspection. That must be very clearly understood and appreciated by all. Atomic weapons or bacteriological weapons can be declared prohibited tomorrow and agreement reached to cut the forces of the great powers by any fraction you like, but with inspection as so far defined by the Soviet Delegation there is no guarantee whatever that these decisions would be faithfully carried out. Let us hope that either during the present discussion or at any rate during the Disarmament Commission's meetings between now and the next session of the Assembly, the Soviet representative will come forward with more detailed and more realistic proposals concerning the kind of inspection which his government would be prepared to agree to as part and parcel of a comprehensive disarmament programme. Such proposals would immediately give the Disarmament Commission's work more reality and more hope.

As the report of the Disarmament Commission shows, detailed proposals have been submitted by the Western powers covering several basic elements of such a comprehensive programme. These proposals include not only an elaboration of the principles basic to any disarmament agreement — principles elaborated from the Assembly's Resolution No. 502 (IV) establishing the Disarmament Commission — but cover disclosure and verification of armed forces and armaments, and the proposals for the limitation and reduction of all armed forces. The latter paper, dealing with the limitation and reduction of armed forces proposes in effect that the armed forces of the Soviet Union and the United States should be cut not by one-third but, according to our estimates, by *more than one half* their present strength, as part of a balanced limitation and reduction of forces on both sides. Again it is of the essence that any reduction or limitation should not be a shot in the dark but should proceed from known and verified facts. We come back again to the necessity for fully effective inspection — a necessity which the Soviet Union has continued to sidestep or ignore.

Plan Accepted

As Canadian representative on the Disarmament Commission, I announced the acceptance by the Government of Canada, as part of a general disarmament plan, of the ceiling which the tripartite proposals concerning the limitation and reduction of armed

forces would impose on Canadian armed forces, i.e. either less than 1 per cent of population or less than current levels. I then welcomed, as I do now, the initiative of the Western powers in presenting to the Commission detailed constructive and forward-looking proposals, seriously presented as component elements in the comprehensive disarmament plan which it is their intention to develop if there seems any hope of the Soviet Union being interested in such a plan.

Although the Soviet representative on the Commission said on May 14 that his government was ready and anxious to give serious consideration to any proposals for the reduction of armed forces, he made it plain almost as soon as the Western proposals on this subject had been introduced in the Commission a few weeks later that his government would not consider them seriously. Since that time the Soviet Delegation has not only confirmed that they would not even take the tripartite proposals as a basis for discussion, but has failed to provide the Commission with equally specific alternative proposals of its own.

Finally, I should like to refer briefly to what the Soviet representative said on the subject of bacteriological warfare. He tried to confuse the issue by asserting that the Disarmament Commission refused to give a hearing to Soviet proposals concerning the problem was simply — and I quote: "This is not what the Disarmament Commission did at all. I was Chairman of the Commission at that time and what I ruled out of order, as the records of the Disarmament Commission for March 28 last year show, was not any discussion of proposals for the prohibition of bacteriological or any other weapons. My ruling was simply — and I quote: "This is not the proper forum to consider or debate specific charges of bacteriological warfare". No attempt was made at any time to prevent any member of the Commission from making proposals to prohibit bacteriological or any other weapons but charges of a specific character are of course quite out of place under the terms of reference of the Disarmament Commission as established by the General Assembly in Paris last year.

When, as Canadian representative on the Disarmament Commission, commenting on the present report, while it was being considered in the Commission, I expressed my

regret at the meagre results achieved by the Commission. A Canadian paper, the *Telegraph Journal* of Saint John, New Brunswick, commented editorially, on October 1 last, that, although "regret" is the language of diplomacy, "heartbreak" would have been a more appropriate term.

Canadian Stand

The heartbreak is that although the Soviet Union say that they stand for peace, for disarmament, for the prohibition of the atomic bomb and bacteriological warfare, and at the same time they make it perfectly plain that they have no intention of making any of these things possible. Categorically and explicitly, we are in favour of the elimination and prohibition of weapons of mass destruction, including atomic and bacteriological weapons. We are in favour of a balanced reduction of armed forces, commencing with a reduction of the forces of the great powers to approximately 3,000,000 men on each side, as part of a comprehensive disarmament plan. But when we start asking direct questions about whether the Soviet Union means anything like the same thing as we do by the kind of inspection which would be necessary in order to carry any of these things into practice our questions go unanswered. Certainly they were not answered yesterday. Even the questions are, it seems, an interference in their domestic affairs.

We must endeavour during the weeks ahead to find out whether we are entering a period in which serious negotiations with the Government of the Soviet Union are possible. The Disarmament Commission is one of a number of places in which we shall have an opportunity of finding out whether this is the case. With this in mind, as the Canadian Delegation has already suggested on several occasions, the Disarmament Commission might occasionally try meeting privately in closed session. At any rate, let us hope that by the next session of the General Assembly we shall have more evidence from the Disarmament Commission of a readiness on the part of all members to negotiate outstanding questions than we have at the present time. The record of the Commission shows that if the Soviet Union wish to negotiate, they will be met more than half way.

APPOINTMENTS AND TRANSFERS IN THE CANADIAN DIPLOMATIC SERVICE

- Mr. P. M. Towe was posted from the Canadian Embassy, Washington, D.C., to Ottawa, effective March 2, 1953.
- Mr. S. H. Nutting was posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Embassy, Bogota, Colombia, effective March 4, 1953.
- Mr. C. E. Glover was posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Embassy, Mexico City, effective March 7, 1953.
- Mr. E. Turcotte, Ambassador, was posted to the Canadian Embassy, Bogota, Colombia, effective March 7, 1953.
- Mr. W. K. Wardroper was posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Consulate General, Los Angeles, California, effective March 7, 1953.
- Mr. R. M. Caza was posted from home leave (Paris) to Ottawa, effective March 9, 1953.
- Mr. F. Charpentier was posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Embassy, Montevideo, Uruguay, effective March 11, 1953.
- Mr. C. C. Eberts was posted to the Canadian Consulate General, San Francisco, California, effective March 14, 1953.
- Mr. K. B. Williamson was posted from the Canadian Legation, Prague, Czechoslovakia, to home leave, effective March 21, 1953.
- Mr. W. G. M. Olivier was posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Embassy, Washington, D.C., effective March 25, 1953.
- Mr. A. E. L. Cannon was posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Embassy, Buenos Aires, Argentina, effective April 3, 1953.
- Mr. A. J. Hicks was posted from Ottawa to the Office of the High Commissioner for Canada, Canberra, Australia, effective April 7, 1953.
- Mr. R. W. A. Dunn was posted from the Canadian Embassy, Washington, D.C., to Ottawa, effective April 7, 1953.
- Mr. J. A. Irwin was posted from Ottawa to the Office of the High Commissioner for Canada, Canberra, Australia, as High Commissioner, effective April 13, 1953.
- Mr. J. H. Thurrott was posted from Ottawa to the Office of the High Commissioner for Canada, Colombo, Ceylon, effective April 14, 1953.
- Mr. G. R. Heasman was posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Embassy, Djakarta, Indonesia, as Ambassador, effective April 15, 1953.
- Mr. A. E. Blanchette was posted from the Canadian Embassy, Mexico, to Ottawa, effective April 15, 1953.
- Mr. E. H. Norman was posted from Ottawa to the Office of the High Commissioner for Canada, Wellington, New Zealand, as High Commissioner, effective April 23, 1953.
- Mr. A. D. Ross was posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Consulate General, New York City, New York, effective April 24, 1953.

CANADIAN REPRESENTATION AT INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCES

(This is a list of international conferences at which Canada has been represented during the month of April 1953. Earlier conferences will be found in previous issues of "External Affairs".)

(The Department of External Affairs, through its International Conferences Section, is responsible for co-ordinating all invitations to international conferences. It should be noted, however, that the decision as to the participation of the Canadian Government at such conferences is made by the Secretary of State for External Affairs, or, where appropriate, by Cabinet, upon the recommendation of the department of Government functionally concerned.)

Standing International Bodies on Which Canada is Represented

(Published annually. Only new standing bodies on which Canada is represented will be listed in the intervening months. See "External Affairs", January 1953, for the last complete list.)

Conferences Attended in April

1. *WMO Commission on Synoptic Meteorology*, Washington, D.C., April 2-April 30.
2. *8th Session of the Economic Commission for Europe*, Geneva, April 3-14.
3. *9th Session of Human Rights Commission*, Geneva, April 6-June 1.
4. *5th Empire Mining and Metallurgical Congress*, Australia and New Zealand, April 12-May 23.
5. *5th Session of Intergovernmental Committee for European Migration*, Geneva, April 17-May 22.
6. *4th Session of Ad Hoc Committee on Forced Labour*, Geneva, April 17-May 22.
7. *Meeting of the 4th Commonwealth Conference on Clothing and General Stores*, London, April 20-May 9.
8. *Advisory Committee to United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees*, Geneva, April 27-30.
9. *Fiscal Commission (ECOSOC)*, New York, April 27-May 8.
10. *Resumed 7th Session of United Nations General Assembly*, New York, February 24.
11. *Resumed 8th Session of International Wheat Council*, Washington, February 2-April 10.

STATEMENTS AND SPEECHES

(Obtainable from the Information Division, Department of External Affairs, Ottawa Canada)

The following serial numbers are available abroad only:

- No. 53/13—*Canada—This Century's Best Investment*, an address by the Minister of Health and Welfare, Mr. Paul Martin, made to the Hamilton Junior Chamber of Commerce, March 16, 1953.
- No. 53/14—*Canadian Resources and Economic Development*, an address by the Minister of Resources and Development, Mr. R. H. Winters, at the Town Hall lectures, New York, March 17, 1953.

The following serial numbers are available in Canada and abroad:

- No. 53/15—*Canada's Economic Future*, an address by the Minister of Trade and Commerce, Mr. C. D. Howe, delivered at the Town Hall lectures, New York, April 7, 1953.
- No. 53/16—*Renewed Efforts for World Peace*, an address by the Minister of National Health and Welfare, Mr. Paul Martin, delivered to the Osgoode Hall Legal and Literary Society, Toronto, April 9, 1953.
- No. 53/17—*National Freedom and International Co-operation*, text of the Jonathan Peterson Lecture, delivered by the Secretary of State for External Affairs, Mr. L. B. Pearson, at Town Hall, New York, April 15, 1953.

CURRENT UNITED NATIONS DOCUMENTS†

A SELECTED LIST

(a) Printed Documents:

Review of International Commodity Problems 1952 (Interim Co-ordinating Committee for International Commodity Arrangements); February 1953; document E/2354. Pp. 51. 50 cents. Sales No.: 1953.II.D.1.

**Annual Report of the Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East, 9 February 1952-14 February 1953*; 2 March 1953; Document E/2374, E/CN.11/372. Pp. 40. 30 cents. ECOSOC Official Records: Fifteenth Session, Supplement No. 6.

WHO—Financial Report 1 January-31 December 1952 (Supplement to the Report of the Director-General for 1952 and Report of the External Auditor to the World Health Assembly); April 1953. Pp. 85. 50 cents. Official Records of WHO, No. 47.

International Convention to facilitate the importation of commercial samples and advertising material; Geneva, 7 November 1952. Pp. 15 (Bilingual).

(b) Mimeographed Documents:

World Economic Situation — Aspects of economic development in Africa (Report by the Secretary-General); 20 March 1953; document E/2377. Pp. 171.

**Report of the Ad Hoc Committee on Restrictive Business Practices to the Economic and Social Council*; 30 March 1953; document E/2380, E/AC.37/3. Pp. 17, Annex A: 9 pp.

**Programme of concerted practical action in the social field of the United Nations and Specialized Agencies* (Report by the Secretary-General); 2 March 1953; document E/CN.5/291. Pp. 321.

† Printed documents may be procured from the Canadian Sales Agent for United Nations publications, the Eyerson Press, 299 Queen St. West, Toronto (English) and Les Presses Universitaires Laval, Quebec (French); mimeographed documents can only be procured by annual subscription from the United Nations Secretariat, New York. Publications and documents may be consulted at certain designated libraries listed in "External Affairs", January 1953, p. 86.

* French version not available until noted in a future issue of "External Affairs".

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| Country | Designation | Address |
|-------------------------|--|--|
| Argentina..... | Ambassador..... | Buenos Aires (Bartolome Mitre, 478) |
| Australia..... | High Commissioner..... | Canberra (State Circle) |
| "..... | Commercial Secretary..... | Melbourne (83 William St.) |
| "..... | Commercial Counsellor..... | Sydney (City Mutual Life Bldg.) |
| Austria..... | Minister (Absent)..... | Vienna 1 (Strauchgasse 1) |
| | Chargé d'Affaires a.i. | |
| Belgian Congo..... | Trade Commissioner..... | Leopoldville (Forescom Bldg.) |
| Belgium..... | Ambassador..... | Brussels (35, rue de la Science) |
| Brazil..... | Ambassador..... | Rio de Janeiro (Avenida Presidente Wilson, 165) |
| "..... | Consul and Trade Commissioner..... | Sao Paulo (Edificio Alois, Rua 7 de Abril, 252) |
| Ceylon..... | Trade Commissioner..... | Colombo (Galle Face Hotel) |
| Chile..... | Ambassador..... | Santiago (Avenida General Bulnes 129) |
| Colombia..... | Ambassador..... | Bogotá (Calle 19, No. 6-39 fifth floor) |
| Cuba..... | Ambassador..... | Havana (No 16 Avenida de Menocal) |
| Czechoslovakia..... | Chargé d'Affaires..... | Prague 2 (Krakowska 22) |
| Denmark..... | Minister..... | Copenhagen (Osterbrogade 26) |
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| Egypt..... | Trade Commissioner..... | Cairo (Osiris Building, Sharia Walda, Kasr-el-Doubara) |
| Finland..... | Minister (Absent)..... | Helsinki (Borgmästarbrinken 3-C. 32) |
| | Chargé d'Affaires a.i. | |
| France..... | Ambassador..... | Paris xvi (72 Avenue Foch) |
| Germany..... | Ambassador..... | Bonn (Zittelmann Strasse, 22) |
| "..... | Head of Military Mission..... | Berlin (Lancaster House, Fehrbelliner Platz) |
| Greece..... | Ambassador..... | Athens (31 Queen Sofia Blvd.) |
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| India..... | High Commissioner..... | New Delhi (4 Aurangzeb Road) |
| "..... | Commercial Secretary..... | Bombay (Gresham Assurance House) |
| Ireland..... | Ambassador..... | Dublin (92 Merrion Square West) |
| Italy..... | Ambassador..... | Rome (Via Saverio Mercadante 15) |
| Jamaica..... | Trade Commissioner..... | Kingston (Canadian Bank of Com-) |
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| Luxembourg..... | Minister..... | Brussels (c/o Canadian Embassy) |
| Mexico..... | Ambassador..... | Mexico (Paseo de la Reforma No. 1) |
| Netherlands..... | Ambassador..... | The Hague (Sophialaan 1A) |
| New Zealand..... | High Commissioner..... | Wellington (Government Life Insurance Bldg.) |
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| Peru..... | Ambassador..... | Lima (Edificio Boza, Plaza San Martin) |
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| Portugal..... | Minister (Absent)..... | Lisbon (Avenida da Praia da Vitoria) |
| | Chargé d'Affaires a.i. | |

| | | |
|---|--|---|
| Singapore..... | Trade Commissioner..... | Singapore (Room D-5, Union Building) |
| Spain..... | Trade Commissioner..... | Madrid (Avenida José Antonio 70) |
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| " " | Trade Commissioner..... | Cape Town (Grand Parade Centre Building, Adderley St.) |
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| " " | Trade Commissioner..... | Belfast (36 Victoria Square) |
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| " " | Consul General..... | Boston (532 Little Bldg.) |
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| " " | Consul General (Vice-Consul in Charge)..... | Los Angeles (510 W. Sixth St.) |
| " " | Consul and Trade Commis- sioner..... | New Orleans (201 International Trade Mart) |
| " " | Consul General..... | New York (620 Fifth Ave.) |
| " " | Honorary Vice-Consul..... | Portland, Maine (443 Congress Street) |
| " " | Consul General..... | San Francisco (400 Montgomery St.) |
| Uruguay..... | Ambassador..... | Montevideo (Casilla Postal 852) |
| Venezuela..... | Consul General..... | Caracas (2° Piso Edificio Pan-Ameri- can, Puente Urapal, Candelaria) |
| Yugoslavia..... | Ambassador..... | Belgrade (Proliterskih Brigada 69) |
| North Atlantic Council..... | Permanent Representative..... | Paris xvi (Canadian Embassy) |
| *OEEC..... | Permanent Representative..... | Paris xvi (c/o Canadian Embassy) |
| United Nations..... | Permanent Representative..... | New York (Room 504, 620 Fifth Avenue) |
| " " | Permanent Delegate..... | Geneva (La Pelouse, Palais des Nations) |
| " " | Deputy Permanent Delegate | |

*Organization for European Economic Co-operation.

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Department of External Affairs
Ottawa, Canada



—UKIO

ELIZABETH II

*By the Grace of God of the United Kingdom, Canada and Her other Realms and Territories,
Queen, Head of the Commonwealth, Defender of the Faith.*

Canada, the Commonwealth, and the Coronation

QUEEN ELIZABETH II is Queen of Canada; that made the coronation, for Canada, a domestic affair. But Elizabeth is not Queen of Canada alone; she has "other realms and territories," as her new titles state. She is Queen of six other sovereign nations: Australia, Ceylon, New Zealand, Pakistan, the Union of South Africa, and the United Kingdom. She is Queen, too, of their dependencies. Moreover, she is the Head of a Commonwealth which includes one republican member, India. Since so many countries besides Canada were concerned with the Queen's coronation, the ceremony affected Canada's external relations as well as her domestic affairs.

Milestones of Constitutional Developments

The coronation of Queen Elizabeth on June 2, 1953, was the fourth to take place at Westminster Abbey during the present century. Although coronations are not occasions for constitutional changes, the forms used at them vary as a result of such changes. In this way they are milestones along the road of constitutional development. The nineteenth-century view was, on the whole, that Victoria was Queen of a single nation with vast overseas possessions. Now, in the middle of the twentieth century, Elizabeth II is recognized as Queen of seven nations with their dependencies, and also, as the symbol of their free association, Head of an eight-nation Commonwealth.

Already, at the coronation of Edward VII in 1902 there was a dawning realization that the United Kingdom was not the only country concerned. The Royal Style and Titles then used declared that Edward was King not only of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, but of the British dominions beyond the seas. As a further gesture towards the internally self-governing dominions and colonies, the Prime Ministers of Canada,

Australia, New Zealand, Cape Colony, Natal, and Newfoundland were invited to the coronation and to a Colonial Conference held in connection with it.

Even at the coronation of King George V in 1911, however, the language used in the ceremony continued to be based on a highly centralized conception of the King's position. The "Recognition" contained no indication that King George was more than "the undoubted King of this Realm". In administering the coronation oath, the King was asked:

Will you solemnly promise and swear to govern the people of this United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and the Dominions thereto belonging, according to the Statutes in Parliament agreed on, and the respective Laws and Customs of the same?

A further section of the oath pledged the King to "maintain the Laws of God, the true profession of the Gospel, and the Protestant Reformed Religion established by law," although there was no form of religion established by law except in England and Scotland.

The standards of the dominions were added in 1911 to those traditionally carried in the procession within the Abbey. At the coronation of 1911 they were borne by former governors general; the standard of Canada was carried by the Earl of Aberdeen. According to the *Historical Record of the Coronation of King George V and Queen Mary*, issued by the Norroy King-at-Arms, the order of the standards was: standards of South Africa and New Zealand; standards of Australia and Canada; standard of the Emperor of India; standard of Wales; standards of Ireland and Scotland; standard of England; standard of the Union; Royal Standard.

Procedures Revised

The development of the British Commonwealth of Nations during the reign of King George V made necessary a thor-

ough overhauling of coronation forms and machinery before the coronation of King George VI in 1937. By this time it was well understood that all nations of the Commonwealth were concerned with the arrangements. The planning machinery therefore had to include representatives not only of the United Kingdom but also of Canada, Australia, New Zealand, and the Union of South Africa. For this purpose a Coronation Commission was established, consisting of the Prime Minister of each member nation of the Commonwealth, along with other representatives from each. The Canadian representatives were the Prime Minister, Mr. Mackenzie King; the High Commissioner for Canada in the United Kingdom, Mr. Vincent Massey, and the Secretary of the High Commissioner's Office, Lt.-Col. George P. Vanier. For the detailed work of preparation, the Commission set up a Coronation Joint Committee to make recommendations. On this committee Mr. Massey represented Canada.

Text of Service Altered

Alterations were made in the text of the coronation service to conform with the new constitutional position. The words "of this Realm" were dropped from the Recognition, the Archbishop now declaring to the congregation:

Sirs, I here present unto you King George, your undoubted King.

The coronation oath ceremonial now began with the question:

Will you solemnly promise and swear to govern the peoples of Great Britain, Ireland, Canada, Australia, New Zealand and the Union of South Africa, of your Possessions and the other Territories to any of them belonging and pertaining, and of your Empire of India, according to their respective laws and customs?

It will be observed that this oath did not list all the member nations of the Commonwealth; if it had done so it would have begun the list with the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland and ended it with the Irish Free State. The latter, however, was in process of changing its name and of reducing to a minimum the King's functions in relation to it; no doubt it was for this reason that the purely geographical terms "Great Britain, Ireland" were

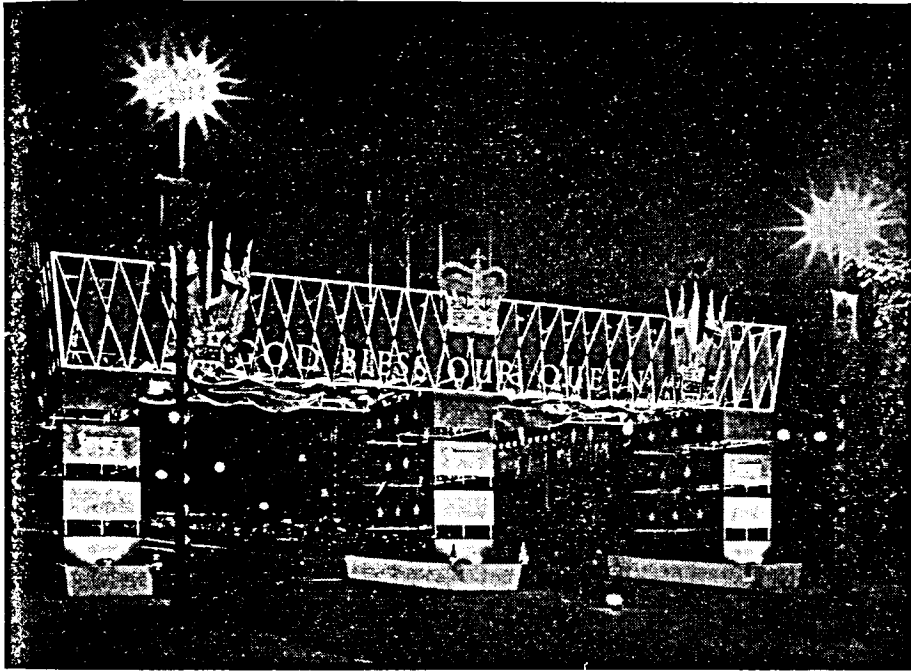
borrowed from the Royal Style and Titles for the purpose of the Coronation oath.

Another change in the oath in 1937 was the limitation to the United Kingdom of the pledge to maintain "the Protestant Reformed Religion established by law". This brought the language of the oath in this respect into conformity with the facts. The standards of overseas members of the Commonwealth, borne in the Abbey procession, were carried on this occasion by their High Commissioners, thus transferring the task from United Kingdom nationals to nationals of the countries represented by the standards.

Coronation Commission

The Commonwealth machinery set up to plan the coronation of Queen Elizabeth II was the same as in 1937. On the Coronation Commission, Canada was represented by the Prime Minister, Mr. L. S. St. Laurent; the High Commissioner, Mr. N. A. Robertson, and the Official Secretary in the High Commissioner's Office, Mr. Frederic Hudd. A further step was taken by adding the Leader of the Opposition, Mr. George Drew, in line with a practice previously adopted only by the United Kingdom and Australia. On the Coronation Joint Committee, the High Commissioner was again the Canadian representative.

In 1937 no special machinery had been set up in Canada for coronation purposes; problems which arose had been dealt with by the Prime Minister, or, if necessary, by the Canadian Government as a whole, advised only by the government departments concerned. This arrangement was considered inadequate for 1952, and Canadian machinery was established to advise the Canadian Government on aspects of the coronation affecting Canada. This consisted, first, of the Coronation Committee of Canada, headed by the Secretary of State of Canada, Mr. F. C. Bradley, and having as its other members the Minister of Public Works, Mr. Alphonse Fournier; the Minister of National Defence, Mr. Brooke Claxton; the Leader of the Government in the Senate, Senate Wishart Robertson; the Secretary of State for External Affairs, Mr. L. B. Pearson; the Minister of Veterans' Affairs, Mr. Hugues Lapointe; the



—Capital Press

OTTAWA CORONATION DECORATIONS

Night scene of arch at Confederation Square, looking west on Wellington Street.

Speaker of the Senate, Senator Elie Beauregard; the Speaker of the House of Commons, Mr. W. Ross Macdonald, and the Leader of the Opposition, Mr. George Drew. The Secretary of the Committee was the Under-Secretary of State, Mr. Charles Stein. For detailed work, the Coronation Executive Committee was set up to advise the Coronation Committee of Canada. Mr. Stein was its chairman and its other members represented various government departments concerned with coronation preparations, including the Department of External Affairs.

The only change made in the coronation oath for 1953 was in the countries listed in it. This part of the oath read:

Will you solemnly promise and swear to govern the peoples of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, the Union of South Africa, Pakistan, and Ceylon, and of your possessions and the other territories to any of them belonging or pertaining, according to their respective laws and customs?

It has not been the practice to use the complete Royal Style and Titles in the coronation service, although the arch-

bishops and bishops, in swearing fealty, used to recite a slightly abbreviated version. Nevertheless it was obviously desirable that the Royal Style and Titles should be brought up to date before the coronation of 1953 took place. This was achieved not only by eliminating obsolete terms, but also by making the Queen's title variable to fit the needs of each of her realms, while retaining a common element. Her title in Canada, for example, is: "Elizabeth the Second, by the Grace of God of the United Kingdom, Canada and her other realms and territories Queen, Head of the Commonwealth, Defender of the Faith."

Royal Style and Titles Bill

Mr. St. Laurent, in moving second reading of the Royal Style and Titles Bill in the House of Commons, February 3, 1953 explained that the arrangement reached by the nations of the Commonwealth as regards the Queen's titles was "in accord with the historical development of our constitutional relations". He continued:

Her Majesty is now the Queen of Canada, but she is the Queen of Canada because she is the Queen of the United Kingdom and because the people of Canada are happy to recognize as their Sovereign the person who is the Sovereign of the United Kingdom. It is not a separate office. It is the recognition of the traditional development of our institutions; that our Parliament is headed by the Sovereign; and that it is the Sovereign who is recognized as the Sovereign of the United Kingdom who is our Sovereign and who is loyally and, I may say, affectionately recognized as the Sovereign of our country. We all felt that it was desirable to have that recognition retained in the title as a proclamation of the historical, traditional link between this country and the United Kingdom.

Development of Royal Style and Titles

Mr. Pearson, during the debate which followed, reviewed the historical development of the Royal Style and Titles, pointing out that in 1901 the Canadian Government had suggested the addition to the King's title of the words "King of Canada, Australasia, South Africa, and all the British Dominions beyond the Seas". As regards the present title he stated:

In recent years, members of the Commonwealth have been considering, by exchanges of correspondence between governments and by meetings in London, ways and means of bringing the title into conformity with the constitutional relations which now exist within the Commonwealth. The discussions which took place last December when the prime ministers of the Commonwealth assembled in London were the result of long and careful consideration of how changes could be brought about in the Royal Style and Titles which would make them appropriate to and practicable for the current Commonwealth relations, while maintaining

the tradition and dignity associated with them . . .

It is of great significance, I think, that the words which are common to all titles in all parts of Her Majesty's realms are the words 'Head of the Commonwealth' . . . Our Queen . . . is Head of a Commonwealth whose members include a republic of which she is not Queen and in which she has no constitutional function to perform. That, I suggest, is striking evidence not only of the adaptability of the Commonwealth to changing conditions but of the political realism and ingenuity of the the peoples and the governments who make up the Commonwealth . . .

For certain members of the Commonwealth — and this certainly includes Canada — the monarchical form is preferable because it symbolizes in a very real way the unbroken continuity in our history and the development of our political institutions from Magna Carta to the sessions of the House of Commons in Ottawa today. The Crown under the monarchical principle also lends, I think, stability and dignity to our national life, and I am sure we all agree that that is important in a democratic system based on the free and active play of party controversies. The Crown as head of the state and as represented in our country, standing above all such controversies, commanding and deserving the respect and loyalty and affection of us all, ensures a more solid and secure foundation for national development than might otherwise be the case under some other form of democratic government.

Yet it is good to know that the Commonwealth, with its monarchical and its republican membership, is flexible enough to contain Asian as well as Western members, and a republic as well as monarchies . . .

At London, as I have said, it was agreed last December to differ, if necessary, in the title and style of the Crown, but we all agreed, without difficulty and without difference, in our determination to pursue within the Commonwealth those ideals for which the Crown so finely stands — peace, dignity and ordered progress.

Eritrea: A Successful Beginning

DURING the seventh session of the United Nations General Assembly there was celebrated, without the accompaniment of any special publicity, the orderly and successful termination of another chapter in the record of post-war adjustments in East Africa. Many observers had feared that this chapter might close in an outburst of violence and anarchy. Instead the story presented to the *Ad Hoc* Political Committee of the General Assembly on December 11 and 12, 1952 was one of reconciliation through voluntary co-operation. It furnished an example of how under difficult conditions, representatives of a colonial power, governments of other states directly interested and local national leaders, co-operating with representatives of the United Nations, might bring about an orderly transition in the political status of a dependent territory in the face of many conflicting interests.

U.N. Commission in Eritrea

When the question of the disposal of the former Italian colonies was referred to the Assembly in September 1948 because the Four Powers (the United Kingdom, the United States, France and the U.S.S.R.) could not agree on what should be done with them, it was found that a decision on Eritrea presented special difficulties. Thus although the Assembly was able on November 21, 1949 to make recommendations about the future government of Libya and Italian Somaliland, the question of Eritrea had to be deferred until a United Nations Commission should have visited the territory and reported to the Assembly. It is true that the Four Powers had sent a commission of investigation to Eritrea in the closing months of 1947, but in view of contradictory statements made at the Assembly in 1949 by Eritreans who represented various party groupings the Assembly felt it would be wise to have a fresh inquiry made.

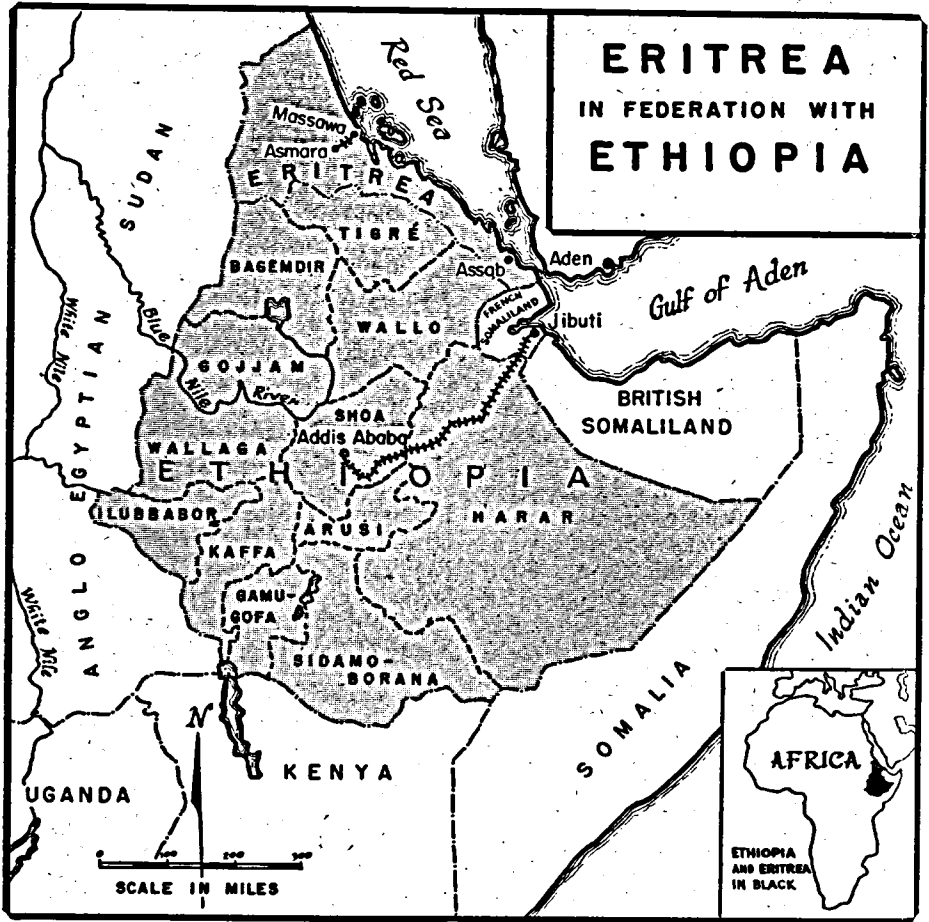
The United Nations Commission which spent the early part of 1950 in Eritrea found local sentiment to be divided be-

tween support of outright union with Ethiopia, the creation of an independent Eritrean state (possibly after a short period of trusteeship) and partition of the territory to enable part of it to join Ethiopia and the rest to remain independent. Two members of the United Nations Commission recommended independence after a period of trusteeship not to exceed ten years. A third recommended tentative partition so as to allow the unionists to join Ethiopia immediately, giving the rest of the country under continued British administration time to choose between Ethiopia or the Sudan. The fourth and fifth members of the Commission recommended a compromise in the form of immediate federation of the whole of Eritrea with Ethiopia under the sovereignty of the Ethiopian Crown.

Various Views of the Problem

The United Kingdom was anxious for an early settlement since it wished to withdraw as soon as possible from the administration of Eritrea, for which it had been responsible since the Italian defeat in East Africa in 1941. Although Italy in the Peace Treaty of February 10, 1947 had renounced all right and title to Eritrea it had a continuing interest in the territory, not only because of its association with Eritrea from 1885 to 1941, but also because of the presence there of some 20,000 Italian farmers, artisans, technicians, professional persons and entrepreneurs who regarded Eritrea as their permanent home. Italy hoped for an independent régime which would safeguard the position of these Italian nationals, encourage Italian enterprise and permit the development of close trade relations between Eritrea and Italy.

Ethiopia asked for incorporation of Eritrea as an integral part of the Ethiopian Empire. Its claims to Eritrea were based on historic considerations, on the similarity of the cultural and racial heritage of the two countries and on the economic advantages which each could offer the other. In particular Ethiopians



argued that Eritrea alone was not economically viable and that the creation of a larger political unit, which would give Ethiopia unobstructed access to the Red Sea and to international trade routes, would tend to raise the standard of living of the inhabitants of the whole area.

Plan of Federation

On December 2, 1950 the General Assembly decided to recommend the federation of Eritrea with Ethiopia as an autonomous unit under the sovereignty of the Ethiopian Crown. Canada and thirteen other states had jointly sponsored the draft resolution on which this decision was based. The first seven paragraphs constituted a federal act setting forth the main lines along which power was to be divided between Eritrea and the federal

authority. The plan called for creation of a separate Eritrean government and for the inclusion of Eritreans in the executive, legislative and judicial branches of the federal government. An Imperial Federal Council composed of equal numbers of Ethiopians and Eritreans would meet at least once a year to advise on matters of common interest, but otherwise the federal government and administration would not require the creation of new organs but would involve merely the inclusion of Eritreans in existing organs of the imperial Ethiopian government. A single nationality would prevail in the federal area. Human rights and fundamental liberties would be guaranteed to all residents both by the federal and by the Eritrean authorities. A United Nations Commissioner, acting in consultation with interested parties, would draft a constitu-

tion for Eritrea and help elected representatives of the people in their consideration of the draft. The British administration of Eritrea would arrange for the actual creation of the new Eritrean administration and organs of government and was asked to transfer powers to the appropriate authorities by September 15, 1952.

Successful Implementation

Eritrea was torn by violent dissension at the time when this resolution was adopted. None of its own leaders had advocated a plan of federation, nor had the Eritrean people been consulted about it. Neither was it certain that Ethiopia and Italy, which had given their consent to the compromise only in deference to the weight of opinion expressed in its favour in the General Assembly, would find it easy to accord the moral support which was essential if a federation was to be successfully established and maintained. At the seventh session of the United Nations General Assembly, however, on December 11, 1952, Dr. Eduardo Anze Matienzo of Bolivia, the United Nations Commissioner in Eritrea, was able to report to the *Ad Hoc* Political Committee that the principle of federation had been accepted by rival party leaders in Eritrea shortly after the Assembly resolution was adopted, that Ethiopia had given willing co-operation, and that in his own work relating to the drafting of a constitution for Eritrea he had kept in touch with Italian leaders as well as with leaders of the indigenous population in every part of the country. In Geneva he had twice taken up difficult constitutional issues with panels of legal consultants appointed by the Secretary-General of the United Nations. Subsequently every aspect of the draft constitution had been carefully considered by the elected representatives of the Eritrean people, who had approved the instrument after making certain amendments. Both the Eritrean constitution and the federal act recommended by the General Assembly had been ratified by the Emperor of Ethiopia, with whom the Commissioner had also kept in close touch. The whole process had been successfully completed within the time-limit prescribed by the General Assembly.

In presenting his report Dr. Anze Matienzo made special mention of the importance for the future of the fulfilment by Ethiopia of the responsibilities it had undertaken toward Eritrea. It would have to protect the integrity of the federation against possible secession movements on the one hand and against annexationist agitation on the other. It would have to give Eritrea economic assistance, and its manner of doing so must not affect either the economic or the political autonomy of the smaller country.

Help from British Administration

While the United Nations Commissioner had been responsible for preparing the draft constitution for Eritrea and for helping the Eritrean legislative assembly to deal with the issues it raised, the British administration had been responsible for carrying out the practical measures which had to be introduced to transform Eritrea into an autonomous unit federated with Ethiopia. The representative of the United Kingdom duly made a report to the *Ad Hoc* Political Committee on the work done to create an Eritrean administration, to build up an Eritrean civil service, to arrange the first free general election ever held in the country, and to convoke the first Eritrean representative assembly, as well as to organize a customs union between Eritrea and Ethiopia before the federation became a reality.

Within twenty months the British had succeeded in establishing an administration 96 per cent Eritrean. Only 350 foreigners remained in the civil service, of whom 27 were British. The British administration had also reorganized on a simpler basis the judicial system, in which the utmost confusion had formerly prevailed. For the first time a balanced budget had been drawn up. Political banditry, long a feature of Eritrean life, had become accentuated during the years when the future status of the territory was a subject of international discussion. In 1951, however, the problem practically disappeared as a result of firm measures adopted by the British administration coupled with an offer of amnesty to all who would submit within a given time-limit. At the time of their withdrawal on September 15, 1952, the British had been

able to hand over to the Eritrean administration "adequate and well-trained security forces". Necessary measures for co-operation with the Ethiopian police and administrative authorities had also been worked out.

In his account of the part played by the British administration in giving effect to the federation plan recommended by the United Nations General Assembly, Sir Gladwyn Jebb attributed some importance to the influence which the holding of general elections had had on public opinion, since it had tended to remove fears underlying the political unrest by which Eritrea had been torn from 1945 to 1950. The elections had resulted in an equal distribution of seats between Christians and Moslems, so that neither group was now apprehensive of domination by the other, and no political party had obtained a majority. Despite frequent references in 1949 to the political immaturity of the Eritrean people, it had been discovered after the legislature was convoked that groups which had formerly been bitterly opposed to each other were capable of an admirable degree of mutual co-operation without prompting either from the United Nations Commissioner or from British administrators.

Assembly Comment

Speaking on behalf of his government, the representative of Ethiopia gave formal assurances that the autonomy of Eritrea and the provisions of the federal act would continue to be respected by Ethiopia and that the rights of Italian inhabitants in the federal area would not be diminished. The Italian representative, on being invited to speak to the *Ad Hoc* Political Committee, accepted these assurances as "unreserved and final". He suggested, however, that it would be a wise precaution to act on a suggestion of the United Nations Commissioner that a Federal Supreme Court should be set up to deal with possible conflicts of jurisdiction between federal and Eritrean authorities. He also pointed out the importance of strict compliance with provisions of the Eritrean constitution relating to the receipt by Eritrea of its due share of customs revenue collected throughout the federal area. He expressed the hope that

the United Nations and the Specialized Agencies would bear in mind Eritrea's need for technical assistance.

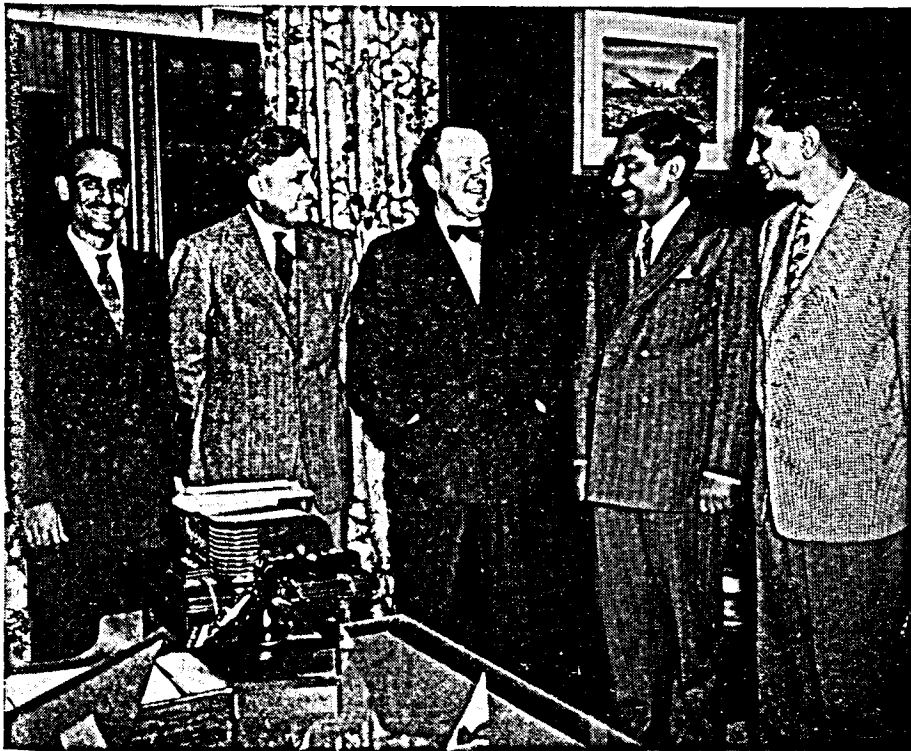
After twenty-four members had participated in the committee debate, for the most part expressing gratification over the outcome of the Assembly resolution of December 2, 1950, the Chairman put to the vote on December 12 a joint draft resolution sponsored by the same states which had introduced the resolution of 1950, with the exception of Bolivia, whose representative was the retiring United Nations Commissioner. The resolution made appreciative references to the part played by the United Nations Commissioner in Eritrea, and by the former administering authority as well as by Ethiopia, and noted the determination of the latter to execute scrupulously the provisions of the federal act. It welcomed the federation of Eritrea with Ethiopia under the sovereignty of the Ethiopian Crown and congratulated the people and governmental authorities of the federation for their effective and loyal fulfilment of the Assembly resolution of December 2, 1950. The new resolution was formally adopted in a plenary meeting on December 17, 1952 by 51 votes in favour and none against. The five members of the Soviet bloc abstained.

An Important Experiment

How the unique constitutional arrangement recommended by the United Nations General Assembly is going to function is a question of importance to several millions of human beings in East Africa. It is the first time in modern history that an African territory, after generations of administration by Europeans and dependence on subsidies from abroad, has embarked on an enterprise of self-government under the sovereignty of an African monarch and in close federation with a neighbouring African people. The experiment has had a successful beginning, thanks in part to the extraordinary degree of co-operativeness shown by all concerned. Special credit goes to the British administrators who were able to translate into some form of reality, often in unpromising circumstances, the ideas embodied in directives given by the United Nations General Assembly. The patience

shown by the United Nations Commissioner in ensuring that Eritreans should understand the implications of the new constitutional arrangements has helped to give these arrangements a firmness they might otherwise have lacked. How far the new partners in East Africa will

have to rely on technical assistance from the United Nations and other sources is not yet known, but they have been assured of the hopes of other members of the United Nations that they will succeed in the tasks of organization and administration which lie ahead.



—Capital Press

PAKISTANI CIVIL SERVANTS IN CANADA

Four officers of the Pakistan Civil Service who have come to Canada to study public administration, are welcomed by the Secretary of State for External Affairs, Mr. L. B. Pearson. Left to right: Riazuddin Ahmad, Deputy Secretary to the Government of the Punjab in the Department of Finance; Ataulah Jan Khan, of the Civil Service of Pakistan; Mr. Pearson; Hussain Haider, Deputy Commissioner of Sylhet, East Bengal; and Hammad Raza, Deputy Commissioner at Montgomery, West Punjab.

North Atlantic Council Ministerial Session

Paris, April 23-25, 1953

FOR the eleventh time since its establishment, and for the second time since the Lisbon meeting, the North Atlantic Council met in Ministerial session in Paris in April, with the Foreign, Defence and Finance Ministers of the fourteen member countries present. Lord Ismay, the Secretary General, acted as chairman in place of Mr. Kraft, of Denmark, who was unavoidably absent because of the elections in his country. Canada was represented by Mr. L. B. Pearson, Secretary of State for External Affairs, Mr. D. C. Abbott, Minister of Finance, and Mr. Brooke Claxton, Minister of National Defence. Mr. A. D. P. Heeney, who is the Permanent Representative of Canada to the North Atlantic Council, also attended.

Fortunately it has now become more widely recognized that these Ministers may, and should, meet together from time to time to take stock and review future plans without necessarily recording spectacular decisions or controversies. This session was neither spectacular nor controversial, not because its achievements were unimportant — quite the contrary — but because the Ministers were able to reach rapidly full agreement on all the matters under discussion. This result is indicative of the close working relationships that are being developed within the Organization and was much assisted by the excellent preparatory work done in Paris by the Council meeting in permanent session and by the International Secretariat under Lord Ismay. The session was, moreover, both constructive and timely. Measures were approved to enable the Organization to make further progress in the immediate future toward developing the defensive strength necessary to defeat aggression. Ministers also had a valuable opportunity for a frank exchange of views on the international scene at a time when developments in Soviet foreign policy were attracting particular interest.

There was to be discerned at this session a new note of sober confidence in the growing capacity of the North Atlantic community to maintain peace and security. The firm conviction was expressed that the policy of collective defence had thus been proved fully justified and that it should, if continued with patience and firmness, create a basis for the just settlement of unresolved international problems.

Annual Review

A firm military programme was established for 1953 and a provisional programme for 1954; that is, the level of forces to be contributed to NATO by the end of 1953 was formally agreed and the further level to be contributed by the end of 1954 was adopted provisionally. These levels represent, in the words of the communique, "a notable increase" in the size of forces assigned to NATO over those achieved by the end of 1952 in accordance with the targets set at Lisbon. This, however, is only part of the story. It was also agreed, in accordance with the emphasis placed on quality by the December meeting of the Council, that important improvements in training, equipment and support units should be carried out which would increase substantially the effectiveness of these forces. On this occasion, in contrast to the practice followed at Lisbon, the Council did not make public the exact numbers involved. This decision was taken deliberately to minimize the security risk and to avoid misunderstanding. It was felt that, although guesses (inspired and otherwise) were bound to be made, it would be lending gratuitous assistance to potential enemies to furnish official confirmation of the correct figures involved. It was also felt that a mere tabulation of numbers would fail to give a balanced picture and would not do justice to the full significance of the



—NATIS

NATO MINISTERIAL MEETING

The Canadian delegation to the 11th ministerial meeting of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization headed by, left to right: the Minister of Finance, Mr. Douglas Abbott; the Minister of National Defence, Mr. Brooke Claxton; the Secretary of State for External Affairs, Mr. L. B. Pearson; and the Canadian Permanent Delegate to NATO, Mr. A. D. P. Heeney.

qualitative improvements that had been adopted.

These decisions on forces for 1953 and 1954 came at the conclusion of a lengthy and thorough review by the Council of member countries' current defence programmes and their future defence plans. A similar review had been carried out by the "Three Wise Men" before the Lisbon meeting. This time, however, the review was carried out by member countries themselves through their Permanent Representatives on the Council and with the assistance of the Secretary-General and his staff. Full account was taken of the various economic and financial factors affecting the rate of expansion of each country's defence effort. It was recognized that members of the alliance must be prepared to keep their guard up for a prolonged period — for as long as the threat to their security remained — and that to do this it was essential that the development of sound national economies and the increase of military forces should be pursued concurrently.

Infrastructure

An important and far-reaching agreement was reached on sharing the cost, over the next three years, of constructing the permanent installations (such as airfields, telecommunications, and jet fuel supply and storage facilities) required for the common use of the NATO forces. This agreement is subject to the necessary appropriations being made by national parliaments. It will, however, enable the NATO military commanders to draw up long-term plans for building these so-called "infrastructure" facilities. Such plans will be subject to approval in detail by the Council and its subordinate bodies, and the actual expenditure of funds will be subject to an improved system of close financial supervision, which has now been worked out. The amounts involved are \$187.6 million for the second part of the infrastructure programme approved at the December Ministerial meeting, and \$700 million for the 3-year period beginning in 1954. These amounts are not large in relation to the

total defence expenditure of the NATO countries but they constitute by far the largest commonly financed element of NATO expenditure. They involve, moreover, installations which are of the greatest importance to the fighting efficiency of the NATO forces. The formula adopted for sharing the cost of these infrastructure programmes was arrived at pragmatically by negotiation and not on any pre-determined basis. Canada's share was set at 7.13 per cent.

Report of the Secretary-General

As he had in December, the Secretary-General again submitted a progress report to the Council outlining the current work of the International Secretariat. It also described the progress made in a wide variety of technical studies initiated by the Council on such problems as civil defence and the non-military matters covered by Article II of the Treaty. In each of these fields committees or working groups had been set up to investigate the possibilities of closer co-operation and joint action. In introducing the report, the Secretary-General emphasized particularly the importance of increasing public understanding of NATO and its objectives in the member countries and he commended this problem to the active attention of member governments. Various ministers expressed their special interest in the further development of co-operation between the NATO countries in the economic, cultural and social fields.

Exchange of Political Views

The Ministers once more followed their practice of consulting together on political matters of common concern. Their exchange of views on the international

situation, with special reference to recent Soviet moves, was particularly full and frank and was one of the most valuable features of this session. There was a remarkable unanimity of opinion on the significance of recent developments. Member governments reaffirmed their readiness to seek every opportunity to reduce international tension and were, therefore, prepared to welcome the recent Soviet moves and gestures to the extent to which these were proved by deeds to be genuine. At the same time, it was agreed that nothing had yet happened to alter the fundamental threat to our security and that there was, therefore, no justification for the slightest relaxation at this time in the defensive measures which Soviet intransigence had forced upon the NATO countries. The conclusions of this discussion, therefore, underlined the determination of the Council to persist with the policy of collective defence while remaining prepared to meet halfway any genuine move toward conciliation.

The Council also discussed the prospects for establishment of the European Defence Community. The belief was reaffirmed that the participation of forces of German origin was as essential to the defence of the North Atlantic community as to the defence of Western Germany itself. It was stressed that, since this participation could best be achieved through a European Army, it was of paramount importance that the remaining obstacles in the way of establishing the European Defence Community should be overcome as quickly as possible.

It was decided that the Ministers should meet again if possible next autumn, at which time plans for the following year could be reviewed. The text of the final communiqué issued by the recent session is given below.

Final Communiqué

(Approved by the North Atlantic Council on 25 April, 1953)

1. The North Atlantic Council, meeting in Paris in Ministerial Session with the Ministers of Foreign Affairs, Defence, Economics and Finance present, and under the Chairmanship of Lord Ismay, completed their work today.

2. The Council agreed on short and long-term programmes for NATO. They established a firm military programme for 1953 and a provisional programme for 1954. In addition to the forces which Greece and Turkey are contributing,

there will be a notable increase in the size of the forces assigned to NATO Supreme Commanders and a considerable improvement in their effectiveness. Training is being greatly improved at all levels. The series of large-scale manoeuvres held during the last year has appreciably raised the standard of co-operation of the forces of the member countries; units are being better equipped and the organization of support forces is developing. The NATO military authorities consider that the attainment of the force goals in 1953, and the combined influence of these various factors, will add materially to the defensive strength of NATO during 1953.

3. Agreement was reached not only on the common financing of the second part (£ 67,000,000) to the Fourth Slice of the Infrastructure Programme (the first part to the amount of about £ 80,000,000 having been settled at a Ministerial Meeting in December), but also on a cost-sharing formula which would cover fu-

ture programmes to be submitted by the Supreme Commanders for the three-year period beginning in 1954, involving expenditure of up to £ 250,000,000, subject to the approval of Parliaments. These programmes will include a wide range of projects such as airfields, telecommunications, naval bases and port facilities, pipelines and radar installations. The military authorities of NATO now have a financial planning figure to which they can work for over three years. In addition, an improved system is ready to be put into operation to ensure closer financial supervision over the expenditure of common infrastructure funds.

4. The Council gave close attention to various economic and financial factors affecting the rate of expansion of the defence efforts. It was agreed that the development of sound national economies and the increase of military forces should be pursued concurrently; in certain fields the establishment of long-term joint mili-



—National Defence

CANADIAN SABRES FOR NATO

General Roger Noiret, left, Commander-in-Chief of the French Forces in Germany, and Group Captain A. C. Hull, Commanding Officer of No. 3 Fighter Wing, at Zweibrucken, Germany, examine one of the Canadian built "Sabre" jets, on the occasion of the assignment of this Canadian Wing to the North Atlantic Treaty Organization on April 20.

tary production programmes appeared to be the least costly and the most efficient solution.

5. It was on these lines that the Member Governments and the International Staff developed a method for preparing correlated production programmes. The object of this is both to ensure that the defence production undertaken by European countries within their own budgets is on the most economic lines and to make defence production in Europe more effective. The participation of the United States, through off-shore procurement, adds to the contribution of the European countries and plays a very important part in these achievements. The additional fighter aircraft production programme, which has recently been announced, is a first important result of this. It will facilitate the expansion of the aircraft industries in five European countries while at the same time strengthening the air defence capacity of the alliance. Other programmes are being considered. NATO is also studying the means of developing production in Europe of spare parts for the maintenance of equipment of American and Canadian origin.

6. The Secretary General's Progress Report to the Council stressed the close collaboration between the civilian and military agencies of NATO, and outlined the current work of the International Staff. It emphasised the importance of developing a better public understanding of the aims and achievements of NATO, a matter to which Governments should give their constant attention. The Report described the progress made in the many and varied technical studies by Committees of the Council in a number of widely different fields, such as civil defence and other aspects of civil organization in time of war.

In the course of discussion on the Report, the Council re-emphasised their interest in the NATO countries' co-operation in the economic, cultural and social fields. They noted with satisfaction the initiative taken by the President of the United States of America, recently announced, with a view to fostering the solution of overpopulation problems in certain countries.

7. The Council continued their regular practice of exchanging views on political

matters of common concern. In reviewing the international situation they were in full agreement. This agreement included their estimate of the recent Soviet moves and gestures. To the extent that these moves and gestures are proved by events to be genuine efforts to reduce international tension, they will be welcomed by Member Governments, whose policy has always been to seek every opportunity for world peace.

8. Nevertheless, the Council found that there had not yet in fact been any change in the fundamental threat to the security of free peoples. The most striking evidence of this continuing threat is the huge and constantly strengthened military force maintained by those nations whose policies have been responsible for the present tension, and who are still promoting aggressive war in several parts of the world. The most recent example is the extension of hostilities in Laos. This serious development has increased the burden of France in the struggle against aggression and has given rise to deep concern on the part of other Member Governments.

9. The Council, therefore, reaffirmed the policy of collective defence which has proved fully justified, and which has been responsible for the growing confidence of the free world in the future. The Council felt that there was every prospect that this policy, continued with firmness and patience, will create a basis for a just settlement of unresolved international problems.

10. The Council considered it essential that Member Governments should continue to develop the free Atlantic community which should include a European Defence Community to be established as soon as possible in an ever more closely united Europe.

11. The Council reaffirmed their fundamental desire to build for peace. They looked forward to the day when a greater share of the resources of their countries would be devoted to national and international reconstruction and development. Convinced that in unity lies their greatest strength, they are resolved to broaden co-operation in every field, economic, political and social, as well as military, and so to make the Atlantic community a lasting reality.

Mr. St. Laurent's Visit to Washington

AT the invitation of President Eisenhower, the Prime Minister, Mr. St. Laurent, made an official visit to the United States from May 7 to 9. He was accompanied by the Secretary of State for External Affairs, Mr. L. B. Pearson, and the Secretary of the Cabinet, Mr. J. W. Pickersgill.

The Prime Minister met President Eisenhower at the White House shortly after his arrival, and later went to Arlington Cemetery to lay wreaths at the tomb of the Unknown Soldier, and at the Canadian Cross.

On the following day Mr. St. Laurent visited the Capital where he called on the Vice-President, Mr. Richard M. Nixon, and the Speaker of the House of Representatives, Mr. Joseph W. Martin Jr. He then attended a luncheon and gave an address at the National Press Club. Later that afternoon he had a further meeting with the President. During his visit, Mr. St. Laurent met prominent members of Congress at a luncheon tendered by the President, and at dinners given by the Canadian Ambassador, Mr. Wrong, and Secretary of State, Mr. Dulles. The following statement was issued by the White House at the conclusion of the meetings of President Eisenhower and various United States government officials with Mr. St. Laurent:

The President of the United States, the Secretary of State, and other members of the cabinet have held discussions during the last two days with the Canadian Prime Minister, Mr. Louis S. St. Laurent, and the Secretary of State for External Affairs, Mr. L. B. Pearson. The meeting continued a long standing practice of visits exchanged across the border between Prime Ministers of Canada and the Presidents of the United States. The conversations consisted of a full and frank exchange of views on the world situation in general and on United States-Canadian relations in particular. They were conducted in that spirit of friendship and co-operation which has long been characteristic of official discussions between the two governments and they revealed a far-reaching identity of objectives.

World Situation

In a survey of the world situation today, the President and the Prime Minister gave particular emphasis to recent developments

in the U.S.S.R. and the Soviet orbit and their effects upon the free nations of the world. It was agreed that while every effort should be made to bring about a relaxation of current tensions, the free nations could not afford to diminish their efforts toward the achievement of united strength and ability to meet aggression. Acts, not words, would be proof of Communist intentions. Though recent developments in Korea where Canadian and United States troops are fighting side by side have seemed more hopeful, nevertheless, in Laos, a new act of aggression has been committed which might have serious consequences for Thailand and the whole of Southeast Asia. These developments in Southeast Asia must cast doubt on Communist intentions.

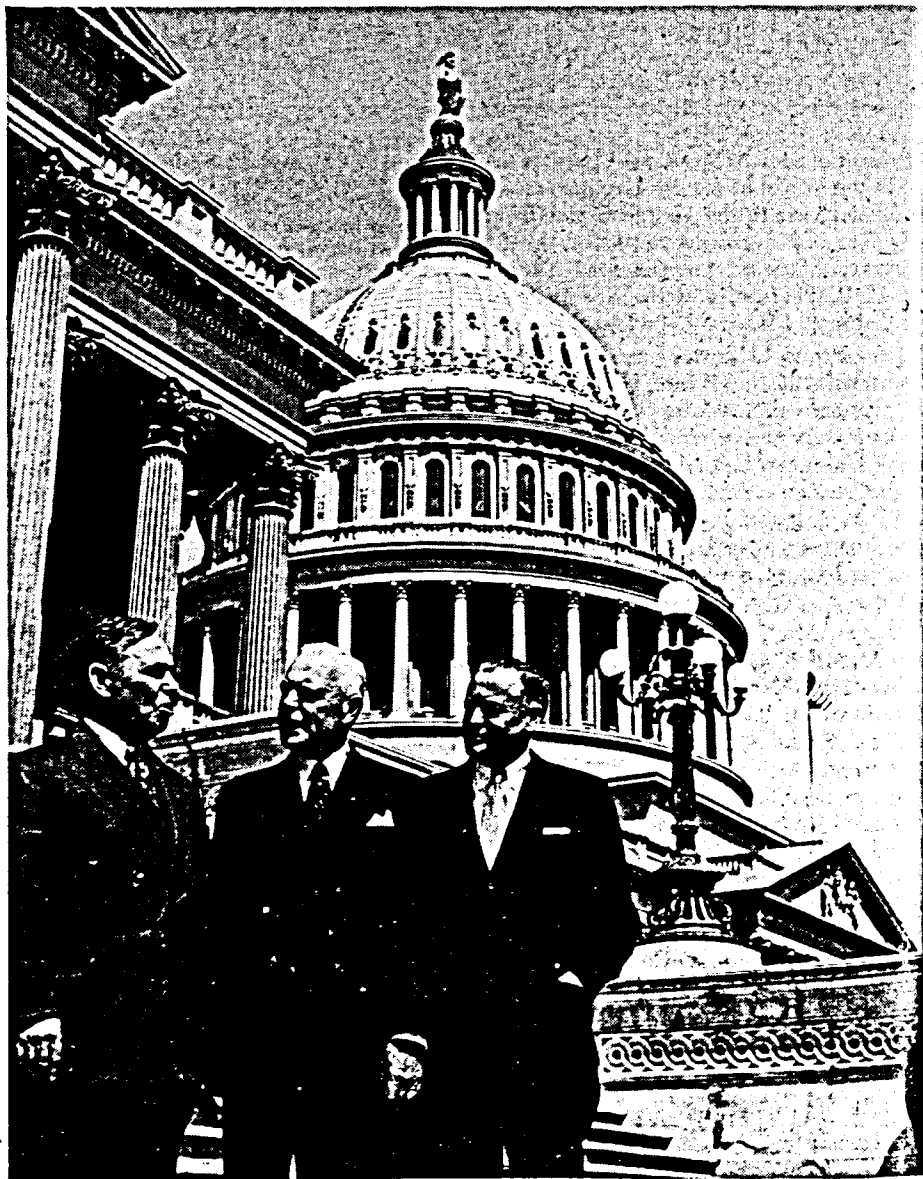
In the discussions on the European area, emphasis was placed on the necessity of maintaining the momentum of vigorous support for NATO. The achievements of the recent NATO ministerial meeting were noted with satisfaction. It was agreed that both countries must continue to do their full share to further NATO objectives.

Expanding Trade

Views were exchanged concerning progress made toward the expansion of world trade. It was recalled that trade between the United States and Canada is greater than that between any other two countries. The Prime Minister stressed the great importance attached by Canada to the liberation and expansion of world trade and expressed the hope that the United States would play a role of leadership in this field. The President stated that, as an interim step, the administration has recommended to the Congress the one-year renewal of the Reciprocal Trade Act and intends to submit to the Congress shortly its proposals regarding customs simplification. The President also pointed out that he has recommended to the Congress the establishment of a commission to study all aspects of United States economic foreign policy so that future policies will be comprehensive, constructive and consistent.

St. Lawrence Project

The Prime Minister emphasized the importance to Canada of an early start on the St. Lawrence project and the especial urgency to Canada of the power development. The President assured the Prime Minister that the United States is fully aware of Canada's urgent need for St. Lawrence power. He said that he favored the development of the United States share of St. Lawrence power under the authority of New York State and that he hoped for an early favorable decision by the Federal Power Commission in this



—USIS

THE PRIME MINISTER IN WASHINGTON

The Prime Minister, Mr. St. Laurent, on the steps of the United States Capital, during his recent visit to Washington, D.C., talks with the Speaker of the House of Representatives, Mr. Joseph W. Martin, Jr., left, and Senator Styles Bridges, President "Pro Tempore" of the United States Senate.

matter. The President in this connection referred to the decision of the cabinet on this subject announced today (Friday). The Prime Minister said that the Canadian Government was still prepared to discuss United States participation in the International Section, provided that arrangements for power construction are completed and provided the whole seaway would not be delayed. He stressed

again Canada's readiness to proceed at once with the work under the Canadian St. Lawrence legislation of 1951.

Adequate Defence

Recognizing the importance to the free world of the adequate defence of the North American continent, the President and the

Prime Minister emphasized the desirability and effectiveness of co-operating on the basis of the Ogdensburg Declaration of 1940, which established the Permanent Joint Board on Defence between Canada and the United States. Post-war arrangements for continental defence have continued in this framework. It was recognized by the Prime Minister and the President that joint defence facilities erected in Canada under these arrangements strengthen the defence and the security of

both Canada and the United States. The President assured the Prime Minister that the United States, for its part, in such joint actions will continue scrupulously to respect Canadian sovereignty.

The Prime Minister and the President reaffirmed the importance of continuing the whole-hearted co-operation between the two countries in the field of continental defence, and in the wider field of international action designed to preserve and strengthen peace.



VICE-PRESIDENT OF INDIA VISITS OTTAWA

The Vice-President of India, Dr. Sarvepalli Radhakrishnan, with the Acting Prime Minister, Mr. Brooke Claxton, during his visit to Ottawa on May 25.

—Capital Press

Canada and the United Nations

Personnel Policy of the Secretary-General

WHEN the seventh session of the General Assembly resumed its meetings in February of this year, it had before it a new item entitled "Personnel Policy of the Secretary-General". This item had been placed on the agenda at the request of the Secretary-General, Mr. Trygve Lie, in order that he might inform the Assembly and at the same time obtain its views on the action which he had taken or proposed to take regarding United States citizens on the Secretariat who were suspected of subversive activities against the United States.

Commission of Jurists

The events which led to the proposing of the agenda item on personnel policy began during the summer of 1952 when a number of United States citizens employed on the Secretariat were called to testify before the Sub-Committee on Internal Security of the United States Senate. Certain of these employees refused to answer questions regarding subversive activities or membership in the Communist party, pleading their privilege under the Fifth Amendment to the United States Constitution to refuse to answer questions which might tend to incriminate them. The Secretary-General, disturbed by these refusals, appointed a three-man "Commission of Jurists" to advise him on the action he should take in regard to these employees and other United States citizens on whom he had received adverse reports from the United States authorities. The Commission, after studying the problem, recommended that the Secretary-General should dismiss all employees who had been found guilty of subversive activities against the host country (i.e. the United States), all employees who pleaded the constitutional privilege mentioned above and all employees whom he had reasonable ground to believe had been, were or were likely to be engaged in subversive activities against the host country. They also

recommended the establishment of an Advisory Panel to help decide cases in the last category and Mr. Lie later set up this Panel under the chairmanship of a Canadian, Mr. Leonard W. Brockington, Q.C.

The Jurists' report was issued during an unsettled and difficult period, just after the United States elections but before the change in administration and just before Mr. Lie tendered his resignation as Secretary-General. Some delegations were not convinced that the recommendations it contained were wholly in accord with the provisions of the Charter pertaining to the Secretariat. Although it was generally recognized that the United States had a legitimate right to protect its interests, the consensus of debate at the first part of the seventh session was that member states should have an opportunity to express their views before the Secretary-General, who had already expressed general agreement with the Jurists' report, took definitive action. Accordingly, Mr. Lie undertook to prepare a full report on his personnel policy, and an item entitled "Personnel Policy of the Secretary-General" was placed on the agenda for the resumed part of the seventh session of the Assembly.

Conflicting Concepts

The problems with which the Assembly was faced with regard to personnel policy arose from the existence of two seemingly conflicting concepts — that of an independent international civil service, and that of the protection of the legitimate security interests of a member state. The provisions of the Charter concerning the Secretariat clearly emphasize certain fundamental principles governing the recruitment, obligations and functions of the staff. First, the Secretariat must be free, independent and of truly international character. Secondly, appointment of staff must be the sole responsibility of the Secretary-General. This responsibility

is necessary to assure the independence already mentioned. Thirdly, members of the Secretariat must conduct themselves in a manner befitting the status of an international civil servant. While they are not expected to give up national sentiments or political beliefs, the expression of these must at all times be governed by the reserve and tact necessitated by their international status and the impartiality which their work requires.

In the years between the two world wars, the ideals of an international civil service which eventually crystallized in the wording of the Charter were being tried out in the Secretariats of the League of Nations and the I.L.O. The experience gained in these years was of inestimable value and had the period of comparatively normal world relations which existed at the end of the last war continued, it is probable that the international secretariat could have flourished without the problems with which it is now faced. But with the advent of the cold war there has been an increased awareness on the part of member states of the need for safeguarding their national security interests. The United States, because of its position in world affairs, has been particularly exposed to the problems engendered by the presence of subversive elements in the population. Quite naturally, therefore, in seeking to oust or to neutralize these elements, the attention of United States investigating bodies was drawn to the presence of a large group of international civil servants resident in the largest United States centre of population and enjoying certain privileges and immunities. The United Nations headquarters can not only literally but figuratively be called a glass house. The official activities of its employees are public knowledge and the information with which they deal is available to all member states. Thus it would not appear that, in the performance of their official duties, members of the Secretariat present a security risk to the United States. It is the United States view, however, that the employment by the United Nations of the United States citizens who are or are likely to be engaging in subversive activities is not in the national interests of the United States.

Tenets of Charter

During the debate on the Secretary-General's report on personnel policy, it was evident that nearly all delegations were deeply concerned and were anxious to find a solution which would not only meet the legitimate security requirements of member states but would also serve to strengthen and improve the morale of the Secretariat, which had suffered considerably from the allegations of subversive activities which had been made against it by some of the more vehement sections of United States press and public opinion. The Secretary-General in his report reaffirmed the international character of the Secretariat and his own sole responsibility for recruitment and dismissal. Canada joined with a great majority of member states, including the United States, in supporting these basic tenets of the Charter. Stress was laid on the fact that if the Secretary-General succumbed to national influence the Secretariat would become multi-national rather than international. Recognition was also given to the fundamental obligation of states to refrain from interfering with the Secretary-General's conduct of his personnel policies and, equally important, to the fundamental obligation of staff members to refrain from political or subversive activity.

Grounds for Dismissal

The virtual unanimity which marked the Assembly debate on the fundamental precepts regulating the international civil service and its relations with member states was not apparent during the discussions on the second part of the Secretary-General's report in which he made specific proposals regarding dismissal of Secretariat staff. The proposition that a staff member should be dismissed if reasonable ground exists for believing him engaged or likely to engage in subversive activities was accepted generally by all delegations as being in accord with the tenets of the Charter. A difference of opinion occurred, however, on the standards to be applied by the Secretary-General to cases of this nature. A considerable number of countries, including the Scandinavian countries and the Commonwealth, except the United Kingdom, were

disturbed by the Secretary-General's decision to consider resort to the constitutional privilege against self-incrimination as grounds for automatic dismissal. In the words of Mr. Paul Martin, Acting Chairman of the Canadian Delegation, . . . "it is not just or reasonable that an employee should be dismissed on the sole ground of having refused to answer questions, the answers to which might serve to incriminate him . . . Such refusal should cause the Secretary-General to view the employee with suspicion and should lead the Secretary-General to institute enquiries . . ." The United States was supported by the United Kingdom, Greece and several Latin-American countries in its contention that pleading privilege is not consistent with the obligations of United Nations staff members. When discussion turned to the current United States investigations of its own nationals in international organizations a similar difference of opinion appeared. Most delegations recognized that the United States had the right to investigate its own citizens but considered that the final decision must lie with the Secretary-General, who would accept a report from the United States authorities only for his own information. Some delegations including the Canadian Delegation welcomed the Secretary-General's assurance that he would require reasonable grounds for suspicion before taking action and would not dismiss on mere hearsay or rumour. Several delegations also pointed out that the standards to be used by the Secretary-General should be divorced from national standards set up for a different purpose.

Action by Assembly

Apart from the differences mentioned, which were mainly of emphasis and detail, the main cleavage which developed in the Assembly concerned the proper method of tackling the personnel question. The Arab and Asian states thought that the problem should be given a much more detailed study by experts and therefore introduced a resolution calling for the establishment of a fifteen-member committee to study the Secretary-General's report and submit its findings to the eighth session of the Assembly. Western delegations on the other hand took the view that the Secretary-General could be guided in his actions by the various statements made during the debate, provided the Assembly made it clear that the fundamental Charter provisions continued to be the sole criteria which should determine his actions. A compromise between these two positions was finally attained by the adoption of a resolution reaffirming the Charter provisions and asking the Secretary-General to report to the eighth session after consulting with the Advisory Committee on Administrative and Budgetary Matters and the heads of the Specialized Agencies.

Thus the Assembly will at its next session have the benefit of any technical comments or recommendations which may result from these consultations. In the meantime, the new Secretary-General, Mr. Dag Hammarskjold, whose appointment was announced during the debate on the personnel item, will have before him for guidance the various criticisms which were expressed and the principles which were reaffirmed.

APPOINTMENTS AND TRANSFERS IN THE CANADIAN DIPLOMATIC SERVICE

- Mr. T. F. M. Newton was posted from the NATO Secretariat, Paris, to home leave, effective April 29, 1953.
- Mr. B. A. Wallis, was posted from the Canadian Embassy, Washington, D.C., to home leave, effective May 2, 1953.
- Miss B. M. Meagher was posted from Ottawa to the Office of the High Commissioner for Canada in London, effective May 6, 1953.
- Mr. M. G. Bertrand was posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Embassy, Tokyo, effective May 9, 1953.
- Mr. K. B. Williamson was posted from home leave (Prague) to Ottawa, effective May 9, 1953.
- Mr. C. N. Senior was posted from San Francisco to home leave, effective May 26, 1953.
- Mr. R. H. Jay was posted from the Office of the High Commissioner, New Delhi, to home leave, effective May 27, 1953.
- Mr. J. R. Maybee was posted from the Office of the High Commissioner for Canada in Canberra, to home leave, effective May 14, 1953.
- The following officers were appointed to the Department of External Affairs: C. E. Bourbonniere, D. K. Doherty, E. T. Galpin, H. G. Hampson (all effective May 12/53), P. A. Bissonnette (May 28/53). Mr. G. R. Harman was appointed May 12/53 and joined the Department at the Consulate General, New York.
- Mrs. E. K. Smart (nee Marjorie Gordon) resigned from the staff of the Consulate General, New York, effective May 22, 1953.

ADDENDUM

In the May issue of *External Affairs*, the entry for Mr. J. A. Irwin should have read as follows: Mr. J. A. Irwin was posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Embassy, Djakarta, Indonesia, effective April 13.

STATEMENTS AND SPEECHES

(Obtainable from the Information Division, Department of External Affairs, Ottawa, Canada)

The following serial numbers are available in Canada and abroad:

- No. 53/18—*Post-War Trends in Labour-Management Relations*, text of an address delivered by the Minister of Labour, Mr. Milton F. Gregg, to the Canadian Chamber of Commerce, Hamilton, Ont.
- No. 53/19—*Disarmament*, a statement by the Permanent Representative of Canada to the seventh session of the United Nations General Assembly, Mr. David M. Johnson, made in the First Committee, March 20, 1953.
- No. 53/20—*The North Atlantic Treaty Organization*, text of the radio broadcast by the Secretary of State for External Affairs, Mr. L. B. Pearson, over the CBC, May 3, 1953.
- No. 53/21—*Canadian-United States Partnership in World Affairs*, an address by the Prime Minister, Mr. L. S. St. Laurent, made at the National Press Club, Washington, D.C., May 8, 1953.

CURRENT UNITED NATIONS DOCUMENTS†

A SELECTED LIST

(a) Printed Documents:

**Statistical Commission—Report of the Seventh Session (2 to 13 February 1953)*; 20 February 1953; document E/2365, E/CN.3/163. Pp. 42. 40 cents. ECOSOC Official Records: Fifteenth Session, Supplement No. 5.

**Restrictive Business Practices—Report of the Ad Hoc Committee*; 20 March 1953; document E/2380, E/AC.37/3. Pp. 22. 25 cents. ECOSOC Official Records: Sixteenth Session, Supplement No. 11.

**Report on a Special United Nations Fund for Economic Development*; 18 March 1953; document E/2381. Pp. 61. 50 cents. Sales No.: 1953.II.B.1 (Department of Economic Affairs).

Commission on the Status of Women—Report of the Seventh Session (16 March-3 April 1953); 1 April 1953; document E/2401, E/CN.6/227. Pp. 19. 15 cents. ECOSOC Official Records: Sixteenth Session, Supplement No. 2.

**UNICEF—A special report of the Executive Board (25 March 1953)*; 21 April 1953;

document E/2409, E/ICEF/226. Pp. 5. 10 cents. ECOSOC Official Records: Sixteenth Session, Supplement No. 6A.

Convention on the Privileges and Immunities of the Specialized Agencies (five official languages); New York, 1953; document ST/LEG/4. Pp. 58. 60 cents. Sales No.: 1953.X.1.

WHO—Executive Board, Eleventh Session (Geneva, 12 January to 4 February 1953); Resolutions, Report of the Executive Board including Report on the proposed programme and budget estimates for 1954, Annexes. Geneva, April 1953. Pp. 265. \$1.50. Official Records No. 46.

(b) Mimeographed Documents:

Economic Commission for Europe — Annual Report to the Economic and Social Council covering the period from 19 March 1952 to 18 March 1953; 28 March 1953; document E/2382, E/ECE/162. Pp. 100.

Fifth report of Mr. Frank P. Graham, United Nations Representative for India and Pakistan; 27 March 1953; document S/2967. Pp. 22, annexes I-V.

† Printed documents may be procured from the Canadian Sales Agent for United Nations publications, the Ryerson Press, 299 Queen St. West, Toronto (English) and Les Presses Universitaires Laval, Québec (French); mimeographed documents can only be procured by annual subscription from the United Nations Secretariat, New York. Publications and documents may be consulted at certain designated libraries listed in "External Affairs", January 1953, p. 36.

• French version not available until noted in a future issue of "External Affairs".



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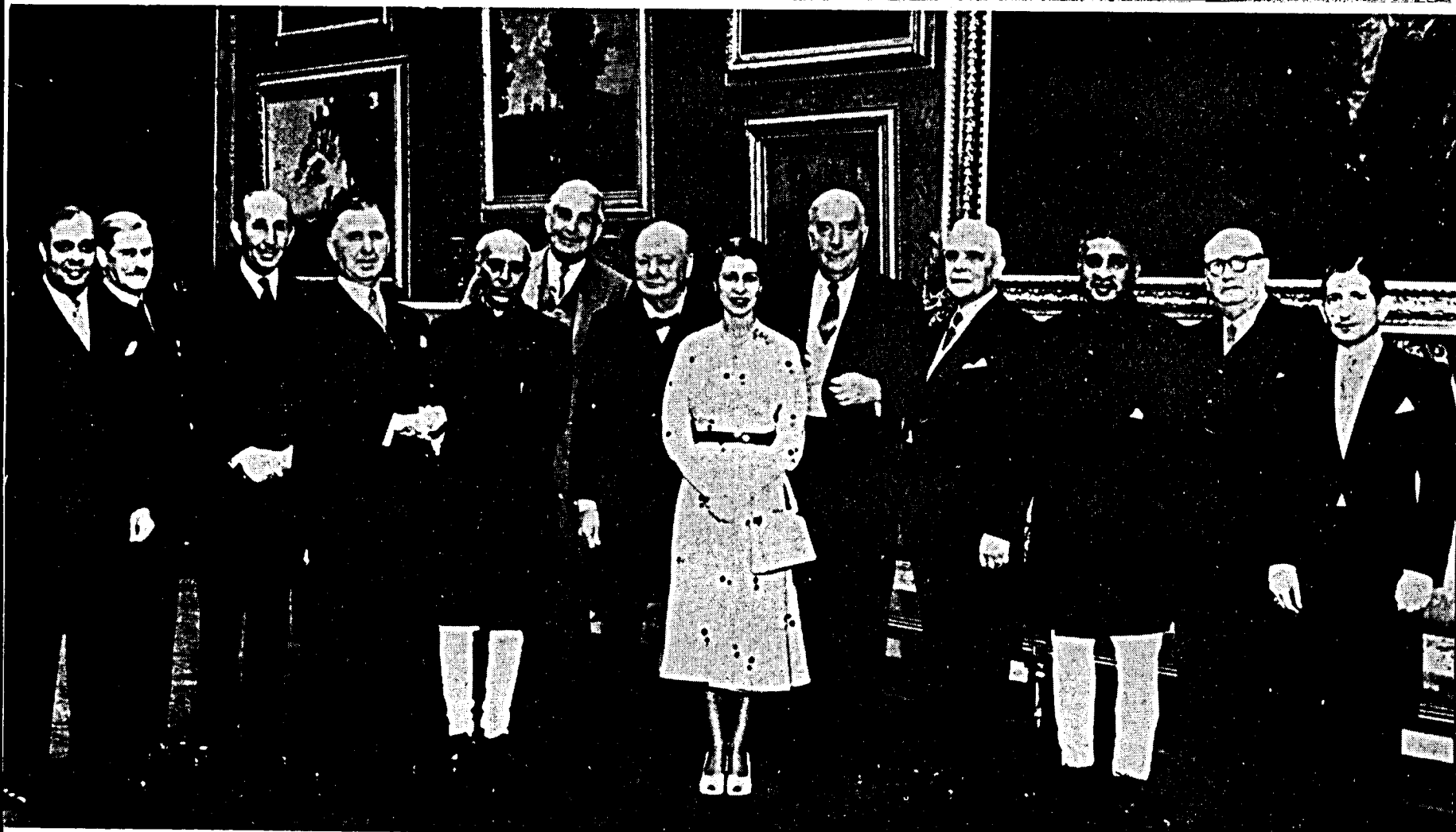
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Department of External Affairs
Ottawa, Canada



HER MAJESTY WITH COMMONWEALTH LEADERS

—U.K.I.O.

Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II held a reception at Buckingham Palace on the eve of her Coronation for Representatives of the Member Countries of the Commonwealth Overseas. Her Majesty is seen here surrounded by Commonwealth Prime Ministers and the Chief Minister of Jamaica. Left to right are: Mr. Mohammed Ali (Pakistan), Sir Geoffrey Howe

Historic Meeting of Commonwealth Statesmen in London

TAKING advantage of their presence at the Coronation ceremonies, the Prime Ministers of the self-governing members of the Commonwealth met in London from June 3 to June 9 to confer on international affairs, defence strategy and economic problems. Present were Prime Ministers Churchill of the United Kingdom, St. Laurent of Canada, Menzies of Australia, Holland of New Zealand, Malan of South Africa, Nehru of India, Mohammed Ali of Pakistan and Senanayake of Ceylon. Sir Godfrey M. Huggins, Prime Minister of Southern Rhodesia, also attended the meetings.

A communiqué issued at the conclusion of the conference said the meetings had been demonstrative of the concord which existed between all the governments and peoples of the Commonwealth despite their varying circumstances and approaches to world problems. Hundreds of millions of people of many races and creeds and living in many parts of the world were represented at the conference.

Text of Communiqué

Following is the text of the communiqué:

"The final plenary session of the meeting of Commonwealth Prime Ministers was held this afternoon. The Prime Ministers have met at a time of general rejoicing. The presence at the coronation of representatives of all parts of the Commonwealth has illustrated the unity and the variety of the Commonwealth Association of which Her Majesty is the head. The discussions which the Prime Ministers have held have once more demonstrated the concord which exists between all the governments and peoples of the Commonwealth despite their varying interests and circumstances in their approach to the major problems of the world today.

"This sense of concord has been strengthened by the discussions of the

past week. These have enabled the Prime Ministers to undertake comprehensive and realistic review of the international situation and there has been a personal exchange of views which will help all the Commonwealth Governments to continue their conduct of foreign relations with renewed understanding of the policies and interests of their partners in the Commonwealth.

Relations with U.S.S.R.

"The Prime Ministers found it especially valuable to have this opportunity for personal discussions so shortly before the proposed meeting at Bermuda between the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom, the President of the United States and the Prime Minister of France. They reviewed the state of relations with the Soviet Union and agreed that no opportunity should be lost of composing, or at least easing, the differences which at present divide the world. But they recognized that the democracies must maintain their strength and exercise unceasing vigilance to preserve their rights and liberties.

Western Europe

"The Prime Ministers reviewed recent developments in Western Europe. The Commonwealth countries associated with or interested in the North Atlantic Treaty Organization expressed the hope that the European Defence Community would be established at the earliest possible date.

Korea

"The Prime Ministers followed with close interest the concluding phases of the armistice negotiations in Korea. They noted with gratification that long and patient labours have now led to the conclusion of an agreement on

prisoners of war and thus made way for the early signature of the armistice agreement. They exchanged views on the steps which have to be considered after the end of hostilities in Korea for the promotion of stability and progress throughout the Far East and Southeast Asia.

Middle East

"The current problems of the Middle East were also discussed. The Prime Ministers recognized the international importance of the Suez Canal and of the effective maintenance of the military installations in the Canal Zone. They agreed that it is in the common interest that the outstanding issues in the Middle East should be settled on the basis of ensuring the peace and security of the Middle East countries consistently with the sovereignty of each and promoting their social and economic development.

Economic Field

"The Prime Ministers reviewed developments in the economic field following the Commonwealth Economic Conference of December 1952. They agreed that the Commonwealth coun-

tries should adhere firmly to the long term objectives and lines of policy then laid down. In the meantime it was essential to take advantage of the improved outlook for the sterling area by continuing to strengthen the economy of each of the countries concerned. Particular attention was given to the need for stimulating economic development, for expanding exports and, consistently with the maintenance of adequate reserves, for removing progressively restrictions on trade over as wide an area as possible and especially within the Commonwealth and the sterling area.

Informal Talks

"Throughout this coronation period the Prime Ministers have taken advantage of many opportunities for informal talks on matters of particular interest to two or more countries and on general subjects which have not been discussed in the plenary sessions. Although those sessions are now over some of the Prime Ministers will be remaining in London for a further period during which these exchanges will be continued."

Some Aspects of Canada's Relations with Latin America

CANADA'S relations with Latin America have developed in spontaneous fashion, following no pre-ordained pattern. Trade interests required attention. Canadian missionaries and businessmen, at times, needed help from Canada. Hence trade and, eventually, consular offices were opened. During the Second World War, diplomatic missions were established. The first mission to be opened was a legation in Brazil in September 1941. A month later a legation was opened in Argentina and in January 1942 the Canadian Minister in Buenos Aires was also accredited as Minister to Chile. This arrangement continued until 1943 when a separate Minister was appointed to Chile. Embassies were opened in Mexico and Peru in March and October 1944 respectively. The legations in Brazil and Chile were raised to the rank of embassies in 1944 and the legation in Argentina in 1945. In May 1945 a legation was established in Cuba and this was raised to an embassy in 1950. Although an embassy was not established in Venezuela until January 1953, Canada has had a consulate general in Caracas since 1946. In January 1953 the Canadian Ambassador to Argentina was also accredited as Ambassador to Uruguay. In the Ambassador's absences, the embassy in Uruguay is left in care of a chargé d'affaires. Canada's first Ambassador to Colombia took up his post in March 1953. In addition to these diplomatic missions a consulate was opened in Sao Paulo, Brazil in 1947.

Canadian Representation in Latin America

Canada has, at present, nine diplomatic missions, two trade commissioners' offices and one consulate in the Latin American Republics. (There are, also, trade commissioners' offices in two other countries, namely Jamaica and Trinidad). The mere enumeration, however of diplomatic and trade missions should not be allowed to hide two facts. First, where a

diplomatic mission exists in Latin America, there too will be found a representative of the Department of Trade and Commerce. Second, the republics where trade commissioners are not actually stationed are "covered" by a trade commissioner in the vicinity. For instance, the Canadian Trade Commissioner at Guatemala City has a "territory" which includes Costa Rica, the Canal Zone, El Salvador, Honduras, Nicaragua and Panama.

Trade, the Basic Factor

Trade with Latin America has unquestionably been the basic factor which has led to the close and harmonious relations of Canada with that part of the hemisphere. The Prime Minister of Canada, Mr. Louis St. Laurent, pointed out recently that Canada's trade with Latin America has increased 18 times in value since 1939. Canada's total trade during 1952 was valued at \$8,332 millions, of which some \$559 millions were with Latin America. While that area purchased, in 1938, about 2 per cent of Canada's exports and supplied about 2 per cent of our imports, it took, in 1952, over 6 per cent of the Canadian exports and Canada obtained there about 7 per cent of her imports.

Reasons for Importance of Latin American Trade

A number of reasons contribute to the growing importance of Latin America to Canada's trade pattern. Latin America has a population of over 150 millions and vast natural resources which generally are complementary to Canada's. The Minister of Trade and Commerce, Mr. C. D. Howe, after his tour of that area, in January and early February 1953, put it in these terms:

As in Canada, the whole area is in the process of economic expansion with higher production, rising living standards and increasing import requirements. We are



—Kurt Klagsbrunn

CANADIAN GOODWILL TRADE MISSION TO LATIN AMERICA

The Minister of Trade and Commerce, Mr. C. D. Howe, left, and Sr. Joao Neves da Fontoura, at that time Brazilian Minister of External Affairs, at a luncheon arranged by the Commercial Association of Rio de Janeiro on January 9, 1953, in honour of members of the Canadian Goodwill Trade Mission to Latin America.

natural trading partners, each in need of what the other can supply.

Canadian Investments in Latin America

Canada — few Canadians realize this — has invested about \$1,000 millions in Latin America, chiefly in public utilities, mining, banks, insurance, and industry. Brazilian Traction alone accounts for about half of this not inconsiderable investment. Brazil is, at present, Canada's largest export market in South America and it is one of our best markets for motor vehicles and electric apparatus. In 1952, Canada sold to Brazil goods valued at over \$81 millions and bought from Brazil about \$35 millions of goods consisting mainly of coffee, vegetable fibres and iron ore. Brazil recently has been badly beset by exchange difficulties owing to an overall trade deficit and, as a result, has had to impose severe import and exchange restrictions, particularly with the dollar area. The Brazilian Government is anx-

ious to return to a regime of free trade and currency and is taking measures designed to improve the country's exchange position. Opportunities for greater trade promotion may be available at the exhibition — in which Mr. Howe announced Canadian participation — to be held in 1954 to mark the 400th anniversary of the founding of Sao Paulo.

The total trade of Canada with Argentina, on the other hand, has dropped in 1952 to \$12.6 millions from \$22.8 millions in 1951. There are many reasons for this. The first is the serious droughts of 1950 and 1951 which cut Argentina's wheat crop one-third of her ten-year average. Another reason is that Argentina is one of the few countries of that area whose economy is not complementary to the Canadian. Argentine and Canadian wheat and beef, for example, compete on the world's markets. And so it is for other products.

Both Argentina and Brazil — seeking to meet the needs of their expanding demands — present attractive yet somewhat

difficult markets in the present circumstances. Before the war, Argentina had a triangular trade and payments pattern with a sterling surplus and a dollar deficit. Post-war trade and payments restrictions have disrupted this pattern and, in the absence of the convertibility of sterling and other currencies, Argentina must increase her dollar exports. This is, of course, a matter primarily for businessmen with whatever facilities governments may offer. Brazil, on the other hand, is primarily an agricultural country with vast potential mineral wealth; it is also probably the most industrialized country of Latin America. But its very expansion and heavy purchases have created problems which affect Canadian supplies in the short-term.

Demand Increasing

These samples of Canada's trade with two of the largest Latin American republics do not give the complete picture of trade with these republics. Nor does any recital of figures such as: Venezuela's total trade with Canada in 1952 amounted to about \$172 millions; Mexican-Canadian trade amounted to \$64 millions; our trade with Cuba was of the order of \$42 millions; Colombia and Canada exchanged that year goods amounting to \$32 millions. The fact of the matter is that Latin America is the home of some of the world's fastest growing populations. And the people of Latin America are seeking more consumer goods, more capital machinery, more technical assistance and more means of developing and enjoying their cultural amenities.

Over the years, Canada (either directly or, before achieving autonomy, through the Government of the United Kingdom) has signed trade agreements with all the Latin American republics except Honduras. These treaties provide for the exchange of full most-favoured-nation treatment in tariffs and other trade matters. Thus it is that Canadian exports are on the same footing as those of any other country except where provision is made for preferential treatment to contiguous territories. One further exception is Cuba, where the United States of America receives preferential tariffs on many items

because of long-standing treaties between those two states. By negotiations, Canada has been able to obtain a reduction and, in some cases, the elimination of a number of these preferences.

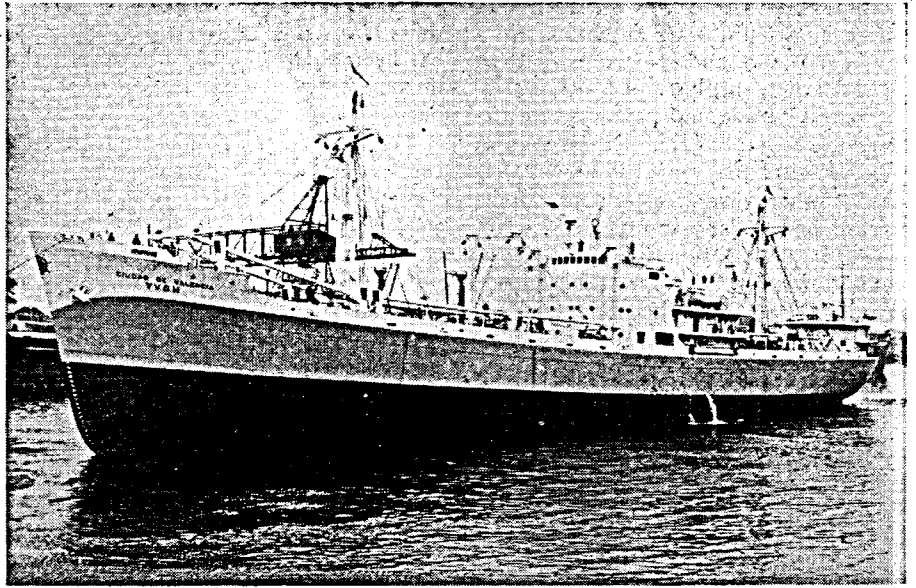
The basis for Canadian-Latin American trade is further strengthened by the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade. Among countries which are members with Canada are Brazil, Cuba, the Dominican Republic, Haiti, Chile, Peru, and Nicaragua.

First Contacts Established by Private Corporations

Trade treaties apart, it was a number of Canadian banks, insurance companies and other private corporations which established the first important commercial contacts between Latin America and Canada. Before 1939, only a few Latin American republics had trade and consular representatives in Canada. Early in the Second World War, Canada and Latin American countries made a real start on the present phase of their efforts to establish closer and mutually beneficial ties.

One reason this development has not been more rapid has been that the energies of the peoples of both Canada and Latin America have always been absorbed to a great extent in developing their own countries. That this is as true today as it ever was is borne out by the inspiring development projects that are in progress in hundreds of localities throughout Latin America; by Canada's activities in the iron ore fields and mines of Quebec and Ontario, in the western oil fields and in the neighbourhood of Kitimat, B.C.

Another factor which has, in the past, arrested the development of relations between Latin America and Canada is to be found in the important ties of blood, culture and tradition which Canada has with Western Europe and the Commonwealth. The Commonwealth ties, Canada's efforts to ensure her security through the United Nations, and latterly, through the North Atlantic Treaty Organization have drawn Canada's attention to parts of the world other than the southern half of this hemisphere.



—Ward & Davidson

S.S. "Ciudad de Valencia", built by Canadian Vickers for Flota Mercanta Grancolombiana.

It may be that Canada's ties and commitments explain — yesterday and today — her attitude toward the Organization of American States, formerly known as the Pan-American Union. Professor Soward held the thesis that Canada could not become a member of the Pan-American Union until she had achieved complete political autonomy. If this be true, there could be no question of Canada joining the Union until 1926, the date of the Balfour Declaration, which established the equality and independence of each of the self-governing members of the British Commonwealth of Nations. Until 1939 Canada was — so to speak — finding her feet. During the Second World War, Canada had her work cut out for her in providing an army of five divisions overseas, in patrolling and convoying ships over half the North Atlantic and in providing a large number of air squadrons. One of Canada's main aims since the war has been to find a system which would ensure her security from the real threats of aggression which hitherto had seemed to originate in Europe. All this helps to explain, possibly, Canada's attitude toward the Organization of American States.

The Prime Minister, Mr. Louis St. Laurent, said in the House of Commons

on March 27, 1953, that the position of the Canadian Government with regard to the Organization of American States had not changed since he had referred to the question in 1949. At that time, he had stated that Canada's relations with all the members of the Organization of American States had always been most satisfactory and that so far it had not appeared to the Canadian Government that there would be any decided advantage in Canada's formal membership in the Organization.

Bonds Tightened

On the other hand, by Canada's contacts through the United Nations and its Specialized Agencies (as well as through trade and diplomatic channels), the bonds between Latin America and Canada have been tightened — even though it may have escaped public notice. Contacts have become more frequent by the presence of Canada in some Inter-American specialized agencies dealing with such subjects as health, labour, agriculture, medicine, engineering and tourist travel. In 1952, Canadian representatives attended nine such conferences in addition to the several unofficial conferences.

Exchange of Visits

One way of increasing the knowledge of citizens of both North and South America is the frequent visits of these citizens to each other's countries. Apart from a large number of tourists, Canadian businessmen visit these countries in increasing numbers. Some instances of official Canadian visits have been those of two frigates of the Royal Canadian Navy to Peru, Panama, and Nicaragua in February 1952; the calls made by the cruiser "Ontario" at ports in Chile, Argentina, Uruguay, and Brazil in the latter part of 1952; the visit of the Queen's Printer to Mexico in April 1952 to collaborate in the organization of the National Printing Bureau of that country; and the goodwill and trade mission of 1953 headed by Mr. C. D. Howe to Argentina, Brazil, Colombia, Cuba, Dominican Republic, Haiti, Uruguay, and Venezuela. In the reverse direction, one should mention the visits to Canada in September 1952 of prominent Latin Americans in connection with the centennial celebration of Laval University; the presence in Canada of a large number of Latin American students and, late in 1952, the informal visit to Canada of the wife of the President of Peru.

Cultural, Technical and Religious Fields

Increasing emphasis is being placed on establishing closer collaboration in the cultural, technical and religious fields. Few Canadians are aware that some 2,000 Latin American scholars frequent Canadian schools, colleges, and universities: Scores of Canadians have gone to Latin America to help in the United Nations Expanded Technical Assistance Programme. There are also relatively large numbers of Canadian missionaries who

have gone to Bolivia, Chile, and Haiti (to name but three countries) in order to augment the all too small numbers of clergy in some of the more remote areas.

Information material, films produced by Canada's National Film Board, broadcasts by the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation's International Service and exhibitions of Canadian paintings presented by the National Gallery of Canada have made a notable contribution to a better understanding of Canada in Latin America. Two private ventures in this field should be noted. The first is the activity of the Canadian Inter-American Association of Montreal which has organized instruction in Spanish and Portuguese and arranged for Canadian scholarships in 1952 and 1953 to the University of Mexico. The second example of private activity is the tour of paintings of Canadian cities organized by Seagram's to visit San Juan, Havana, Mexico City, Caracas, Rio de Janeiro, and Sao Paulo.

Communications Improving

In the world of communications, it is interesting to see that Trans-Canada Air Lines and Canadian Pacific Airlines are working out arrangements to have air schedules between Canada and Latin America and that the Canadian Vickers Company of Montreal launched, on April 8, 1953, the fifth of a fleet of seven ships being built for the Gran Colombiana Merchant Fleet, a line owned by the Governments of Venezuela, Colombia, and Ecuador.

These intercontinental movements of ships, planes, businessmen, traders, artists, and intellectuals plying northwards and southwards are the true foundations upon which are built the cordial relations between Latin America and Canada.

The Foreign Service Officer Competition

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DURING the last six years more than 175 young Canadians have begun careers as Foreign Service Officers in the Department of External Affairs. This represents a sizeable influx for a Department which in 1927 had only three officers and in 1941 only 49. The rapid expansion has been necessitated by the unprecedented increase in the activities of the Department in the post-war years. With the growth of Canada's international responsibilities her Government has taken a more active role in world affairs, the evidence of which has been the opening of many new foreign posts in recent years. In 1939 Canada maintained a half-dozen posts abroad; today she has to staff and provide for more than 50. In addition, the extension of the practice of diplomacy by conference has created a further demand for personnel, by requiring Canada to provide delegations to international conferences (in 1952 there were 146). Permanent representatives must be maintained at the headquarters of important international and regional organizations such as the United Nations and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization.

Demand for Officers of Senior Grade

These developments have created a heavy demand for officers with the experience and training required to conduct the affairs of the Department at home and abroad. In order to secure qualified officers for the intermediate and senior grades during and immediately after the war, it was necessary to bring in a number of recruits whose background in business and professional life and in other government departments fitted them for diplomatic duties. Following the cessation of hostilities, there was a large influx of members of the armed forces whose normal entry into the Department in the preceding years had been prevented by the war. Most officers, however, entered at the junior level and were selected from among successful candidates in competitive examinations con-

ducted by the Civil Service Commission. Now that the Department has sufficient experienced officers capable of assuming the responsibilities of the more senior ranks, new officers are recruited through the Civil Service Commission by examination.

Large Number of Candidates

The Foreign Service Officer competitions, which are held almost every year, usually attract a large number of candidates. Interest is keen in all parts of Canada. Although, in ordinary circumstances, the number of positions offered is about ten, it is not unusual to have up to 200 candidates taking part in the written examination. This is particularly remarkable at a time when Canada is undergoing unprecedented economic expansion. While individual suitability is the guiding principle in selecting officers, it is interesting to note that all parts of Canada are represented by the officers in the Department.

Eligibility — Qualifications

To be eligible for the Foreign Service, candidates must be British subjects with a minimum Canadian residence of ten years, and they must have graduated with a degree from a university of recognized standing. Recommended courses of study are history, economics, political science, law, philosophy and geography, but the list of courses is not intended to be exclusive. A post-graduate degree is not required, though most of the successful candidates in the past have taken at least one year of graduate studies. Previous business or professional experience is helpful, as is a knowledge of a modern language in addition to English and French. Candidates are expected to have a working knowledge of both the official languages of Canada. The competition is open to both male and female candidates possessing the minimum formal qualifications. In recent years the competition has

been restricted to applicants between the ages of 23 and 31 years.

C.S. Commission Conducts Examination

The Civil Service Commission is responsible for conducting the examinations and prepares and distributes the notices giving particulars of forthcoming competitions. These are displayed in post offices and Civil Service and National Employment Service offices across Canada and in Canadian Government offices abroad. In order to ensure that all interested and potential candidates are aware of the competition, the Civil Service Commission also notifies all Canadian universities and the major universities abroad at which Canadians may be studying; the Department of National Defence informs Canadian troops in Korea and Europe.

The Written Examination

The competition is divided into three phases: the written examination, the oral examination, and the assignment of a rating based on education and experience. The written examination is prepared by officers of the Department of External Affairs in co-operation with representatives of the Civil Service Commission. Candidates may write in English or French and each is given a number, in order to preserve anonymity until the marking of the papers is completed.

In the 1952 examination, the first paper, which is reprinted as an appendix to this article, contained a list of six questions upon one of which the candidates were required to write an essay. The second paper was composed of two parts: the first contained questions on Canadian and international affairs, and the second consisted of a passage which candidates were asked to summarize and to interpret by answering certain specific questions. The essay paper was rather general in character and was designed to test the candidate's intellectual qualities and his ability to express himself effectively in writing. The second paper had the twofold purpose of examining the candidate's general knowledge, particularly on Canadian and international af-

fairs, and testing his reading comprehension.

The Oral Board

In the second phase of the competition those who are successful in the written examination are called before the oral board. The centres at which the oral boards sit may change from year to year, but normally they are convened in the main cities of Canada, and, if the number of candidates should so warrant, in some of the larger cities in the United States, the United Kingdom and Western Europe. Occasionally it is more convenient, where there are only one or two candidates, to request them to appear for interview at the nearest city in which the board is sitting. The boards are normally composed of five members, including the Civil Service Commission representative who acts as chairman, two representatives from the Department (one English-speaking and the other French-speaking), and two outside members representing the universities and business respectively. In the interests of continuity and to ensure that similar selection standards are applied, an effort is made to have one or more persons common to all boards.

During the interview, which normally requires about one hour, the function of the board is to assess the personal suitability of the candidate. They rate him on such traits as intellectual capacity, moral and personal integrity, sense of responsibility, initiative, adaptability, effectiveness of speech, and appearance and manner. To aid the board members in forming a judgment, they have before them the comments of the persons whom candidates have given as references. On the basis of the board's assessment, a mark is assigned for the second phase of the competition.

The Third Phase

In the third phase a rating, based on military, business and professional experience, academic training and knowledge of foreign languages, is assigned to each candidate who has been successful in the written and oral examinations. In the final mark this rating is given a weight of two, while the written and oral

examinations each are given a weight of four. All who obtain a sufficiently high final mark are graded according to rank to form an eligible list which is published in the *Canada Gazette*. Successful candidates who are entitled to the statutory veterans' preference are automatically ranked at the top of this list, from which appointments are made to meet the requirements of the Department for new officers. Appointments are, of course, limited by the number of vacant positions on the approved Departmental establishment.

Appointments

The successful candidates who accept appointments enter the Department in the late spring and summer following the completion of the competition. They enter on the understanding that they are available for service wherever the Department may require. Appointments are probationary but, after about twelve months of satisfactory service, promotion to temporary status is usual. The normal training period in Ottawa is approximately two years, after which a new officer becomes available for service abroad. During this period the Department attempts to ensure that each officer will be employed in an "area" division, such as

the Commonwealth or American Division, an administrative division, and a functional division, such as the Consular or Information Division. His tour of duty in each covers a period of four to six months. In addition to practical experience and training in the various duties performed by officers, he attends a series of lectures presented by senior officers of the Department and of other government departments, and by speakers from outside the government service. The object of this training is to acquaint him with the work of the divisions and of closely related government departments, as well as to round off his knowledge of Canada and Canadian affairs.

The chief emphasis of the system of competitive examinations is on selecting officers whose personality, academic attainments and previous experience show them to possess the qualifications for success in performing diverse diplomatic and consular functions. They must possess the intelligence and flexibility of mind for a job in which a wide variety of subject matter is handled; they must be able to work harmoniously with others and be readily adaptable to contrasting circumstances and conditions of work; and they must be able to exercise independent judgment and to assume increasing responsibilities.

FOREIGN SERVICE OFFICER, GRADE I

Department of External Affairs

WRITTEN EXAMINATION

PAPER I

Time: 3 hours

The purpose of this paper is to test your capacity to analyze a theoretical problem lucidly. The examiners will base their judgment on the manner in which you present your views and on the cogency of the views themselves.

Discuss *one* of the following:

1. What is the best balance of work and leisure; how should the question of leisure time be approached in modern society?
2. "The form of government of any country is determined by tradition, physical environment and the stage of its economic development."
3. "A Nation, in its influence upon civilization, is not an aggregate of its living people, for they are but part of the whole continuing and historic people. Nor is it a State, for the State is artificial. A Nation is an Idea."
4. "Without justice, what is political rule but brigandage and rapine?" ("Remota justitia, quid sunt regna nisi magna latrocinia?")
5. "The first requirement of a sound body of law is that it should correspond with actual feelings and demands of the community, whether right or wrong."
6. "There is no such thing as a science of economics; every system of economic thought is in a large measure subjective in that it is posited on desired social goals."

WRITTEN EXAMINATION

PAPER II

Time: 3½ hours

The purpose of Parts A and B of this paper is to test your interest in, and understanding of some of the following problems and your ability to discuss them clearly and in logical fashion.

In Parts A and B candidates must do three questions with at least one from each part. Part C, which is designed to test the candidate's ability to comprehend the meaning of written material, is compulsory for all candidates.

PART A—Questions on Canada

1. Discuss the feasibility of Canadian membership in the Sterling Area.
2. Discuss some of the implications of recent trends of domestic and foreign investment in Canada.
3. Discuss the contribution to political thought and action in Canada of one of the following: Henri Bourassa, J. S. Woodsworth, Goldwyn Smith, J. S. Ewart.
4. Discuss the relationship of Canadian trade unions to the political life of Canada.
5. Discuss the role of the Federal Government in fostering cultural activities.
6. Discuss Canada's role in the evolution from 'British Empire' to 'Commonwealth of Nations'.
7. To what extent do you think the British North America Act restricts the Government of Canada in the conduct of its external affairs?

PART B—Questions on International Affairs

8. How do you account for the appearance of Titoism in Yugoslavia? What are the chances of similar developments in the European Satellites and China?
9. Discuss the movement toward European integration, and assess its prospects.
10. Discuss the role of Christian Democracy in Europe today.
11. In your opinion, in the present international situation do "neutralist" or "no foreign entanglements" policies contribute to world peace? Discuss, using examples drawn from foreign policies of governments in both Europe and Asia.
12. "Stalin has none of Hitler's compulsion to go to war; indeed, the compulsion is all the other way, taking into consideration his own nature, the categories of Marxist thinking, Soviet geography and resources, the nature of the Russian people, and the miserable and unreliable state of the Soviet Union today." Comment.
13. Assess the role of either the United Nations or NATO in preserving international peace and security.
14. Do you think it is desirable to establish at the present time an International Court of Criminal Jurisdiction?
15. Discuss two representative authors from any one of the following countries: France, Germany, U.S.A., U.S.S.R., United Kingdom, Canada, and indicate why you consider them representative.

PART C

Read the passage contained in Appendix A and answer the following questions which are based on it.

1. Summarize in one paragraph of not more than one page in length the theory presented in this passage.
2. The author suggests that in the historical process there is one vital unknown element. Define, and if you agree or disagree with his theory, give your reasons.
3. From the above passage, what does the phrase "Uniformity of Nature" mean to the author and to what extent does it satisfy the author's view of the origin of a civilization?
4. Relate the idea of "Integration of Custom" to "Differentiation of Civilization".
5. In your opinion is the author subscribing to a deterministic theory of history? In a short paragraph, defend your answer.

APPENDIX A*

By the light of Mythology, we have gained some insight into the nature of challenges and responses. We have come to see that creation is the outcome of an encounter, or—to re-translate the imagery of myths into the terminology of Science—that genesis is a function of interaction. Let us now return to our immediate quest: our search for the positive factor which has shaken part of Mankind out of 'the Integration of Custom' into 'the Differentiation of Civilization' within the last six thousand years. Let us look again into the origins of our twenty-one civilizations in order to ascertain, by an empirical test, whether the conception of Challenge-and-Response answers to the factor of which we are in search any better than the hypotheses of Race and Environment, which we have already weighed in the balance and found wanting.

* Extract from "The Study of History", Volume I, by Arnold Toynbee, pp. 299-301.

In this fresh survey, we shall be concerned with Race and Environment once more, but we shall regard them in a new light and shall place a different interpretation upon the phenomena. We shall no longer be on the look-out for some simple cause of the genesis of civilizations which can be demonstrated always and everywhere to produce an identical effect. We shall no longer be surprised if, in the production of civilizations, the same race, or the same environment, appears to be fruitful in one instance and sterile in another. Indeed, we shall not be surprised to find this phenomenon of inconstancy and variability in the effects produced, on different occasions, by one and the same cause, even when that cause is an interaction between the same race and the same environment under the same conditions. However scientifically exact the identity between two or more situations may be, we shall not expect the respective outcomes of these situations to conform with one another in the same degree of exactitude, or even in any degree at all. In fact, we shall no longer make the scientific postulate of the Uniformity of Nature, which we rightly made so long as we were thinking of our problem in scientific terms as a function of the play of inanimate forces. We shall be prepared now to recognize, a priori, that, even if we were exactly acquainted with all the racial, environmental, or other data that are capable of being formulated scientifically, we should not be able to predict the outcome of the interaction between the forces which these data represent, any more than a military expert can predict the outcome of a battle or a campaign from an 'inside knowledge' of the dispositions and resources of both the opposing general staffs, or a bridge expert the outcome of a game or a rubber from a similar knowledge of all the cards in every hand.

In both these analogies, 'inside knowledge' is not sufficient to enable its possessor to predict results with any exactness or assurance, because it is not the same thing as complete knowledge. There is one thing which must remain an unknown quantity to the best-informed onlooker, because it is beyond the knowledge of the combatants, or the players, themselves; and their ignorance of this quantity makes calculation impossible, because it is the most important term in the equation which the would-be calculator has to solve. This unknown quantity is the reaction of the actors to the ordeal when it actually comes. 'Les causes physiques n'agissent que sur les principes cachés qui contribuent à former notre esprit et notre caractère.' A general may have an accurate knowledge of his own man-power and munition-power and almost as good a knowledge of his opponent's; he may also have a shrewd idea of his opponent's plans; and, in the light of all this knowledge, he may have laid his own plans to his own best advantage. He cannot, however, foreknow how his opponent, or any of the other men who compose the force under his opponent's command, will behave, in action, when the campaign is opened and the battle joined; he cannot foreknow how his own men will behave; he cannot foreknow how he will behave himself. Yet these psychological momenta, which are inherently impossible to weigh and measure and therefore to estimate scientifically in advance, are the very forces which actually decide the issue when the encounter takes place. The military genius is the general who repeatedly succeeds in divining the unpredictable by guesswork or intuition; and most of the historic military geniuses—commanders of such diverse temperament and outlook as a Cromwell and a Napoleon—have recognized clearly that man-power and munition-power and intelligence and strategy are not the talismans that have brought them their victories. After estimating all the measurable and manageable factors at their full value—insisting that 'God is on the side of the big battalions', that 'God helps those who help themselves', that you should 'trust in God and keep your powder dry'—they have admitted frankly that, when all is said and done, victory cannot be predicted by thought or commanded by will because it comes in the end from a source to which neither thought nor will have access. If they have been religious-minded, they have cried 'Thanks be to God which giveth us the victory'; if they have been sceptical-minded, they have ascribed their victories—in superstitious terms—to the operations of Fortune or to the ascendancy of their personal star; but, whatever language they have used, they have testified to the reality of the same experience: the experience that the outcome of an encounter cannot be predicted and has no appearance of being predetermined, but arises, in the likeness of a new creation, out of the encounter itself.

Winners of Canadian Government Overseas Awards for 1953-54 Announced

THE ranks of Canada's unofficial representatives abroad will include during the 1953-54 academic year 28 winners of Canadian Government Overseas Awards. The awards consist of 12 fellowships with a value of \$4,000 each and 16 scholarships worth \$2,000 each.

Selected by Royal Society

The successful candidates were selected by the Royal Society of Canada on behalf of the Department of External Affairs. Funds for the awards are derived from a parliamentary allocation of balances owing the Canadian Government in France and the Netherlands. These funds are administered by the Department of External Affairs.

All of the fellowships awarded this year and all but three of the scholarships will be held in France. Four of last year's scholarships have been renewed for a second year, one tenable in the Netherlands and three in France. Of the new scholarship awards two are for study in the Netherlands and ten in France.

This is the second year that Canadian Government Overseas Awards have been offered. A new departure was made this year by giving a number of awards in the creative arts for the first time. Last year all of the scholarships were given for academic studies.

Fellowship Winners

Fellowship winners were: Louis Archambault, 38, sculptor and ceramist, Montreal; Rev. Father Rene Beaudry, 43, librarian and archivist at St. Joseph's University, St. Joseph, N.B.; Maurice Blackburn, 39, musician, Ottawa; Stanley M. Cosgrove, 41, artist and member of the staff of École des Beaux Arts, Montreal; Dr. Douglas Derry, 46, Professor of mathematics, University of British Columbia, Vancouver; George Haddad, 35,

concert pianist, Windsor; Dr. Cyril M. Jones, 49, professor and head of the Department of French, University of Manitoba, Winnipeg; Dr. Wm. T. E. Kennett, 34, professor of French, Trinity College, University of Toronto, Toronto; Robert Lapalme, 35, artist and caricaturist, Montreal; Miss Rina Lasnier, poet, St. Jean, Quebec; Robert H. G. Orchard, 44, professor of drama, University of Alberta, Edmonton; Goodridge Roberts, 48, artist, Montreal.

Scholarship Renewals

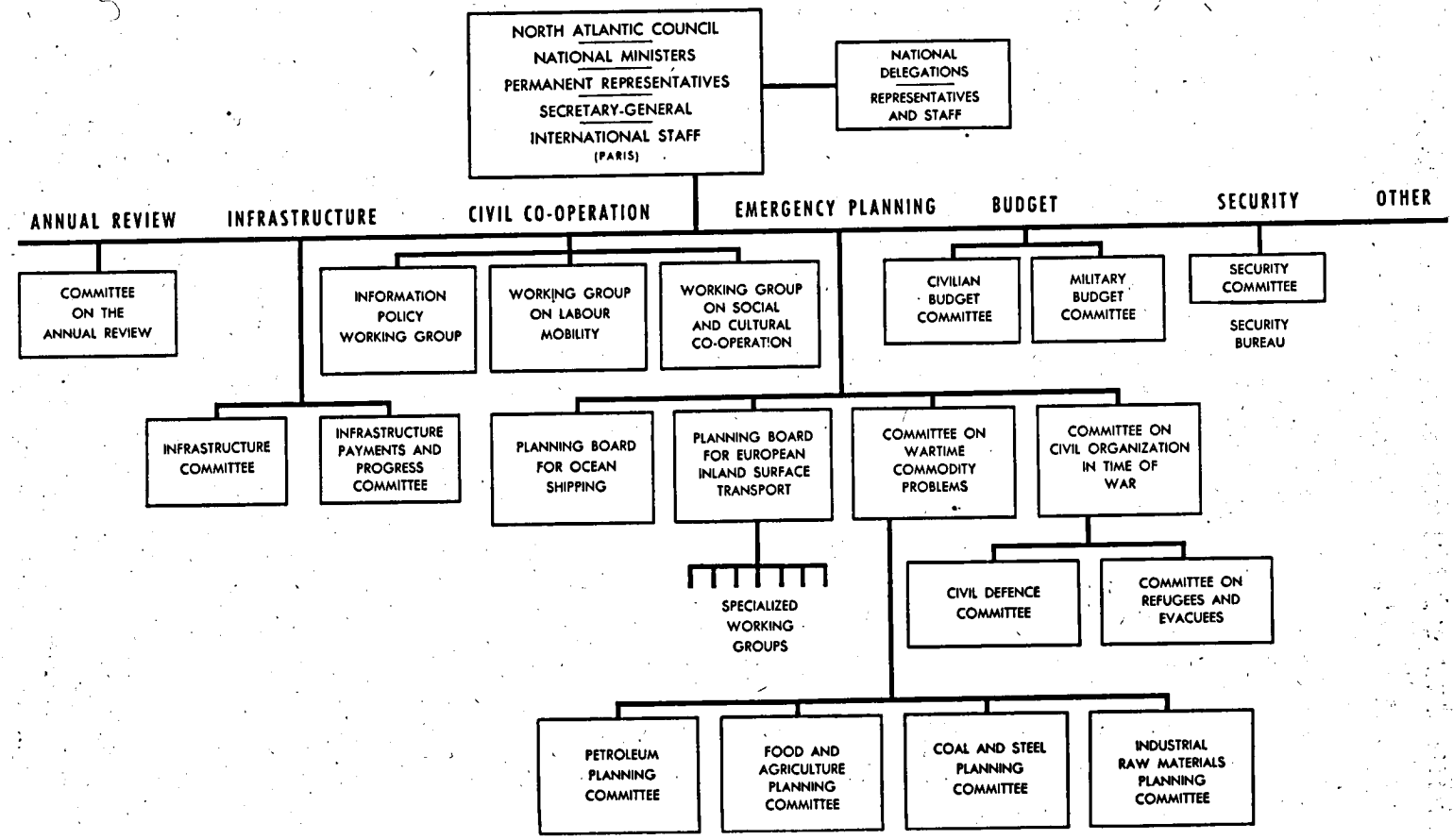
The following received renewals of scholarships; Antony F. R. Brown, 24, student of Oriental languages, Toronto; John C. Forsyth, 26, student of modern languages, Toronto; Jean Menard, 23, student, Gatineau, Quebec; Miss Louise Saint-Pierre, 23, student, La Tuque, Quebec.

Scholarship Winners

The following received scholarships in the creative arts: Yves Bedard, 24, musician, Ste. Henedine, Quebec; Georges deNiverville, 24, art student, Ottawa; Joseph F. Plaskett, 34, artist and theatrical designer, New Westminster, B.C.; Ronald W. Turini, 20, musician, Quebec.

The remaining eight scholarships were awarded to: Harold B. Attin, 27, student of history and modern languages, Toronto; Ernest George Clark, 25, student of Oriental languages, Seaforth, Ontario; Fernand Dumont, 25, student of Political Science and Sociology, Montmorency, Quebec; John F. Flinn, 32, student of modern languages, Toronto; Fernand Grenier, 26, student of history and geography, Beauce, Quebec; David A. Griffiths, 28, student, Vancouver; Miles H. A. Keenleyside, 24, student of zoology, Ottawa; Lyall H. Powers, 28, student of English and French, Winnipeg.

NORTH ATLANTIC TREATY ORGANIZATION (CIVILIAN SIDE)



How NATO Works

THERE is probably no international organization of such importance to the Canadian people, of which so little of the day-to-day functions is known, as the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. It is true that from time to time — about twice a year during the last three years — public attention is attracted by the gathering of Cabinet Ministers, high-ranking military officers and civilian officials for meetings which news commentators invariably expect will produce spectacular decisions. On these occasions, the departure for Lisbon or Paris of members of the Canadian Government, and reports of the meetings, are usually noted in the Canadian newspapers. But what goes on between such full-dress meetings? It is obvious that a great co-operative enterprise of fourteen nations requires continuing activity in many fields. As can readily be seen from the charts shown on pp. 224 and 226, NATO is a widely ramified structure dealing with many different aspects of international co-operation.

The Council

The North Atlantic Council is the supreme governing body of the organization. The chairmanship rotates annually in alphabetical order of member countries. The Canadian Secretary of State for External Affairs, Mr. L. B. Pearson, was Chairman during 1951-52; currently the Danish Foreign Minister holds the office. Periodically, the Council assembles in ministerial session, attended usually by foreign, defence and finance ministers, to review the work of the Organization and to approve future plans. The last such meeting was held in Paris in April of this year. Between ministerial meetings, however, the Council is in permanent session in the French capital, where member governments are represented by permanent representatives. Mr. A. D. P. Heeney is at present the permanent representative of Canada, and will be succeeded shortly by Mr. L. D. Wilgress. Each week normally two meetings of the Council attended by permanent representatives

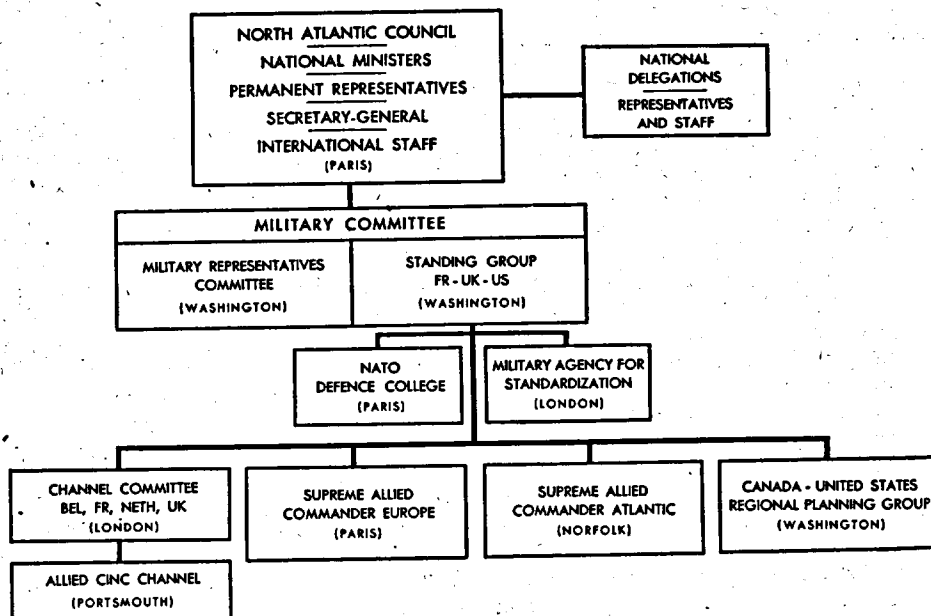
are held, one formal and one informal. Both convene at the Palais de Chaillot under the chairmanship of Lord Ismay, who combines the functions of Vice-Chairman of the Council and Secretary-General of the Organization. On hand also, to provide both secretarial assistance and expert advice, are members of the international staff. The permanent representatives, armed with background information and recommendations prepared by the Council's subordinate bodies with the help of the Staff, consider a widely assorted group of items. The business of a typical meeting may include a variety of matters, such as reports on the progress of the European Defence Community, the plans of the military bodies for future joint exercises, a suggested procedure for the preparation of correlated production programmes, or, perhaps, the budget of the Supreme Headquarters of the Allied Powers in Europe (SHAPE).

As Secretary-General, Lord Ismay directs the international staff. This staff is made up of a number of divisions dealing with the various aspects — production questions, economic and financial questions, political questions — of the Organization's work on the civilian side. It assists in the work of the various committees of the Council and provides a body of experts which can undertake special studies as required.

The Civilian Side

Subordinate to the Council are both civilian and military bodies. On the civilian side there are committees and working groups to deal with such aspects of the Organization's work as the Annual Review of member countries' defence plans, the construction of fixed military installations for the common use of the NATO forces (called "infrastructure"), budgetary control, emergency planning, civil co-operation, security, etc. Some of these topics may be considered by a single committee, others by three or more, each with or without its specialized working group. Each committee is re-

NORTH ATLANTIC TREATY ORGANIZATION (MILITARY SIDE)



sponsible to the Council and each has a group of experts in the international staff working with it. All meet in Paris. Generally speaking, the chairmen of these committees are drawn from the permanent delegations of the member countries in Paris, with secretaries and technical assistance provided by the international staff.

The Military Side

On the military side, the senior organ is the Military Committee, composed of the chiefs of staff of the member countries. It normally meets when the Council meets in ministerial session in order to provide the Council with military advice and receive from the Council political guidance. It is also responsible for providing general policy guidance of a military nature to the Standing Group. The Standing Group is the permanent executive body of the Military Committee. It is located in Washington and is composed of the chiefs of staff (or their representatives) of the United States, the United Kingdom and France. The other members of NATO are in continuous association with the work of the standing group by means of the Military Repre-

sentatives Committee, which is located in Washington, and which consists of representatives of the national military authorities. Thus, between meetings of the Military Committee, top level military direction and co-ordination is provided by the standing group and the interests of all the member countries are safeguarded by the Military Representatives Committee.

Standing Group Liaison Officer

In order to provide close and continuous contact between the work of these military bodies, located in Washington, and the Council, meeting in Paris, there is a Standing Group Liaison Officer, located at the NATO Headquarters. He or his assistants attend all Council meetings and important committee meetings and are responsible for bringing the viewpoint of the Standing Group to the attention of the Council and of seeing that the Standing Group is, in turn, fully informed of the Council's deliberations.

Supreme Commanders

Direct military command of the NATO forces is delegated to the Supreme Com-

manders, who are perhaps as well known to the public as the Council itself. The new Supreme Allied Commander Europe (SACEUR) is General Alfred M. Gruenther, United States Army, with headquarters at SHAPE near Paris. He is responsible for the defence of Northern, Western, and Southern Europe (including Turkey) which, for this purpose, is divided into a number of subordinate naval, army and air commands. Admiral L. D. McCormick, United States Navy, is the Supreme Allied Commander Atlantic (SACLANT), with headquarters at Norfolk, Virginia. He is responsible for the defence of the lines of communication across the Atlantic Ocean. The Channel Committee in London co-ordinates defence preparations in the narrow waters bordering France, Belgium, the Netherlands and the United Kingdom. Under it is a Commander-in-Chief with headquarters at Portsmouth. For North America, which has no peacetime NATO commander, there is the Canada-U.S. Regional Planning Group, which has headquarters in Washington.

The Annual Review

Let us see how these various bodies on both the civilian and military sides work together on important problems with which the Organization has to deal in building up the defensive strength of the West. A good example is to be found in the process of the Annual Review of member countries' defence plans which provides the means whereby the organization as a whole can take stock of the progress made in the collective defence effort and accordingly, make plans for the build-up of forces in future years. Responsible under the Council for co-ordinating this work is the Annual Review Committee, one of the most active and important of the Council's subordinate bodies. In order to obtain the necessary information on national defence plans, the international staff, under the guidance of the Annual Review Committee and in collaboration with the NATO military agencies, draws up a questionnaire for completion by member governments. At the same time, the Supreme Commanders take stock of the position of the forces under their command and

prepare recommendations for changes in those forces designed to improve their effectiveness. When the replies of member governments to the questionnaire and the military recommendations have been received, the Annual Review Committee, the international staff and the NATO military agencies are in a position to examine the collective defence effort of NATO and to reconcile the military requirements with the national, political and economic capabilities. In this process, various points of view are considered: national interests are represented in the Annual Review Committee; general political, economic and production considerations are contributed by the international staff; and military considerations are contributed by the Supreme Commands and the Standing Group. The results of this process of stock-taking and reconciliation in terms of recommended levels of forces for the NATO countries are embodied in a report which the Annual Review Committee prepares and the permanent representatives submit to the Council in ministerial session. The Ministers in adopting decisions on this report also have before them the comments of the Military Committee.

Infrastructure Programme

Another phase of the Organization's work which illustrates the way in which the various bodies work together is the "infrastructure" programme. The initial judge of NATO forces requirements for their common use in the way of fixed installations such as airfields, communications and radar facilities is the NATO Commander concerned. These "infrastructure" requirements are therefore submitted in the first place by the Supreme Commanders to the Standing Group, which in turn reviews them in the context of overall NATO military planning. Consideration must also be given, however, to the technical and financial aspects of these requirements in order to insure that the airfields and other "infrastructure" projects are constructed as economically as possible and within the financial means of the countries which are to pay for them. The Infrastructure Committee of the Council, assisted by

technical experts of the international staff, is responsible for screening the military recommendations from this point of view. Their conclusions are submitted to the Council where member governments, either through their permanent representatives or through their Ministers, negotiate the proportions in which the cost of the agreed programme should be shared. An outstanding accomplishment of the Council at the recent ministerial session in April was agreement on a three-year financial arrangement for "infrastructure" which will enable the Supreme Commanders to make their construction plans up to 1954. The actual expenditure of funds on these projects is subject to a system of close financial supervision for which the Infrastructure Payments and Progress Committee is responsible. This Committee arranges that member coun-

tries contribute to the cost of construction in proportion to the agreed formula and sees that these contributions are spent as they should be.

The many-sided work of NATO never ceases. The permanent representatives consult regularly in Paris, and, through civilian committees, carry on continuous deliberations. Military bodies function daily in varied places. At the Palais de Chaillot, the International Staff representing all fourteen member nations carries out assiduously its daily work under the leadership of the Secretary-General. The total co-operative effort whereby like-minded nations adjust their viewpoints and requirements in order to achieve common objectives presents an excellent example of how complex international machinery can be made to function in a democratic alliance.

UN Announces Winners of International Essay Contest

The names of 10 winners of the fifth annual international essay competition organized under the auspices of the United Nations Department of Public Information were announced on June 24, by Benjamin Cohen, Assistant Secretary-General for public information.

Each contestant had been required to submit an essay of approximately 2,000 words on "United Nations Technical Assistance and Peace - the Duties of the Peoples and the Responsibilities of the International Community" or on "The Role of Non-governmental Organizations in the Implementation of the Principles of the United Nations."

The winners are members of international and national organizations which actively co-operate with the Department of Public Information or with a United Nations information center.

As prizes they will receive 30-day trips to UN Headquarters with all facilities for studying the work of the secretariat and of any UN organs meeting at the time. The prizes will be utilized in principle between September 3 and October 1, 1953.

The winners - eight men and 2 women, all between 20 and 35 years of age - are: Dr. Cornelio Pop - Argentina - member

of the Student Association for the United Nations of Cite Universitaire and Y.M.C.A.

Lucien de Groote - Brussels, Belgium - Belgian Institute of Political Science and Centre Belge des Nouvelles Equipes Internationales.

Manuel Valderrama Aramayo - La Paz, Bolivia - Club de La Paz.

Stanley L. Burke - Vancouver, Canada - United Nations Association and Canadian Institute of International Affairs.

Dra. Altigracia Bautista - Ciudad Trujillo, Dominican Republic - Federation Nacional de Abogadas (National Federation of Women Lawyers).

Ismar T. Kittani - Baghdad, Iraq - International Relations Clubs.

Benjamin Salamon - Israel - United Nations Association.

Jean Charles Tibaldi - Italy - United Nations Association.

Mrs. Nancy Alison Alexander - Wellington, New Zealand - United Nations Association.

Yusuf Buch - Murree, Pakistan - Pakistan Institute of International Affairs.

The international panel of judges awarded a special prize to Augustus F. Caine of Monrovia, Liberia.

The contest is the fifth of its kind held

by the United Nations Department of Public Information. Final selection of the winners was made by an international panel of judges composed of Benjamin Cohen, Assistant Secretary-General for Public Information, Chairman of the jury; Arthur Goldschmidt, Director, Programme Division, UN Technical Assistance Administration; V. J. G. Stavridi, Director of External Services and Specialized Agencies; Henri Fast, Deputy-Director of Press and Publications Bureau; Carlos Garcia-Palacios, Deputy-Director of Radio Division; William Agar, Acting Director of Special Services Division; and Jean Dupuy, Chief, Section for Non-Gov-

ernmental Organizations, Secretary of the jury.

Before the essays reached this jury, an initial selection was made by national committees set up by the United Nations information centers, in countries where such centers exist. In other countries, national committees had been set up by national United Nations associations or other organizations active in the United Nations field.

Fifty national committees were formed for the selection of essays before submission to the international panel of judges, which indicates an increase of 32 per cent over previous years.

Economic and Social Projects of UN and Specialized Agencies Described in Catalogue

A picture of the work carried on in economic and social fields by the United Nations, its four emergency agencies, the Technical Assistance Board and the Specialized Agencies is given in a 138-page catalogue published by the UN.

The catalogue (Doc. E/2393) shows, for example, the contributions made by various UN units and agencies to emergency work in Korea and for Palestine refugees.

Operations, studies, publications and technical services of 1952, or authorized for 1953, are described in separate sections on the UN; on four UN emergency agencies (The UN International Children's Emergency Fund, The Office of the High Commissioner for Refugees, The UN Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East, and the UN Korean Reconstruction Agency); on the Technical Assistance Board, with a description of the expanded programme of technical assistance; and on the Specialized Agencies.

The section on Specialized Agencies describes work of the International Labor Organization, the Food and Agriculture Organization, the UN Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, the Inter-

national Civil Aviation Organization, the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, the International Monetary Fund, the World Health Organization, the Universal Postal Union, the International Telecommunication Union, the World Meteorological Organization, and the Interim Commission for the International Trade Organization, whose secretariat is serving the contracting parties to the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade.

The catalogue includes an index designed to permit quick reference to the various projects conducted in general fields such as relief, health, safety, trade and economic development. The index which also lists activities under specific headings and under organization, shows projects ranging alphabetically from "Aboriginal Populations" to "Zoonoses" (Diseases affecting both man and animals).

Copies of the catalogue of economic and social projects may be purchased from United Nations Sales Agents including the Columbia University Press, 2960 Broadway, New York; the Ryerson Press, 299 Queen St. West, Toronto, and Periodica Inc., 4234 de la Roche, Montreal, P.Q., Canada; and H.M. Stationery Office, P.O. Box 569, London, S.E. 1.

MR. PEARSON'S HARVARD UNIVERSITY SPEECH

Text of an address by the Secretary of State for External Affairs, Mr. L. B. Pearson, to the Harvard University Alumni Association, Cambridge, Mass., on Thursday, June 11, 1953.

... When he was a young man, Francis Parkman, whose life work made such a great contribution to the history both of Canada and the United States, said that it was his ambition to write the history of the forest. This task would have been an easy one compared with that of any conscientious historian of our age who wished to pick his way through the wilderness of tangled conspiracies in our contemporary international forest. We live, indeed, in what might with some truth be called an age of conspiracy.

We are not likely soon to forget the plot hatched in the beer cellars in Munich, which grew to such monstrous size that it threatened to cast a blight over the whole world; until it was finally reduced to the cramped bunker in Berlin, where Hitler intrigued to the sordid end with his doomed and ludicrous court.

There is today also the Communist conspiracy, even more dangerous because less hysterical, which by its alliance with Soviet imperialism, and by its secret operations throughout the whole world, is the cause of so many of our present difficulties; the source of so much of our fear.

The story of these conspiracies would bulk large in any history of our times. Future historians also will have to record with regret that some of those who have gone about to eliminate the real menace of the Communist conspiracy have done so by methods which weaken our democratic concept of law and justice; which, by spreading needless division and distrust, have threatened to destroy that feeling of community on which free society must be based. These methods play into the hands of the Communists by giving some of them, the more dangerous because they have been able to conceal their purposes and affiliations, a chance to pose as victims of persecution and hysteria. They become a kind of conspiracy themselves.

Opposed to all these conspiracies which draw their strength from dark places, there is, however, the constructive co-operation of tolerant and enlightened persons, working together in societies of which this university is a heartening and illustrious example.

No one on this occasion and at Harvard could be unmindful of the debt which freedom — personal and politic — owes to the belief that the pursuit of knowledge is good of itself and must be continued at any price, wherever it leads. We meet here in the shade of those learned and wise men who believed that, subject though it is, and always has been, to its own torments, such pursuit is our main source of progress and achievement. They dedicated their lives to the proposition that reason can unravel the knots and difficulties caused by the increasing intricacy of social and economic organization and by the bewildering advance of science. They insisted, moreover, that tradition is the starting point

for orderly progress; that without it our life would lose much of its savor and our political institutions much of their stability.

It is hardly necessary for me, therefore, in this place, to elaborate on the duty of universities to foster exact learning and to promote free and unprejudiced enquiry. But I would like to say a little about their duty to encourage tolerance and magnanimity, in public, as well as in private life. There can be no quarter in hunting down those who abuse the liberty granted by our society in order to subvert it. They must expect to be punished under the laws they have broken; and they must be prevented from holding positions of trust which they could use for disloyal ends. But to say that is not enough. Man's powers for good and evil are too strangely intertwined for his quality to be decided merely by actions with which the law can deal or solely in matters of which the state can take cognizance.

More than one hundred years ago Herman Melville wrote, "Knaves, fools, and murderers there may be; men may have mean and meagre faces; but man, in the ideal, is so noble and sparkling, such a grand and glowing creature, that over any ignominious blemish in him, all his fellows should run to throw their costliest robes." Our public life would be dangerously impoverished if we were ever completely to lose sight of this generosity and this humility of mind. It is alarmingly easy to do so today, when hard and sharp exposure, at times indecent exposure, by camera, screen or printed word, is not only exhibiting but often manufacturing blemishes.

The world, being what it is, will always be a place where those in whom the spirit burns brightest will often feel themselves outnumbered and ignored. Nor are such rare persons to be found only in our universities. Melville learned more on the whaler in which he sailed to the South Seas than he perhaps could have learned even at Harvard College. Completely unlettered individuals, as we all know, can, by the grace of God, be wiser than most professors. I hope that this is a comfort to those who have graduated without "laude". In few parts of the world has that fact received more effective and practical recognition than at Harvard, where education from the earliest days has been so broadly based, without unnecessary dependence on forms or formulae.

There are many contributions, apart from the pursuit of knowledge, and the cultivation of magnanimity to be made by a university community such as this and which are vital if we are to survive successfully our present trials. One of them is to foster what has always seemed to me to be a special quality of American thought, when it is at its best. It is the power to be conscious both of the reality of evil and danger, and yet reject a cynical or even a tragic view of life. Nowhere

more than in the United States have those two attitudes been held in balance. I think, for example, of William James, who returned from his researches into the areas of unreason with his confidence in the constructive powers of intelligence unimpaired. I think of Mr. Justice Holmes, who insisted grimly all through his life that "Every society is founded on the death of men"; who is said to have kept in his cupboard until the day he died the tunic in which he was wounded at Balls Bluff; and who yet was prepared to sanction what seemed to him the most visionary social experiments. Today, although recognizing the grim aspects of human and political life, we need, as never before, to be able to see beyond them with courage and with obstinate confidence in the future; to keep our vision steady and to keep it true.

I venture to refer to this fine and enviable quality of American thought and life because this is a moment when it is needed, perhaps as never before, in the direction of the policy of this country. It is, I hope, not inappropriate for an outsider — even one so close as a Canadian — to refer to American policy — and actions — because they largely determine the fate of all the rest of us.

This country, devoted to the ideals of peace, progress and freedom under the law, has not sought (but thank God has not refused) the leadership of the free world — a leadership which has indeed been thrust upon it by the hard and inescapable facts of power and position. It is moreover discharging this responsibility in close co-operation with other peoples who share the same ideals and are working towards the same goals; especially the peoples of the Atlantic and Western Europe.

Leadership, by a pistol at the back of sullen and forced allies is one thing. Leadership of free and democratic peoples, who can be convinced but not coerced, is something else.

Such leadership, I suggest, has never been tried, let alone succeeded in circumstances such as those in which we live today, when scientific material progress has far outstripped social, political and moral development; when the plain and challenging facts of interdependence on a shrinking globe make solitary progress almost as difficult and unrewarding as solitary confinement.

Kipling, in a more spacious, free-for-all age, could write:

"Down to Gehenna and up to the throne
He travels fastest who travels alone".
It might be argued that in 1953 this motto applies only to the first part of the journey. To reach the right goals we must advance together.

A coalition such as ours, however, can only move together on the basis of full consultation and agreement on basic policies and objectives. It must combine freedom of the parts with concerted and effective action by the whole. This is a terribly difficult combination to achieve and it can be brought about only by working out policies together on the principle of give-and-take. Concession and com-

promise, which we have learned to apply, however grudgingly at times — in domestic affairs as essential for freedom and order.

Penalties and Privileges of Leadership

In this spirit, the leader of the coalition, the United States, has had to accept — and it is not always easy — some of the penalties as well as the privileges of leadership. These include being misunderstood and criticized, being urged to go forward by one and asked to hold back by another. All this requires the exercise of patience and tolerance and magnanimity about which I have been talking; and an understanding of the fact that pulling the eagle's feathers is one of the ways by which his ascendancy among the birds is recognized. The lion had to learn that long ago about his tail.

The other members, the less powerful members of this partnership, have also their own obligations and duties. These include full recognition of the greater responsibilities of and the stupendous essential contribution by the United States in our combined effort. They call for concessions and compromises also; at times the abandonment of a particular point of view in the interest of effective direction and action. They require that — within our resources — every member of the coalition must play its part in carrying out agreed policies, even though that part may be secondary, and at times not easily recognizable. There is no disgrace in playing second fiddle to the United States; a part in the international orchestra which Mr. Gromyko contemptuously gave Canada a few weeks ago in New York. The second fiddle is a respectable instrument and can be very important if the orchestra is trying to play a symphony. The real disgrace would come, I suppose, if we threw away our fiddle in the middle of a well-conducted performance or deliberately played some discordant notes when the score didn't call for them.

Abandoning this somewhat tricky musical metaphor, I would add that we should also remember that smaller countries are not necessarily wiser or more righteous than the big and powerful ones. They only seem so because of the limited and relatively unimportant consequences that usually flow from their mistakes or wrong doing.

There is, however, no refuge of this kind for the United States. That is another penalty of power. One mistake — political, or economic or strategic — by the colossus and the rest of us may be dangerously, and even fatally affected. You must not therefore be surprised or disturbed when the relief and admiration with which we view your great and overpowering strength at times tinged with a shade of anxiety.

Reducing these abstractions to more concrete terms, I would say that this anxiety today expresses itself most noticeably in economic and in Far Eastern developments. It is here that are to be found the most serious threats to close co-operation within the Atlantic and free world coalition.

As to the first, I can only say — though I would like to say a lot more — that political co-operation and economic conflict are incompatible.

On the second difficulty, however, I would elaborate a little.

Urge for National Freedom

New forces have swept across the Far East since World War II. Some of these reflect the pulsations of the international Communist conspiracy. Others are primarily related to the awakening urge of millions of Asians for national freedom and a better life. If we of the West are not able to agree on the distinction between these two forces which require a different approach by us, our co-operation in this part of the world may weaken and disappear to the joy and relief of those forces centred in Moscow and Peiping who are using foul means and fair to bring about just such a result.

This is an actual, and not an imaginary danger, because there is a real difference of view within our coalition as to the meaning of these Asian developments and on what our reaction to them should be. This difference involves, in fact, basic questions of Asian policy.

There is no dispute over the necessity of resisting Communist military aggression, so determined by the United Nations, or even, in certain circumstances, without such formal determination. There will, of course, inevitably be differences over the means for defeating such aggression and as to the relative contributions of those taking part in the operation. Korea is an example of this kind of difference which can be disagreeable without being fatal.

A far more serious dispute may arise, however — there are signs that it has already arisen — over the nature and extent of our collective obligations, if any, to defeat Communism, as such, in Asia.

There are some who believe that Asian Communism is an implacable foe, bound hand and foot to Moscow, and that to negotiate with it in any circumstances is futile and perilous. Therefore, they argue we must all do everything we can through governmental action short of all-out-war — but even at some risk of war — to prevent the appearance of Asian Communist governments; and to weaken and destroy them if they have managed to obtain power. This may require the active encouragement of and support for anti-Communist elements in Communist countries, and by continuing and strong support for any regime which is opposed to Communism, irrespective of its nature or its popular support in its own country.

There are others, however — individuals, groups and governments — who will have none of this policy. They feel that Communism in Asia, though it may be far deeper and more sinister than "agrarian reform", is a social, economic and political development, growing out of special Asian conditions and one primarily for Asians to deal with; that

the only justification for direct Western intervention is when Communism expresses itself in military aggression. It is felt that our obligation in this matter is positive, not negative; not to intervene against Asian Communism, an intervention which would be stigmatized in Asia as Western and colonial; but to intervene in favour of democracy and to help Asian governments build up free and stable institutions which will defeat Communism by doing more for the welfare of the underprivileged and undernourished millions of the East than Communism can ever hope to do. We should also, according to this view, not expect Asian governments or Asian people automatically to accept our Western views of the cold war and the Kremlin conspiracy.

Those are the two viewpoints, each of which has its advocates within our Western coalition. The latter may not always take sufficient account of the aggressive nature of Communism or of the efforts that are being made by the United States to build up a democratic security system in the Pacific. But I also believe — and firmly — that there can be no effective or successful collective action or policy on the basis of the first concept. I believe this because such a policy would have to be worked out and agreed on at the United Nations or in the North Atlantic alliance, and frankly, I can see no possibility of such agreement.

It would mean that we would have to extend our specific obligations to the removal of Communist governments in North Korea and Peiping, and not merely to the defeat of military aggression. There are few countries inside the Western alliance willing to accept this obligation, especially in the terms in which it is sometimes presented in this country.

General Policy Towards Asian Communism

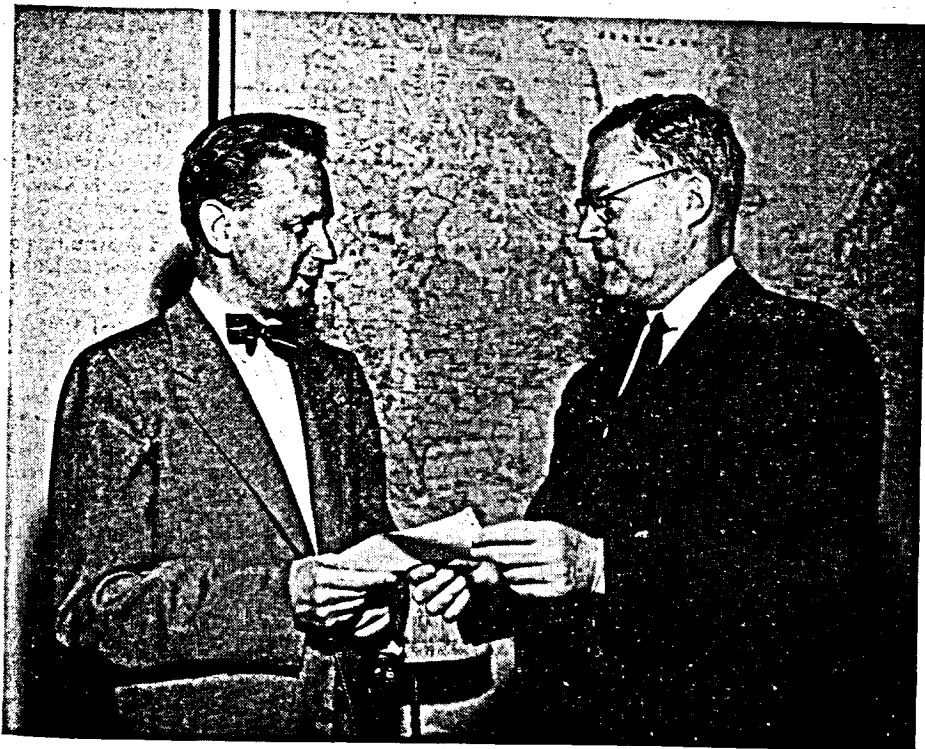
Now that the signing of an armistice in Korea will soon mark — as we hope — the end of aggression there, this particular problem of our general policy towards Asian communism becomes one of immediate urgency. The armistice in Korea is to be followed by a political conference on Korea and possibly on related problems. At this conference, the United Nations will be represented. But so will Communist Asian governments. We are moving from the military to the political aspect of Far Eastern problems and it is to be hoped that we on the United Nations non-Communist side, can move in unison. I can think of no more important subject for discussion at the forthcoming three-power conference in Bermuda than how to ensure this unison. The other free countries who will not be at the Conference, but who cannot escape its consequences or isolate themselves from its decisions, will hope that those consequences will be good and those decisions wise; as we now face the political problems of an Asia which is in ferment and whose stirrings and yearnings cannot be ignored.

I have already exceeded my oratorical time limit, Mr. Chairman, and I apologize. The other day, an American newspaper, the "Philadelphia Bulletin" editorialized to the effect that Foreign Office people talked too much these days. True. The newspaper went on to fix the blame for this unhappy development on the introduction to formal diplomatic wear of the soft collar which allowed the speaker "to wag his jaw freely".

"In the old days" it went on, "whenever an Ambassador (and I suppose also a Foreign

Minister) started to say something, the sharp points of his starched wing collar scratched his throat, reminding him that nobody ever put his foot in his mouth with closed lips".

My collar point was not, I fear, very sharp. But it has at last reached my throat and reminded me that, while expressing once again my great appreciation for the privilege of being with you this afternoon, I should now resume that attitude of proud but modest silence which becomes one who has so newly graduated from this university.



—United Nations

CANADA CONTRIBUTES TO UN TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE FUND

Mr. David M. Johnson, right, Permanent Representative of Canada to the United Nations, presents a cheque for \$800,000 to the United Nations Secretary-General, Dag Hammarskjöld, representing Canada's contribution to the United Nations Expanded Programme of Technical Assistance for 1953. At the third Technical Assistance Conference, held on June 12, Canada pledged a minimum of \$750,000 (Canadian dollars) provided the total contributions reached \$20 million, plus proportionate increases up to \$850,000 if the total contributions reached the \$25 million target.

CURRENT DEPARTMENTAL PUBLICATIONS

Treaty Series 1952, No. 6:—Exchange of Letters between Canada and the United States of America providing for the renewal of the arrangement of 1942 for the exchange of agricultural labour and machinery. Signed at Ottawa, April 15 and 16, 1952. English and French texts. (Price: 25 cents).

Treaty Series 1952, No. 12:—Supplementary Convention to the Supplementary Convention between Her Majesty and the United States of America for the mutual extradition of fugitive criminals, signed at Washington, December 13, 1900. Signed at Ottawa, October 26, 1951. English and French texts. (Price: 25 cents).

Treaty Series 1952, No. 13:—Exchange of Notes between Canada and the United States of America constituting an agreement regarding allocation of television channels. Signed at Ottawa April 23 and June 23, 1952. English and French texts. (Price: 25 cents).

Treaty Series 1952, No. 15:—Exchange of Notes between Canada and New Zealand modifying the Agreement of August 16, 1950, relating to air transport services between the two countries. Signed at Wellington, September 29, 1952. English and French texts. (Price: 25 cents).

Treaty Series 1951, No. 3:—Exchange of Notes between Canada and the United States of America constituting an agreement on civil defence co-ordination. Signed at Washington March 27, 1951. English and French texts. (Price: 25 cents).

Treaty Series 1951, No. 4:—Exchange of Letters between Canada and the United States of America providing for the renewal of the Arrangement of 1942 for the exchange of agricultural labour and machinery. Signed at Ottawa March 15 and 16, 1951. English and French texts. (Price: 25 cents).

Treaty Series 1951, No. 5:—Exchange of Notes between Canada and Turkey constituting an agreement on the issuance of multi-entry visas to diplomatic representatives and officials. Signed at Ottawa February 9, 1951. English and French texts. (Price: 25 cents).

Treaty Series 1951, No. 9:—Exchange of Notes between Canada and the United States of America constituting an agreement concerning the disposal of U.S. excess property in Canada. Signed at Ottawa April 11 and 18, 1951. English and French texts. (Price: 25 cents).

Treaty Series 1951, No. 11:—Exchange of Notes between Canada and Ireland constituting an agreement amending the annex to the air agreement of August 8, 1947. Signed at Dublin July 9, 1951. English and French texts. (Price: 25 cents).

Treaty Series 1951, No. 19:—Exchange of Notes between Canada and the United Kingdom constituting an Agreement extending to certain colonial territories the Canada-United Kingdom double taxation agreement of June 5, 1946. Signed at Ottawa, July 27 and August 14, 1951. English and French texts. (Price: 25 cents).

Treaty Series 1951, No. 25:—Exchange of Notes between Canada and India giving formal effect to the Statement of Principles agreed between the two countries for co-operative economic development of India. Signed at New Delhi on September 10, 1951. English and French texts. (Price: 25 cents).

Treaty Series 1951, No. 29:—Financial agreement between the government of Canada and the government of the United Kingdom. Signed at Ottawa, June 29, 1951. English and French texts. (Price: 25 cents).

Treaty Series 1950, No. 17:—Exchange of Notes between Canada and the Union of South Africa constituting an agreement regarding the temporary suspension of the margin of preference on unmanufactured logs. Signed at Ottawa, February 22 and 24, 1950. English and French texts. (Price: 25 cents).

CURRENT UNITED NATIONS DOCUMENTS*

A SELECTED LIST

(a) Printed Documents:

Financial Report and Accounts for the year ended 31 December 1952, and Report of the Board of Auditors; New York, 1953; document A/2392. Pp. 43. 40 cents. General Assembly Official Records: Eighth Session, Supplement No. 6.

Analysis of Governmental Measures relating to Restrictive Business Practices; 29 April 1953; document E/2379 and E/2379/Add.1, E/AC.37/2 and E/AC.37/2/Add.1. Pp. 68. 60 cents. ECOSOC Official Records: Sixteenth Session, Supplement No. 11A.

Economic Commission for Latin America — Annual Report (15 February 1952-25 April 1953); 13 May 1953; document E/2405, E/CN.12/324. Pp. 56. 50 cents. ECOSOC Official Records: Sixteenth Session, Supplement No. 3.

Resolutions of the Fifteenth Session of the Economic and Social Council (31 March-28 April 1953); 12 May, 1953; document E/2419 (Bilingual). Pp. 32. 30 cents. ECOSOC Official Records: Fifteenth Session, Supplement No. 1.

Commission on Narcotic Drugs:

Report of the Eighth Session of the (30 March to 24 April 1953); 7 May 1953; document E/242, E/CN.7/262. Pp. 29. 25 cents. ECOSOC Official Records: Sixteenth Session, Supplement No. 4.

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Fiscal Commission — Report of the Fourth Session (27 April-8 May 1953); 8 May, 1953; document E/2429, E/CN.8/78. Pp.

8. 10 cents. ECOSOC Official Records: Sixteenth Session, Supplement No. 5.

UNICEF Emergency Fund — Report of the Executive Board (19-26 March 1953); 13 May 1953; document E/2430, E/ICEF/227. Pp. 91. 80 cents. ECOSOC Official Records: Sixteenth Session, Supplement No. 6.

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UNESCO

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Reviews of Research on ARID ZONE HYDROLOGY (Arid Zone Programme — I). UNESCO, Paris, 1953. Pp. 212. \$4.50.

Basic FACTS and FIGURES — illiteracy, education, libraries, museums, books, newspapers, newsprint, film and radio; UNESCO, Paris 1952. Pp. 58. 50 cents.

The RACE Concept — Results of an Inquiry (The Race Question in Modern Science); UNESCO, Paris 1953. Pp. 103. 50 cents.

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(b) Mimeographed Documents:

Report of the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations; 14 May 1953; document E/2432. Pp. 24, Annex A, pp. 3.

Annual Report of the World Meteorological Organization for 1952; 12 May 1953; document E/2428. Pp. 65. Annexes I to III.

Structure of the United Nations (Sixth Revision) March 1953. Document ST/DPI/7. Pp. 90.

* Printed documents may be procured from the Canadian sales agents for United Nations publications, The Ryerson Press, 229 Queen Street West, Toronto, and Periodica Inc., 4234 de la Roche, Montreal, or from their sub-agents: Book Room Limited, Chronicle Building, Halifax; McGill University Book Store, Montreal; University of Toronto Press and Book Store, Toronto; Winnipeg Book Store, 493 Portage Avenue, Winnipeg; University of British Columbia Book Store, Vancouver; University of Montreal Book Store, Montreal; and Les Presses Universitaires, Laval, Quebec. Certain mimeographed document series are available by annual subscription. Further information can be obtained from Sales and Circulation Section, United Nations, New York. UNESCO publications can be obtained from their sales agents: University of Toronto Press, Toronto and Periodica Inc., 4234 de la Roche, Montreal. All publications and documents may be consulted at certain designated libraries listed in "External Affairs", January 1953, page 36.

STATEMENTS AND SPEECHES

(Obtainable from the Information Division, Department of External Affairs, Ottawa, Canada)

The following serial numbers are available abroad only:

- No. 53/23—*Five Years of Health Progress*, an address by the Minister of National Health and Welfare, Mr. Paul Martin, made at the 1953 Biennial Meeting of the Canadian Hospital Council, Ottawa, May 19, 1953.
- No. 53/27—*Petrochemicals in the Canadian Economy*, an address by the Minister of Resources and Development, Mr. Robert H. Winters, at the opening ceremonies of the petrochemical plant, BA-Shawinigan Ltd., Montreal East, P.Q.
- No. 53/28—*The Promise of the North*, an address by the Deputy Minister of Resources and Development, and Commissioner of the Northwest Territories, Major-General H. A. Young, delivered at the Annual Meeting of the Canadian Manufacturing Association, Toronto, May 28, 1953.

The following serial numbers are available in Canada and abroad:

- No. 53/22—*The Unity of the Free World*, the text of an address by the Under-Secretary of State for External Affairs, Mr. L. D. Wilgress, delivered to the Annual Congregation of the University of British Columbia, at Vancouver, May 19, 1953.
- No. 53/24—*Canada and NATO*, text of an address by the Under-Secretary of State for External Affairs, Mr. L. B. Pearson, delivered to the Vancouver Board of Trade, at Vancouver, B.C., May 20, 1953.
- No. 53/25—Speech by the Secretary of State for External Affairs, Mr. L. B. Pearson, made at the International Trade Fair, Toronto, Ont., June 1, 1953.
- No. 53/26—*The New Commonwealth Bridge Between East and West*, the text of an address by the Secretary of State for External Affairs, Mr. L. B. Pearson, made at the University of Oregon, Eugene, Oregon, May 25, 1953.
- No. 53/29—*Far Eastern Issues*, an address by the Secretary of State for External Affairs, Mr. L. B. Pearson, made to the Men's Canadian Club, Vancouver, B.C., May 27, 1953.
- No. 53/30—Text of an address by the Secretary of State for External Affairs, Mr. L. B. Pearson, to the Harvard University Alumni Association, at Cambridge, Mass., U.S.A., June 11, 1953.
- No. 53/31—Text of Commencement Address at Dartmouth College, delivered by the Secretary of State for External Affairs, Mr. L. B. Pearson, at Hanover, N.H., U.S.A., June 14, 1953.

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Department of External Affairs
Ottawa, Canada

A Tour of Indian Villages

By ESCOTT REID,* High Commissioner for Canada in India

MY wife and daughter and I have recently had the privilege of spending about a fortnight visiting some villages in Uttar Pradesh near Agra and Etawah.

Ever since we arrived in India towards the end of last year, we had wanted to get into the countryside and see village life. We had seen glimpses of it from the train coming up from Bombay and we had driven through a few near New Delhi, but we knew from our own experiences at home in Canada that the closer a village is to a main railway or a main road or a big city, the less likely it is to be a representative village, and we wanted to see something of the ordinary sort of Indian village. We knew that unless we could get into our minds some picture of ordinary village life in India, we would not have any chance of understanding India.

I also wanted to be able to give my colleagues in the Canadian Government service in Ottawa, some pen pictures of the kind of village community in which over 80 per cent of Indians live. Under the Colombo Plan, Canada is co-operating with India in its efforts to speed up its economic development. The Canadian contribution of about 7 crores of rupees a year is spent on development projects chosen after discussion between the two governments. One of our difficulties in Ottawa in dealing with Colombo Plan problems has been that we have so few people there who have ever been in this part of the world and it is difficult for someone who has not been here to get the feeling of your village economy.

Off Beaten Track

On our tour of villages we stayed at canal inspection bungalows and we deserted the main roads for the roads along

*Mr. Reid, accompanied by his wife and daughter, recently spent a fortnight visiting Indian villages near Agra and Etawah in the State of Uttar Pradesh, which is located in north central India. This article is based on an address delivered by Mr. Reid over the All India radio.

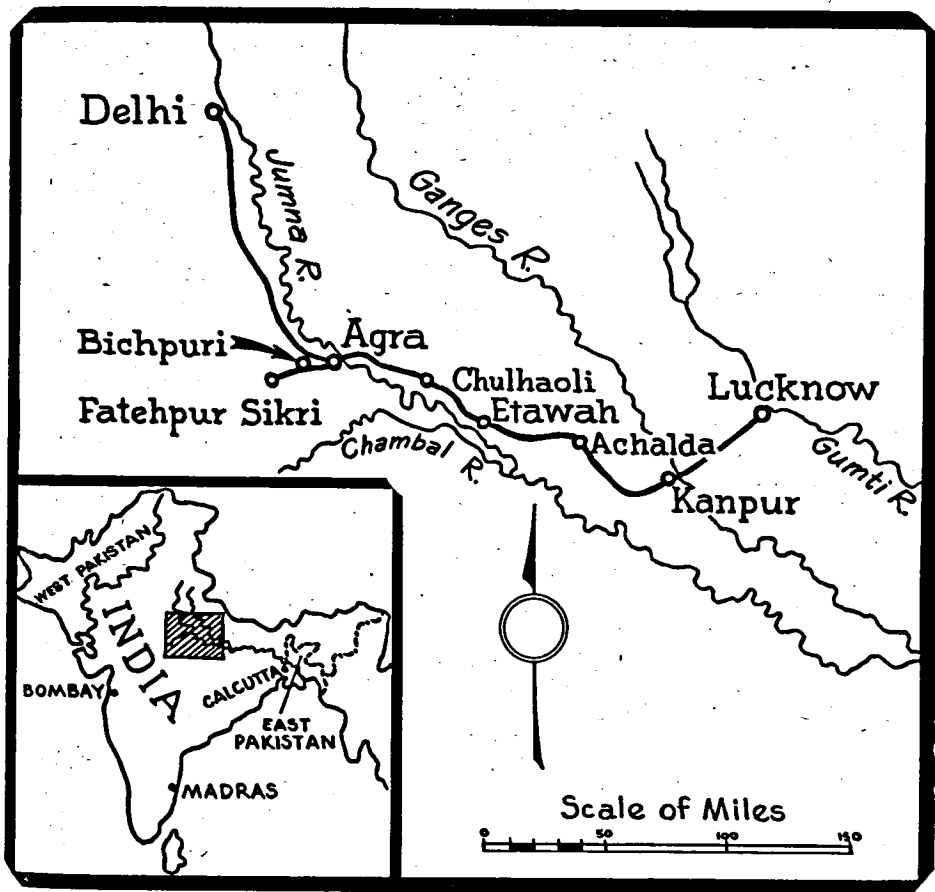
the canal banks. Sometimes we abandoned our car to go by jeep or truck. Often, of course, we had to abandon these and one of our most pleasant memories of the tour are the walks we had from village to village along cart tracks through the fields. In every single one of the fifteen or so villages we visited, the villagers treated us with a warm, smiling friendliness and a gracious dignified courtesy which touched our hearts.

During our tour of villages, we attended a meeting of the executive committee of the ancient democratic institution—a village panchayat. It was electing two sub-committees, one to deal with land use and one with planning. We attended one night a village class for teaching adult illiterates to read and write. The class was held on a platform outside a village house. I shall always remember that clear star-lit night and the play of lantern light and shadow.

We spent one morning at an agricultural school farm. We visited two schools for training village level workers and two agricultural high schools where boys and girls not only get the ordinary academic training but also work in the fields belonging to the school. Every second village we visited seemed to have a new primary school which the villagers proudly showed us, explaining that it had been built without any contribution from the central government or the state government, but by voluntary contributions in money, in supplies or in labour.

We were taken to a small village, Taiabpur, which is going to be completely reconstructed by the villagers over the next two or three years, and we have promised to come back to join the villagers in their celebration when the job is done. We visited a collective farm at Asokpur.

We drove through the terrible desert between the Jumna and Chambal rivers and we saw in Fisher's Forest near Etawah how that desert could be reclaimed.



The above sketch map shows the route followed by Mr. Reid during his study tour of Indian villages in the Province of Uttar Pradesh.

We must have walked over about twenty miles of the 5,000 miles of new road which the villagers of Uttar Pradesh had, by voluntary labour, built during Republic Week.

Impressions of U.P.

What impressions did we take back to New Delhi from that visit to U.P.? In the first place we took back a love for the Indian countryside which we had seen. It combines much of the loveliness of our own flat Canadian prairies with the loveliness of the sleepy canals in rural England. My memories of it are full of colour, of fragrance and of music. The golden glow of the early morning and the late afternoon. The gold of the mustard fields. The fragrance of the flowering fields of peas and of mustard. The sweet

smell of boiling sugar cane juice. The tree lined canal banks. The long shadows of late afternoon and early morning. The bells of the bullock carts. And the gay singing of the villagers heard across the fields during the day or from the villages at night.

The second thing we took back from our tour was a respect for the villager's shrewdness. We had read about his caution, the necessary caution of a man who lives close to the edge of starvation. What impressed us on our tour, however, was not his caution but his readiness to adopt new methods—new seeds, new tools, new ways of sowing the grain—once he had seen with his own eyes in the fields surrounding his own village that the new methods produced bigger crops.



A carpenter at work in a small village in the Province of Uttar Pradesh.

Rural Development

During our tour we must have talked to about thirty government officials who are concerned with rural development. It seemed to me that most of the officials I met combine a missionary zeal for their work with a commonsense approach to their day to day problems. Thus they consider the villager's natural resistance to change not as something to be contemptuous about, but as one of the limiting factors to be taken into account in dealing with their problems. They do not, for example, expect the villager to accept immediately the most efficient tool which can be designed. Instead, they design for him new tools which, though more efficient than the old, are not so unfamiliar that the villagers will not use them.

I was told in U.P. that for many crops most villagers use about twice as much seed as they need to and that if they used less seed they would get bigger crops. The experts do not, however, try to persuade the villager to reduce immediately by 50 per cent the amount of seed he uses. They are content to try to persuade him to reduce by 20 per cent to begin with, and then when he sees that that works, to reduce by another 20 per cent and so on.

At the little village which is being completely reconstructed, the officials are not pressing the villagers to put outside windows in their houses at the normal level for windows. The villagers are not accustomed to outside windows in their houses. I was told that they consider that outside windows make a house inse-

cure since passers-by can look in through the windows and find out where the householder keeps things which are worth stealing. So the project workers suggest that the windows in the room at the back of the house be placed near the ceiling and have an unnecessarily heavy grating.

All these are, it seems to me, examples of the sensible, realistic approach of the project workers. Another example which impressed me is the way in which the adult illiteracy programmes are run in the villages. The classes meet every night for four months and are taught by a fellow villager who has been given a short course in modern methods of teaching illiterates to read and write. It would be unrealistic to expect the villagers to attend dull illiteracy classes every night for four months. So the class opens with chanted prayers and ends with folk songs, folk dancing or chanted recitations from the holy book, Ramayana. But though the pill of instruction is sugar-coated, the examinations are tough and only about one-half the students are given a pass mark.

Officials Needed

In U.P. they need for every four or five villages, one official who will help the villagers in all their problems—sanitation, illiteracy, animal husbandry, seeds, methods of cultivation, and so on. These men they call the "all purpose village level worker." Since there are over 100,000 villages in U.P., they need about 25,000 of these village level workers. They cannot hope to train in a short period 25,000 new recruits. They are, therefore, giving special courses of training to the 16,000 government officials who are already doing work of one kind or another in the U.P. countryside. This, it seems to me, is an example of sound practical commonsense.

I knew before I came to India that 83 per cent of its people live in its 560,000 villages and that the heart of India is to be found in its villages. After I came here I began to realize in a way I had not before that the key to the solution of India's problems lies in its villages, that the peasant is the pivot of the Five Year Plan, that if India is to increase as it must

it's agricultural production, it has to introduce some dynamic elements into its static village economy, that it has to arouse the villager from the lethargy of centuries and release his immense latent energies. Having won its political liberty and created a new nation, India is now going on to the next stage in its peaceful revolution—the task of stimulating a social and economic revolution in the villages.

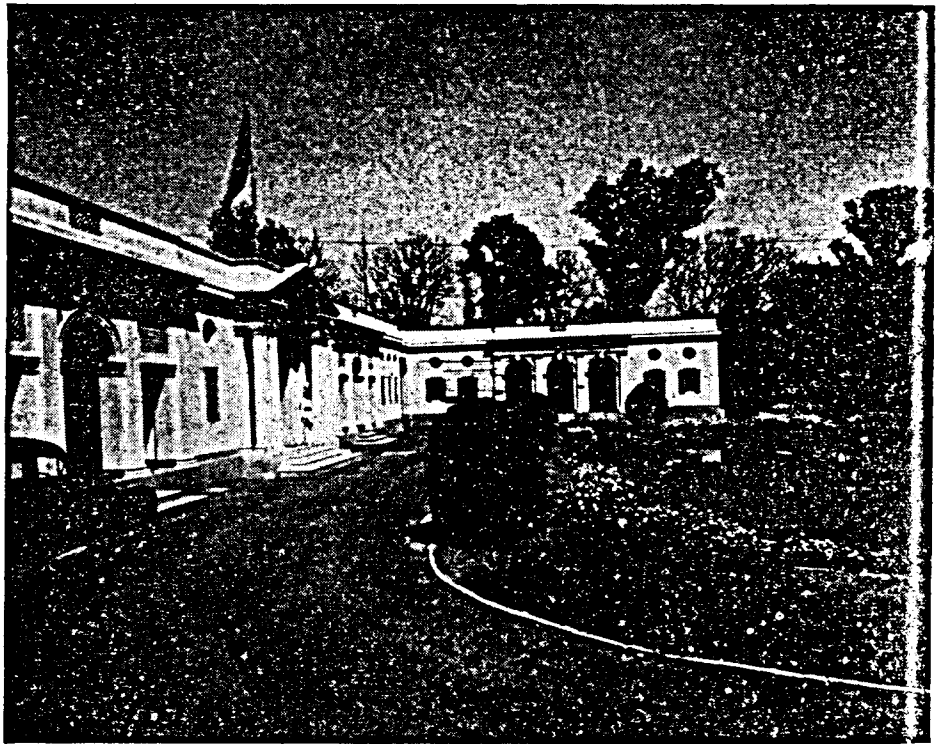
I have stolen one phrase from an article on the Five Year Plan which appeared in the London *Economist* at the end of December—"The peasant is the pivot of the Plan." There are a number of other good phrases in that article which particularly impressed me when I re-read it after returning from my village tour.

"Drama and Destiny"

The first is that the setting for your Indian revolution is one of "drama and destiny." Your revolution is taking place side by side with China's. A peaceful competition is thus being waged between "the two most populous and ancient cultures the world has ever known." China has embraced communism and totalitarian rule and "if the Soviet analogy holds good its people will be battered into economic growth."

India of its own free will, by choosing the way of liberal democracy, has renounced those short-cuts to economic salvation. India is determined to secure economic advance within a tolerant and humane society. India's policy is based on a realization that it is possible for a nation, as for an individual, to gain the whole world and lose its own soul, and India has decided not to renounce the great traditions of its civilization.

It has often been said of my country that Canada is a land of opportunity for young people. That is true, but it seems to me that India is a land of even greater opportunity for young people. The thing which most impressed me in my study tour of the villages in Uttar Pradesh was the key position in the short run of the all purpose village level worker and the key position in the longer run of the village school teacher. For its half million villages India needs over 100,000 of these all purpose village level workers. India needs



The Canadian High Commissioner's Residence, New Delhi, India, with a portion of the chancery adjoining at right.

hundreds of thousands of village school teachers. These hundreds of thousands of posts must, if India's social and economic revolution is to succeed, be filled by the most brilliant and the most devoted young men and young women of India. I can myself think of no more fascinating task in the world for a young man or a young woman than to assist as a village level worker or a village school teacher in promoting in India's villages a peaceful, liberal, democratic revolution.

"High Adventure"

When I came back to New Delhi, I sought for some phrase to describe what

I had seen on the faces of the many officials and teachers I had met. I sought in vain until I heard the Prime Minister speak in the House of the People about the developments which are taking place in India. He spoke of his feeling of "excitement at this tremendous drama that is taking place in this work, a sense of high adventure at what we are endeavouring to do in this country, and also a sense of the tremendous difficulties that confront us all the time." Here was the phrase I was searching for. I had seen on the faces of the officials and school teachers in U.P., outward signs of their inner conviction that they are participating in a "high adventure."

The Canadian Foreign Service

The Work of the Department of External Affairs

SINCE the end of the Second World War the scope and variety of Canada's international interests have very greatly increased. The heavy new responsibilities assumed in this field by the Canadian people and its Government are the business of the Department of External Affairs and several other government departments. In addition to Canada's diplomatic representatives, the Departments of Trade and Commerce, National Defence, Defence Production, Agriculture, Citizenship and Immigration, National Health and Welfare, and Labour have representatives abroad for their special purposes. They usually work in conjunction with the diplomatic or consular staff in those countries where External Affairs posts are located, and they frequently serve on the strength of a diplomatic mission and share the same offices. However, the Secretary of State for External Affairs is the Cabinet minister directly responsible for the "conduct of all official communications between the Government of Canada and the government of any other country in connection with the external affairs of Canada," and it is, therefore, the responsibility of the Department of External Affairs to co-ordinate all the interests of the Canadian Government abroad.

Functions of the Department

Under the supervision of the Secretary of State for External Affairs, the Department, with a staff of more than 1,000 in Ottawa and abroad, maintains official communication between the Canadian Government and foreign governments and carries out the policies of the Canadian Government in relation to these other countries. International agreements, the negotiations for which are often long and arduous, must be concluded with respect to a large variety of subjects. These range from major questions such as treaties of peace or the establishment of the North Atlantic Alliance to minor arrangements such as travel privileges for troops

on leave while on foreign posting. External Affairs officers abroad also have the duty of keeping other governments informed of Canadian interests and opinions on a wide range of subjects. For example, when legislation or other action which might affect Canadians is being contemplated, they ensure that the government concerned is fully aware of the implications of such action as it relates to Canada.

Another of the more important functions of the Department might be called, simply, reporting. This involves the collection and interpretation of information about the activities of other governments, particularly as they affect Canada. This information is gathered by External Affairs posts and is analysed and condensed in Ottawa where it is submitted through the Minister to Cabinet and to other government departments and agencies. On the basis of this knowledge the Government makes its decision on external policy and on those aspects of domestic policy which are dependent on conditions abroad.

Policy of Co-operation

In the dissemination of information about Canada, including its history, its economy and its way of life, the Department of External Affairs co-operates with the National Film Board, the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, the Department of Trade and Commerce, the Department of Citizenship and Immigration and various other departments having interests abroad. Close liaison is also maintained with business firms and voluntary organizations with connections in other countries. All posts provide, to the extent that their time and resources permit, the necessary information services to meet what is a genuine interest in Canada and in Canadian life. The object of these activities is to encourage interest and to develop understanding of Canadian affairs and to project, by whatever means are

available, a balanced and factual portrayal of Canadian life.

A final large element in the activities of the Department in Canada and abroad is the performance of consular work. Every diplomatic post has officers who hold consular and diplomatic status concurrently. Their job is to render assistance to the many thousands of Canadians abroad, from the provision of passports to the evacuation of Canadians from their territory in time of trouble. They must be ready at all times to assist or succour the missionary, the destitute traveller, the soldier on leave and the merchant seaman. The consular function is, to put it briefly, the protection of the interests of individual Canadians abroad.

The increase in recent years in the number of international organizations in

which Canada participates has been so great that in 1952 the country was represented at nearly 150 conferences and meetings. The most notable of these, of course, was the United Nations General Assembly, to which Canada has, on occasion, found it necessary to send delegations containing as many as 50 persons. Other international bodies of various types in which Canada participates include the World Health Organization, the International Labour Organization, the Food and Agriculture Organization, UNESCO and the North Atlantic Council. Since other Departments are concerned with the activities of many of these bodies they are appropriately represented on the Canadian delegations to their meetings.

The Organization of the Department of External Affairs

The head of the Department of External Affairs is the Secretary of State for External Affairs. The senior permanent officer of the Department is the Under-Secretary (Deputy Minister), who is the chief adviser to the Secretary of State for External Affairs. He is assisted by a Deputy Under-Secretary and by three Assistant Under-Secretaries and is advised by officers in charge of the various divisions, each responsible for a part of the work of the Department. The divisional heads are assisted by Foreign Service Officers, Administrative Officers and by the administrative staff of clerks, stenographers and typists. While serving abroad, Foreign Service Officers are formally designated as Ambassadors, Ministers, Counsellors, First, Second and Third Secretaries at diplomatic posts and as Consuls General, Consuls and Vice-Consuls at consular posts.

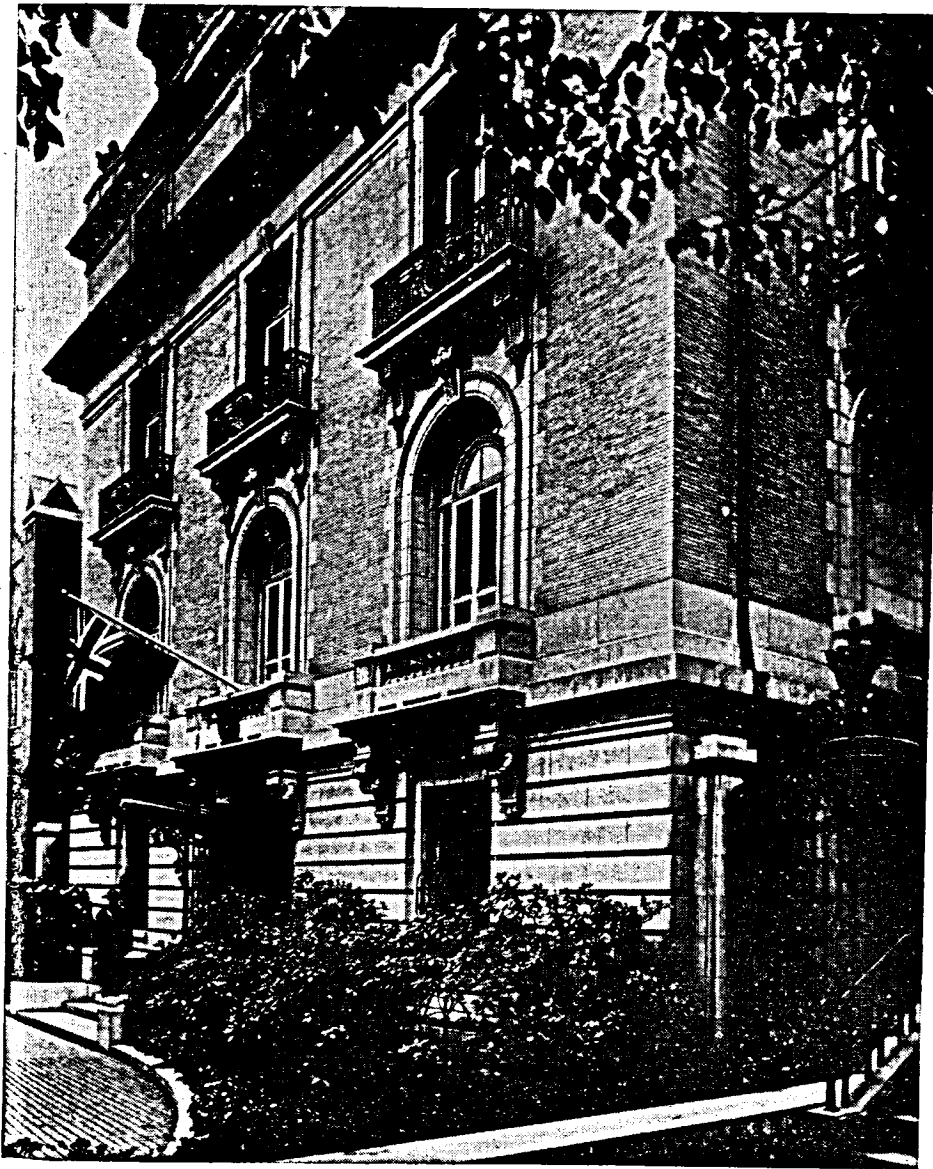
Organization at Ottawa

The work of the Department in Ottawa is performed by 17 divisions which can be grouped, according to their functions, into three categories—political, functional and administrative. There are five political divisions—American, Commonwealth, European, Far Eastern and

United Nations; eight functional divisions—Consular, Defence Liaison (1) and (2), Economic, Information, Legal, Historical Research and Reports, and Protocol; and four administrative divisions—Establishments and Organization, Finance, Personnel, Supplies and Properties.

Political Divisions

Four of the five political divisions, as their names suggest, are organized mainly on the basis of geographic area. From reports sent in from posts in each area and from information gathered from many other sources—government reports, newspapers, radio, conditions of international trade, representatives of other countries in Canada, other departments of government, and, of course, other divisions in the Department—the political divisions are constantly studying developments throughout the world. Through this continual analysis they are able to keep the Minister and, through him, the Cabinet, informed of all important developments abroad. They advise him concerning decisions on foreign policy and assist him in taking whatever action the Government considers necessary to meet changing conditions in the international field.



The chancery building, Canadian embassy, Washington, D.C., U.S.A.

Although the United Nations Division is not, in a sense, a "geographic political" division, its responsibilities, which are similar to those of the other political divisions, are concerned mainly with the work of the United Nations and its Specialized Agencies. It analyses United Nations developments, and, through the Under-Secretary, advises the Minister on policies which should be adopted at the General Assembly and elsewhere.

Functional Divisions

The Consular Division is responsible for all consular matters, which include the issuance and control of Canadian passports and other travel permits and the granting and rejection of visas for entry into Canada. In addition, its functions take in problems such as deportation, relief of distressed Canadians abroad, travel control, merchant seamen,

repatriation of Canadians, and war graves administration. It works in close co-operation with the Departments of Citizenship and Immigration, Transport, National Health and Welfare, and Labour.

The Protocol Division deals with all matters of diplomatic protocol, precedence, privileges and immunity. It arranges for the accrediting of Canadian diplomatic and consular representatives abroad and deals with the accrediting of representatives of other countries in Canada.

The Legal Division is concerned with all legal aspects of Canada's relations with other countries and with international organizations. Its work, usually in close co-operation with the Department of Justice, requires continual examination of the constitutional implications of all international undertakings, the preparation of documents as the basis of negotiation in international relations and the final drafting of agreements and treaties.

The Economic Division deals with the financial, commercial and general economic aspects of Canada's external relations. It is, therefore, responsible for the Department's work in connection with commercial and trade agreements, foreign assets in Canada and Canadian assets abroad, programmes of assistance to foreign countries, foreign loans, and balance of payments and exchange problems. It also deals with international civil aviators, telecommunications and shipping. Co-ordination of policy on economic questions requires continual co-operation with other government departments and agencies such as the Department of Finance and Trade and Commerce. Canada's participation in certain international agencies in the economic field are also the responsibility of this Division.

The Information Division supplies information about Canada to posts abroad, which they in turn adapt to meet the requirements of the press, radio and other outlets in their areas. It co-ordinates the information work abroad of other government agencies and assists foreign journalists and cultural representatives who visit Canada. It also makes available within Canada current information and reference material about international affairs and Canadian foreign policy.

The Defence Liaison Divisions co-ordinate the work of the Department in defence matters. Canada's participation in the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, for example, which involves close co-ordination with the policies of the Department of National Defence, is one of their major responsibilities.

Administrative Divisions

The Personnel Division is responsible, in co-operation with the Civil Service Commission, for the recruitment and promotion of all persons appointed to the staff of the Department. It arranges for the transfer of employees within the Department and for the assignment of all staff to and from posts abroad. It conducts training programmes both for new entrants and for all staff going abroad.

The Establishments and Organization Division, as an administrative division, is responsible for pay, salaries, allowances, superannuation, leave and attendance. It also supervises the work of the communications system between Ottawa and posts abroad, mail distribution, the organization of the file registry and the issuance and revision of the general administrative regulations and instructions.

The Finance Division is responsible for the control of all spending by the Department. It prepares, on the basis of probable expenditures forecast by each division, the Department's estimates, which must be approved by Cabinet and Parliament. It supervises the accounting system in Ottawa and at posts abroad.

The Supplies and Properties Division is responsible for the purchase or rental of properties required by posts in each country, for the furnishing of these buildings and for the procuring and shipping of a wide range of equipment and material needed by posts in the performance of their work. It also assists in the shipping problems of personnel of the Department.

In practice, all divisions work as a team. Similarly, all departments of government, through an elaborate system of formal and informal committees and close personal co-operation by their staffs, are continually working out the very complex and constantly changing web of Canada's diplomatic relations.



The chancery building, Canadian embassy, Tokyo, Japan.

Posts Abroad

The heads of Canadian diplomatic and consular posts report directly to the Secretary of State for External Affairs and receive their instructions from him.

Posts vary greatly in size. The larger posts in London, Washington and Paris include the Head of Post (Ambassador in Washington and Paris, High Commissioner in London), the diplomatic staff, consisting of counsellors and a number of secretaries, commercial secretaries, service attaches, and representatives of other government departments. Smaller posts consist of the Head (Ambassador, Minister or High Commissioner), one or two diplomatic secretaries, a commercial secretary, and, perhaps, a service attache. More specialized in their functions are the consulates and consulates general which, in some cases, are administered

by Trade Commissioners of the Department of Trade and Commerce.

One aspect of diplomatic life which is often not appreciated is the extent of personal inconvenience which must be accepted by every member of the foreign service staff in being required to move every few years, often on short notice, to any post in any part of the world. There is, perhaps, some glamour in the idea of living in the capitals of other nations. In reality, many of the foreign service staff and their wives and families often find very trying the endless and exhausting problems of housing, schooling and languages, and the difficulties of changing from one home to another and from one strange land to another every few years. The life of a diplomat does have certain shortcomings of this nature which are not readily apparent and, therefore, not always appreciated.

The Staff of the Department of External Affairs

A staff of slightly over 1,400 men and women carries out the work of conduc-

ting Canada's relations with other nations of the world. Roughly 50 per cent

of this number staff the fifty-odd missions situated in more than thirty-five countries. Of the total number, nearly 300 are Foreign Service Officers, about 700 are administrative personnel, and the remainder are local employees on the staff of the posts abroad.

Foreign Service Officers

The basic academic qualification of an applicant for appointment as a Foreign Service Officer is a university degree, preferably with specialization in history, economics, political science, philosophy, law or geography. Additional credit is given for those who have done post-graduate work in one of these fields, who have command of a modern language other than English and French, or who have had experience in business or a profession. Candidates must be able to express themselves effectively in writing and speech. Such personal qualities as initiative, good judgment, and the ability to work in close co-operation with others are essential.

A career as Foreign Service Officer is open to both men and women. All applicants are required to have ten years' residence in Canada; service in the armed forces outside of Canada is counted towards this period. Candidates must be between the ages of 23 and 31, but this rule may be relaxed slightly in cases where candidates possess outstanding qualifications.

Foreign Service Officers, Grade 1, begin at a salary of \$3,280 per annum. After about one year of satisfactory service, the new officer may be advanced to \$3,580. Providing his work is satisfactory, his salary increases after this in annual increments to \$4,180. The salary range for Foreign Service Officers, Grade 2, is \$4,280 to \$4,860. The salary of the highest grade (10) is \$12,000 and up. The appointment of a head of mission is made by Order-in-Council on the recommendation of the Secretary of State for External Affairs rather than by promotion within the Department; however, many Heads of Missions are "career" appointments, that is, they have been appointed from the senior grades of Foreign Service Officers.

At posts abroad, the Foreign Service

Officer receives, in addition to his salary, allowances to compensate him for differences in living costs and for his representation expenses. This is, in effect, an income adjustment which enables him to meet all the responsibilities of a Canadian representative abroad. Additional education allowances are paid to officers with children between the ages of five and 21 years.

Selection of Foreign Service Officers

Foreign Service Officers are recruited by the Civil Service Commission through competitive examinations. This begins with the written examination and the candidates who are successful are required to appear before an oral board. The purpose of the oral examination is to assess the personal suitability of the candidate for the foreign service. A candidate who is successful in the written and oral examinations is then assigned a rating in which business and professional experience and overseas war service are taken into account.

Successful candidates, in order of merit, are placed on eligibility lists which are normally valid for a period of one year. These lists are usually limited to the number of names required to meet the number of vacant positions in the Department's staff. Preference in appointment is given to those qualified candidates whose war service entitles them to the statutory veterans' preference.

The newly-appointed Foreign Service Officer is assigned immediately to one of the various divisions of the Department in Ottawa. This is the beginning of the period of training which normally lasts approximately two years. During this time he will work in at least three divisions, assuming greater responsibility as he becomes more familiar with the work of the Department. Courses of lectures, covering the work and organization of the Department, the work of other government departments and of important organizations such as the Bank of Canada and the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation are arranged as part of the training programme. During this period in Ottawa, Foreign Service Officers may be assisted financially to study certain foreign languages. Upon the satisfactory

completion of their training, officers become available for assignment to a post abroad.

Administrative Staff

Appointments of clerks, stenographers and typists to the rotational administrative staff of the Department are made through the Civil Service Commission on the basis of results obtained in competitive examinations conducted periodically by the Commission. Members of the rotational staff are appointed initially to positions in Ottawa; after a period of satisfactory service, they normally become available for a foreign posting. All are accepted in the Department on the understanding that they are prepared to serve in Ottawa or at any post abroad as required. A tour of duty at a foreign post varies from two to three and one-half years depending on the climatic and living conditions at the post concerned.

Starting salaries for stenographers range from \$1,800 to \$2,240 per annum depending on education and experience.

Stenographers with exceptional qualifications may be assigned in a slightly higher range up to a maximum of \$2,480. The minimum starting salary for clerks and typists is \$1,690, but for those clerks who have senior matriculation it is \$1,800 per annum, and \$2,130 for those with university graduation. While serving abroad they receive, in addition to their salary, rental and living allowances based on the cost of living index at their post.

Local Staff

Locally-engaged staff are selected by the individual Head of Post on the basis of their knowledge of the local language and customs and in accordance with the needs of the post. Since they are employed for particular duties at the Canadian diplomatic or consular office located in the country in which they reside, they are not subject to rotation as are the remainder of the personnel of External Affairs. Local employees are engaged to perform routine clerical and administrative duties.

CORRIGENDUM

Vol. 5, No. 7, July 1953, p. 218, second sentence, for "three officers" read "fourteen officers". The three officers referred to in this paragraph included only those in Ottawa at the beginning of 1927.

Canada's International Trade Fair

By J. FERGUS GRANT*

CANADA'S reputation in foreign lands as a growing market and a dependable source of supply for a wide variety of commodities was further enhanced at the sixth Canadian International Trade Fair. Twenty-seven countries displayed their wares, and buyers from some sixty countries descended on Toronto during the first two weeks of June to compare products ranging from a sixty-ton boring and milling machine through one of the finest displays of machinery and machine tools seen on the North American continent to beautiful examples of handicrafts from many lands.

The Trade Fair was a success from various points of view. While it is seldom possible to determine the amount of business transacted, and the value of orders actually placed, a number of exhibitors declared they were well pleased with the results achieved. Many already have booked space for next year. As a medium through which to create a better understanding among peoples of different races, religions, colours and creeds, the Trade Fair performed a most useful function. Its international character was reflected in the displays of goods and in the representatives of many countries with a common purpose; a purpose that resulted in the creation of personal friendships which well may blossom into a wider measure of international goodwill.

While the Trade Fair primarily is a mart or meeting place, sponsored by the Canadian Government in an effort to help businessmen explore the possibilities of foreign markets, it can create a more favourable atmosphere for an exchange of commodities. Though an exchange of opinions and a frank discussion of problems, the way may be found through obstructions that now restrict the free flow of trade. This should prove to be one of the more favourable features of such an international gathering. This Canadian venture is not unique in this respect, for

much of its strength is drawn from other lands in which trade fairs have flourished for many years. It represents, however, a contribution of a young country to the commercial stability sought by men of goodwill as one of the more important planks in the platform of peace.

Press and Radio Promoted Interest

The press and other media of mass education, such as radio, television and moving pictures, deserve special mention in any consideration of the success achieved. They have carried the story of this trade fair into the homes of many people unable to visit Canada at this time, and have portrayed the benefits to be derived indirectly by them from the efforts of their countrymen to secure export sales. Special issues of domestic and foreign publications, identified with this fair, already have created a better understanding of Canada, its people, natural resources, industries and its ability to emulate the older countries of Europe in organizing such an international trade mart. Correspondents from the United States and from overseas have been welcomed; some travelled further afield in an effort to furnish their readers with a more faithful interpretation of Canada. Their contributions is perhaps greater than they realize, for their words carry to the public the impressions that exhibitors and buyers can convey only to a relatively small, though influential, circle of fellow businessmen in their respective countries.

As the only international trade fair in North America, the Toronto event affords businessmen in the United States an opportunity to examine and compare a large variety of foreign products that might readily prove acceptable to a discerning public in what is now considered the most desirable market in the world. A group of some ninety businessmen from Buffalo, N.Y., were welcomed by officials of the fair as a unit; fifty of them chartered a special plane to permit of

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their spending a day in Toronto. Many more visitors from the United States were registered than in any previous year, which indicates a growing interest in this venture. Foreign exhibitors, who have taken up the slogan of "trade not aid," are not unmindful of such interest and welcome the Canadian show window for this reason.

Canadian Firms Profit

Canadian businessmen are also deriving increasing advantage from this opportunity to display their products to prospective Canadian buyers as well as buyers from other lands. Their participation was substantially larger than in any previous year. While the competition of foreign firms showing similar products, must be met, the lower cost of transportation provides a measure of assistance in securing sales. Of great importance, however, is the opportunity afforded of comparing their own manufactures with those of other countries, and of determining whether those produced here will measure up on world markets.

Over 264,000 square feet of space was required by exhibitors this year, compared with slightly more than 190,000 square feet in 1952. Nearly half the total was occupied by Canadian displays. While some of this was of an institutional nature, such as that taken by the National Harbours Board, the Government of Newfoundland, the Fisheries Council of Canada and the City of Sherbrooke, Que., these exhibits portrayed some of the facilities available to firms from across the seas, the Great Lakes or the St. Lawrence River who might be contemplating the establishment of a branch plant in Canada. The Trade Fair was also made the occasion by some companies for meetings of their salesmen or their buyers with salesmen and buyers from many parts of the country.

Engineers were shown a wide selection of equipment that could improve the efficiency of their plants. Other buyers, particularly from the large department stores, were presented with a wide variety of goods that would undoubtedly appeal to the prospective purchaser.

Some idea of the cosmopolitan character of the Trade Fair is indicated by the list of participating countries,—Australia, Belgium, Canada, Colombia, Denmark, England, Finland, France, Germany, Guatemala, Hong Kong, India, Ireland, Italy, Jamaica, Japan, Korea, Netherlands, Norway, Pakistan, Peru, Scotland, South Africa, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland and the United States of America.

Nineteen Trade Classifications

Exhibits from these twenty-seven countries were arranged in nineteen trade classifications as follows: building materials, plumbing and heating; drugs, cosmetics and tobacco; electrical equipment; diesel engines and power equipment; farm implements and equipment; food products and beverages; footwear, leather and leather products; hardware and smallwares; heavy construction and road-building equipment; household furnishings and appliances; handicrafts and ornamental goods; institutional exhibits; publications; jewellery and silverware; machinery, machine tools and plant equipment; medical and optical equipment; metals, chemicals and raw materials; office equipment and paper products; packaging, and materials-handling equipment; scientific and precision equipment; sporting goods, toys and musical instruments; textile products; and transportation equipment.

The fact that, this year, displays of machinery and machine tools occupied some forty per cent of the total space allocated to exhibits might create the impression that they dominated the Trade Fair to the exclusion of other products. Two buildings and an outdoor section were filled with one of the finest presentations of engineering equipment on the North American continent. But, there were many other exhibits to attract the attention of traders seeking varied merchandise for customers in their respective countries.

Window shoppers, with no opportunity to buy, also had their chance to see and admire, as the Trade Fair was thrown open to the general public on three days. This had the advantage of



CANADIAN INTERNATIONAL TRADE FAIR

General view of the machinery exhibits in the Automotive Building at the Canadian International Trade Fair, 1953.

creating a demand for some of the products that were not already available in department and other stores.

Wide Variety of Goods on View

Six countries were represented in the section devoted to building materials, plumbing and heating. Plywoods and ceramic tiles for interior finishing, electric heaters and ranges, air-conditioning units and the indispensable plumbers' supplies were alongside equipment designed to simplify and expedite building operations. The Canadian agent of a British firm displayed an aluminous cement, which hardens rapidly but does not liberate free aluminum. A Dutch firm, with thirty-two letters to its name, had samples of prefabricated utility and domestic buildings. There were elevator doors that could be controlled by a push button or by remote radio control and seamless tube elbows from Britain.

Five countries were represented in the section devoted to drugs, cosmetics and

tobacco. An English firm showed perfumes "distilled from fragrant English flowers," while another displayed a special line of asthma preparations, inhalers and other pharmaceuticals. A German company introduced a line of paper products, from tissues and disposable diapers to gift wrappings and shoulder pads. Two Dutch firms featured cigars, while one Canadian company showed cigarettes and other tobacco products.

Five countries were represented in the section devoted to electric equipment, Canada taking first place with exhibits that ran the electrical gamut. One of the interesting devices was an infra-red pyrometer for locating faulty joints on overhead power lines. New developments in the electronics field, radio and television captured much attention. There was a wide range of diesel engines on display in the category devoted to power equipment.

Canada and Germany displayed modern agricultural machinery, such as trac-

tors, centrifuges, home and farm freezers and milk-testing equipment.

Food Products Featured

Thirteen countries were represented in the section devoted to food products and beverages. The display ranged from the staple foods that make up a large part of Canada's exports, such as an exhibit of wheat flour, arranged by the Saskatchewan Co-operative Producers Limited, to delicacies from foreign countries. India displayed currie, pickles, condiments and Indian tea, while Ireland showed fruit cakes and specialties like "Irish pot still whisky." From Britain came beverages with unmistakably English names, such as Golden mead ale and Manx oyster stout. There was a large variety of Scotch whiskies on display. Brandies, wines, sparkling wines and liqueurs came from South Africa, while various brands of rum were brought in from the British West Indies. Austria displayed candies.

Six countries were represented in the section devoted to footwear, leather and leather products. Handbags, wallets, briefcases and travelling sets were on view, to capture the attention of the retail trade, but an Irish firm introduced sole and insole leather for the shoemaking trade. From Newfoundland came a display of rubber footwear and clothing, foam rubber mattresses, industrial and medical rubber goods, as well as lovely sealskin.

Six countries were represented in the section devoted to hardware and smallwares. The well-stocked exhibits, comprising all types of hardware, lighting appliances, flatware, tinware, cutlery, flashlights and gardening tools, attracted almost as much attention as does the ordinary hardware store. One Canadian firm showed aluminum extension ladders, while Germany displayed tools for the automotive and hardware trades, scissors, hairdressers' and barbers' implements, and Sweden had a small exhibit of hunting knives.

Six countries were represented in the section, midway between the Coliseum and Automotive Building, devoted to heavy construction and roadbuilding equipment. Here was a mechanized "road

show," with great machines painted gaily in red and blue, green, yellow and orange. Earth-moving equipment, road rollers, diesel dump trucks, mobile cranes, concrete mixers and power rammers for tamping earth or concrete were included among the large variety of machines. A mammoth exhibit was a hook block weighing eight tons and capable of holding 90 tons, which was displayed by a Canadian firm. It also had an exhibit of a model of the Granville Street Bridge, in Vancouver, which is the only eight-lane highway bridge on the continent outside of New York.

Six countries were represented in the section devoted to household furnishings, and six to that specializing in household appliances. There were some fine crystal chandeliers, rugs and carpets originating in ten different lands, rattan baskets and Dutch baroque furniture, cutlery and cowbells from Austria, aluminumware from Hong Kong and floor polishers from the Netherlands.

One of the most interesting series of displays was in the category devoted to handicrafts and ornamental goods, in which nine countries were represented. There were some original oil paintings from Vienna, crystal and ceramics from the Tyrol, intricately carved furniture made from native woods and rugs from India, bamboo products from Japan, and decorated Waterford glass from Ireland. One of the finest displays was that of the Quebec Handicraft Centre, of Montreal, which attracted much attention.

Institutional Exhibits

There were fifteen countries represented in the section devoted to institutional exhibits, apart from the Governments of British Columbia, Newfoundland and Saskatchewan, and the Cities of Halifax, Niagara Falls, Saint John, Sherbrooke and Toronto. The following countries were represented by government displays or those arranged by trade associations: Austria, Belgian Congo, Belgium, Canada, Denmark, Finland, Germany, Guatemala, Ireland, Jamaica, Netherlands, Norway, Sweden, the United Kingdom and the United States. Canada, Great Britain and the United States had stands advertising some of the trade publications

published in their respective countries.

Many beautiful examples of craftsmanship were to be seen in the section devoted to jewellery and silverware, in which five countries were represented. Germany and Austria showed some of their famous cuckoo and talking clocks, and there was silverware of distinctive design produced by Peru.

Machinery Exhibits

Reservations from the manufacturers of machinery, machine tools and plant equipment were requested so rapidly that the Industries Building was completely booked before the end of last year, and space had to be allocated in the Automotive Building. With the machines came technicians, who were able to give displays and full explanations of the special features of each machine. Over fifty members of the Machine Tool Trades Association of Great Britain occupied space that enabled the various firms to stage an attractive display. Canada was well represented. Eleven countries were represented in this category.

Five countries were represented in the section devoted to medical and optical equipment, and displayed a wide variety of instruments, such as microscopes, photomicrographic cameras, microtomes, metallographs, hemoglobinometers, cameras and projectors, surgical instruments, hospital furniture, binoculars, monoculars, small air compressors for medical purposes and optical surfacing machinery.

Imaginative displays in the metals, chemicals and raw materials section were arranged by firms in Canada, the United Kingdom and the United States. Visitors were interested, for example, in seeing how certain secondary materials and finished products were made, and in some of the functions of chemicals, such as weed-killing, rustproofing and insect extermination.

Office equipment and paper products were displayed by seven countries. Steel executive desks, filing cabinets, horizontal card sections, lockers and shelving were displayed alongside typewriters, safes and vault doors, adding machines and calculators, lithographic presses, offset duplicators, photo-mechanical equipment and plate-making machines.

Exhibits grouped in the section devoted to packaging and materials handling equipment demonstrated the surprising ease with which modern machinery can move even the heaviest and most bulky materials. The evermoving display included fork-lift trucks, mobile cranes, pallet trucks, electric and hand-operated hoists and belt conveyors.

Scientific and precision equipment was displayed by ten countries, and included a wide variety of items, which included military equipment, ammunition, small arms, radar and instruments manufactured by Canadian Arsenals, Limited, a crown company. The exhibits covered a wide range, such as precision measuring instruments, analogue computers, intercommunication systems, electronic test equipment, micrometers, aeronautical instruments, medical, dental and surgical instruments, cameras, lenses and optical specialties, dial indicators for the engineering trades, solenoid valves, mechanically or magnetically held contractors, automatic transfer switches and a stroboscopic wavemeter designed by the National Research Council, in Ottawa.

Some of the most fascinating displays were found in the section devoted to sporting goods, toys and musical instruments. Loud applause greeted the completion of a piano concerto by an artist on the stand where pianos, organs and musical instruments were on display. Five countries had exhibits in this category, which included hunting rifles, skis and accessories and fishing tackle.

Hand-embroidered blouses and pettipoint from Vienna; silks from Japan and velveteens from Spain, linens from Ireland, hosiery and knitted wear were among the many attractive articles that drew visitors to the displays of exhibitors from eleven countries in the section devoted to textile products. The Indian Jute Mills Association featured jute bags, cloths and furnishings, in an effort to step up North American sales.

Transportation Equipment

Seven countries were represented in the section devoted to transportation equipment. The displays included such items as fire trucks, firefighting equipment, dinghies and tenders, boats, unfin-

ished hulls, automotive accessories, bicycles, power saws, automobile and trucks, aircraft gangways, and portable staircases.

Officers of the Department of Trade and Commerce were on duty in the "Service Area," to answer enquiries and to assist both exhibitors and visitors. They also toured the Trade Fair, and discussed with the representatives of Canadian and foreign firms their problems, aims and objectives. In this way it was possible to assess the measure of success achieved by some of the firms and to determine whether they were satisfied with the reception of their goods. Booths were staffed in this area by a number of organizations, such as the Canadian Chamber of Commerce, the Canadian Manufacturers' Association, the Canadian Exporters Association, the Canadian Importers and Traders Association, the International Service of the CBC, and the United Kingdom office of the Canadian Government Exhibition Commission. In addition, the Departments of Trade and Industry or Trade and Commerce in the Canadian provinces had representatives on hand to assist the representatives of

firms already established in their respective territories, or contemplating the establishment of a branch plant in this country.

The Canadian International Trade Fair is held in the grounds of the Canadian National Exhibition, where admirable facilities for the display of goods are available, and the site overlooks the waters of Lake Ontario. The organization and administration of such a project is a monumental task, which is made possible only through the co-operation of the representatives of trade and industry with the officials of government charged with the actual administrative details. Visitors oftentimes have expressed their appreciation of courtesies extended. Speaking briefly at one of the press conferences held during the period of the fair, an Irishman who had travelled far and wide said that he had never before gone to a fair "where people fell over backwards to help." He also declared that his visit to Canada had been a voyage of discovery, and that the success of the fair had been achieved "through simplicity to complexity."

ADDENDUM

The two following scholarship holders replace A. F. R. Brown, and Ronald W. Turini as noted on page 223 of the July issue of *External Affairs*:

Gaston Laurion, 26, born White Plains, N.Y., graduate of the University of Montreal in Classics, will do research in France for doctoral thesis on medieval forms of the text of Euripides.

Jean-Charles-Francois Magnan, 23, born in St-Casimir, Portneuf, P.Q., graduate of Laval University in music, will do advanced study in France on the violin and of chamber music.

Canadian Visa Agreements with European Countries

THE record number of Canadian visitors to Europe this Coronation year may be finding transportation a problem but in one respect their travel is easier than at any time since before the Second World War. No less than thirteen European countries have now entered into visa modification agreements with Canada. As a result Canadian travellers may spend weeks touring the continent without having to take the time and trouble to obtain visas in advance for each country to be visited.

A visa is merely a notation made in a passport, usually by means of a rubber stamp, to the effect that the passport and other documents of the bearer have been "seen" and found to be in order. The visa indicates that the bearer qualifies for entry to the country concerned for the purpose stated on the visa. Visas are granted by consular or immigration officers for a nominal fee and must be presented at the border or frontier of the country for which they are issued. Unfortunately the process of obtaining a visa often consumes more time than the journey itself, particularly if the trip is by air. Thus when a Canadian tourist or businessman is able to enter the majority of western European countries without visas, he is saved a tremendous amount of time and trouble, which of course is the main purpose of these agreements.

Negotiations carried on through diplomatic channels have resulted in agreements with the following countries: Austria, Belgium, Denmark, France, The Federal Republic of Germany, Italy, Liechtenstein, Luxembourg, Monaco, Norway, the Netherlands, Sweden and Switzerland. These arrangements cover visitors only and they must have in their possession valid passports. They may remain in any of these countries for up to three months, except in Belgium, where the limit is two months. They are not permitted to accept gainful employment during their stay and if they intend to take up residence they must comply with all immigration requirements prior to entry.

These visa modification agreements are of course basically reciprocal. In return for the concessions granted Canadian visitors, each of the nationals of the countries concerned is given the privilege of entering Canada for temporary purposes with a minimum of delay or difficulty. Canadian offices in Europe issue visas to applicants from these countries free of charge valid for an unlimited number of entries to Canada within a one year period.

The first country in Europe to take steps to relax visa requirements after the end of the Second World War was Switzerland. On November 1, 1947 Switzerland abolished requirements for visitors' visas for citizens of the United States, Australia, South Africa and Canada. This action applied to the Principality of Liechtenstein as well because their foreign affairs are handled by Switzerland. As a result of Switzerland's generosity to Canada, Swiss nationals were accorded the privilege of free multi-entry visas by Canada on April 1, 1949. Before the end of that year visa modification agreements were concluded by Canada with Sweden, Denmark, Belgium, Luxembourg and the Netherlands. The latest agreement in this series was brought into force on May 1, 1953 between Canada and the Federal Republic of Germany.

One of the largest group of Canadian citizens in Europe at present are the armed forces serving in the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. Canadian soldiers and airmen may now visit most countries of Europe on leave or on duty without either passports or visas. Agreements have been reached with nearly all NATO member countries and a few others which permit service personnel to travel freely provided they have in their possession military identity cards and proper movement orders or leave papers. Reciprocal arrangements are in force permitting servicemen from other NATO member countries to visit Canada under the same conditions.

THE ANNOUNCEMENT OF THE SIGNING OF AN ARMISTICE IN KOREA

Statement by the President of the United Nations General Assembly, Mr. L. B. Pearson, made on July 26, 1953.

The good news tonight from Korea reflects the wishes of millions throughout the world that the fighting there should be brought to an end on honourable terms.

Our first thought at this moment is for those who have defended the principles of the United Nations with their lives, and in the hope that their devotion might save us from the destroying horror of another world war.

On June 25, 1950, the United Nations faced its greatest challenge: the aggression launched against the Republic of Korea. The challenge has been met by the United Nations in the spirit of the Charter. By resisting and ending aggression in Korea, the United Nations has reduced the chance of successful aggression elsewhere.

In nearly three years of hard fighting, under bitter conditions, the forces under the United Nations command—mainly from the Republic of Korea and the United States of America—have carried out their task with courage and determination.

The armistice will end the fighting in Korea. As such it is the first step toward a peaceful settlement in that area.

The next step is to call the United Nations General Assembly back into session to prepare the way for calling the political conference, recommended in the armistice terms. There are a number of decisions that will have to be made by the Assembly before this political conference can meet. There

is also the need for further United Nations action to aid the Korean people in the restoration and reconstruction of their devastated land.

Therefore, as President of the Assembly and in accordance with the Assembly's resolution of last April 18, I am informing the member governments tonight that the Assembly will reconvene at United Nations Headquarters on Monday, August 17, to take up these Korean questions.

The signing of the armistice is the end of one chapter of bloodshed and fighting. But it is only the beginning of a new and difficult one—the making of peace.

This new chapter can not be completed successfully in Korea unless the armistice terms are faithfully and scrupulously observed by all concerned.

If this is done, we can move on to the next stage, toward political settlement and reconstruction in a free, democratic and united Korea—a goal which the Korean people have fought so valiantly to reach. Such a settlement could in its turn lead to a solution of outstanding issues in the whole of the Far East.

The magnitude of the effort already made for peace and unification in Korea is the measure of the task which lies ahead. We shall succeed in that task only if we follow the course laid down by our Charter and maintain the spirit of joint endeavour that has carried us to this point on the long and hard road to peace.

APPOINTMENTS AND TRANSFERS IN THE CANADIAN DIPLOMATIC SERVICE

- Mr. A. D. P. Heeney, Canadian Ambassador (designate) to Washington, was posted on temporary duty from Paris to Ottawa, effective July 15, 1953.
- Mr. W. A. Irwin, High Commissioner for Canada in Australia, was posted from Ottawa to Canberra, effective July 19, 1953.
- Mr. E. H. Norman, High Commissioner for Canada in New Zealand, was posted from Ottawa to Wellington, effective April 14, 1953.
- Mr. L. G. Chance, Consul General (designate) in Los Angeles was posted from Geneva to Ottawa on temporary duty, effective July 27, 1953.
- Mr. E. P. Black was transferred from the Canadian Embassy, Moscow, to the Canadian Legation, Stockholm, effective June 1, 1953.
- Mr. J. J. Hurley, High Commissioner for Canada in Ceylon, was posted from Ottawa to Colombo, effective June 4, 1953.
- Mr. G. J. L. Choquette joined the Department of External Affairs as Foreign Service Officer, effective June 9, 1953.
- Mr. T. F. M. Newton was posted from home leave (NATO Secretariat, Paris) to Ottawa, effective June 9, 1953.
- Mr. J. K. Starnes was posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Embassy, Bonn, effective June 10, 1953.
- Mr. M. C. M. Gauvin was transferred from the Canadian Embassy, Ankara, to the Canadian Legation, Lisbon, effective June 12, 1953.
- Mr. d'Iberville Fortier was posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Embassy, Washington, D.C., effective June 12, 1953.

- Mr. G. C. Cook was posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Embassy, Ankara, effective June 19, 1953.
- Mr. P. Reading was posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Consulate General, San Francisco, effective June 24, 1953.
- Mr. J. R. Barker was posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Embassy, Moscow, effective June 25, 1953.
- Mr. G. V. Beaudry was posted from home leave (Buenos Aires) to Ottawa, effective July 6, 1953.
- Mr. R. H. Jay was posted from home leave (New Delhi) to Ottawa effective July 8, 1953.

CURRENT UNITED NATIONS DOCUMENTS*

A SELECTED LIST

(a) Printed Documents:

United Nations International Children Emergency Fund Financial Report and Accounts for the year ended 31 December 1952 and Report of the Board of Auditors; New York, 1953; document A/2396. Pp. 40. 40 cents. Geneva Assembly Official Records: Eighth Session, Supplement No. 6A.

International Monetary Fund, Washington, D.C.—Annual Report of the Executive Directors for the fiscal year ended April 30, 1952; 8 January 1953; document E/2351. Pp. 153.

World Economic Report 1951-52; April 1953; document E/2353/Rev.1, ST/ECA/19; Pp. 141. \$1.50. Sales No.: 1953.II.C.2.

Review of Economic Conditions in the Middle East 1951-52 (Supplement to World Economic Report); February 1953; document E/2353/Add.1, ST/ECA/19/Add.1. Pp. 161. \$1.75. Sales No.: 1953.II.C.1.

Social Commission—Report of the Ninth Session (4-20 May 1953); 20 May 1953; document E/2437, E/CN.5/297. Pp. 22. 25 cents. Ecosoc Official Records: Sixteenth Session, Supplement No. 7.

Seventh Report of the ILO to the United Nations; Geneva 1953. Pp. 444. \$2.50.

Proceedings of the Regional Technical Conference on Flood Control in Asia and the Far East (Flood Control Series No. 3); Bangkok 1952. Pp. 320. \$3.00. Sales No.: 1953.II.F.1 (Document ST/ECAFE/Ser. F/3).

Report and Proceedings of the United Nations International Seminar on Statistical Organization (Sponsored by the TAA and the Statistical Office of the United Nations with the co-operation of the Government of Canada and the participation of the

FAO, IL, IMF and WHO, 13 October-6 November 1952); March 1953; document ST/STAT/SER.M/16, ST/TAA/SER.C/7. Pp. 137. \$1.50. Sales No.: 1953.XVII.2 (Department of Economic Affairs).

The Trust Territory of Somaliland under Italian Administration (U.N. Technical Assistance Programme); 2 November 1952; document ST/TAA/K Somaliland/1. Pp. 343. \$3.50. Sales No.: 1953.II.H.2.

Report of the AD HOC Committee on Forced Labour; Geneva 1953; document E/2431. Pp. 619. \$3.75. Ecosoc Official Records: Sixteenth Session, Supplement No. 13 or "Studies and Reports" (New Series) No. 36 of ILO.

Catalogue of Publications of the ILO; Geneva 1953. Pp. 84.

UNESCO

Transmitting World News (A study of telecommunications and the press) by Francis Williams. Paris 1953. Pp. 95. \$1.00.

Report of the Acting Director General on the activities of the Organization from November 1952 to April 1953; Paris, June 1953; document 2 XC/5. Pp. 82. 50 cents.

(b) Mimeographed Documents:

Fourth Report on the Regime of the High Seas (The continental shelf and related subject) by J. P. A. Francois, Rapporteur; 19 February 1953; document A/CN.4/60. Pp. 137.

Report of the Ninth Session of the Commission on Human Rights; 6 June 1953; document E/2447. Pp. 248.

List of non-governmental organizations in consultative relationship with the Economic and Social Council; 27 May 1953; document E/C.2/INF.4. Pp. 107, Appendices I to V.

* Printed documents may be procured from the Canadian sales agents for United Nations publications, The Ryerson Press, 229 Queen Street West, Toronto, and Periodica Inc., 4234 de la Roche, Montreal, or from their sub-agents: Book Room Limited, Chronicle Building, Halifax; McGill University Book Store, Montreal; University of Toronto Press and Book Store, Toronto; Winnipeg Book Store, 493 Portage Avenue, Winnipeg; University of British Columbia Book Store, Vancouver; University of Montreal Book Store, Montreal; and Les Presses Universitaires, Laval, Quebec. Certain mimeographed document series are available by annual subscription. Further information can be obtained from Sales and Circulation Section, United Nations, New York. UNESCO publications can be obtained from their sales agents: University of Toronto Press, Toronto and Periodica Inc., 4234 de la Roche, Montreal. All publications and documents may be consulted at certain designated libraries listed in "External Affairs", January 1953, page 36.

CANADIAN REPRESENTATIVES ABROAD

| Country | Designation | Address |
|-------------------------|--|--|
| Argentina..... | Ambassador..... | Buenos Aires (Bartolome Mitre, 478) |
| Australia..... | High Commissioner..... | Canberra (State Circle) |
| "..... | Commercial Secretary..... | Melbourne (83 William St.) |
| "..... | Commercial Counsellor..... | Sydney (City Mutual Life Bldg.) |
| Austria..... | Minister (Absent)..... | Vienna 1 (Strauchgasse 1) |
| | Chargé d'Affaires a.i. | |
| Belgian Congo..... | Trade Commissioner..... | Leopoldville (Forescom Bldg.) |
| Belgium..... | Ambassador..... | Brussels (35, rue de la Science) |
| Brazil..... | Ambassador..... | Rio de Janeiro (Avenida Presidente Wilson, 165) |
| "..... | Consul and Trade Commissioner..... | Sao Paulo (Edificio Alois, Rua 7 de Abril, 252) |
| Ceylon..... | High Commissioner..... | Colombo (Galle Face Hotel) |
| Chile..... | Ambassador..... | Santiago (Avenida General Bulnes 129) |
| Colombia..... | Ambassador..... | Bogotá (Calle 19, No. 6-39 fifth floor) |
| Cuba..... | Ambassador..... | Havana (No 16 Avenida de Menocal) |
| Czechoslovakia..... | Chargé d'Affaires..... | Prague 2 (Krakowska 22) |
| Denmark..... | Minister..... | Copenhagen (Osterbrogade 26) |
| Dominican Republic..... | Trade Commissioner..... | Ciudad Trujillo (Edificio Copello 410 Calle El Conde) |
| Egypt..... | Trade Commissioner..... | Cairo (Osiris Building, Sharia Walda, Kasr-el-Doubara) |
| Finland..... | Minister (Absent)..... | Helsinki (Borgmästarbrinken 3-C. 32) |
| | Chargé d'Affaires a.i. | |
| France..... | Ambassador..... | Paris xvi (72 Avenue Foch) |
| Germany..... | Ambassador..... | Bonn (Zittelmann Strasse, 22) |
| "..... | Head of Military Mission..... | Berlin (Lancaster House, Fehrbelliner Platz) |
| Greece..... | Ambassador..... | Athens (31 Queen Sofia Blvd.) |
| Guatemala..... | Trade Commissioner..... | Guatemala City (28, 5a Avenida Sud) |
| Hong Kong..... | Trade Commissioner..... | Hong Kong (Hong Kong and Shanghai Banking Corporation Bldg.) |
| Iceland..... | Minister..... | Oslo (Fridtjof Nansens Plass 5) |
| India..... | High Commissioner..... | New Delhi (4 Aurangzeb Road) |
| "..... | Commercial Secretary..... | Bombay (Gresham Assurance House) |
| Indonesia..... | Ambassador..... | Djakarta (Tanah Abang Timur No. 2) |
| Ireland..... | Ambassador..... | Dublin (92 Merrion Square West) |
| Italy..... | Ambassador..... | Rome (Via Saverio Mercadante 15) |
| Jamaica..... | Trade Commissioner..... | Kingston (Canadian Bank of Com- |
| Japan..... | Ambassador..... | Tokyo (16 Omote-Machi, 3 Chome, Minato-Ku) |
| Lebanon..... | Trade Commissioner..... | Beirut (P.O. Box 2300) |
| Luxembourg..... | Minister..... | Brussels (c/o Canadian Embassy) |
| Mexico..... | Ambassador..... | Mexico (Paseo de la Reforma No. 1) |
| Netherlands..... | Ambassador..... | The Hague (Sophialaan 1A) |
| New Zealand..... | High Commissioner..... | Wellington (Government Life Insurance Bldg.) |
| Norway..... | Minister..... | Oslo (Fridtjof Nansens Plass 5) |
| Pakistan..... | High Commissioner..... | Karachi (Hotel Metropole) |
| Peru..... | Ambassador..... | Lima (Edificio Boza, Plaza San Martin) |
| Philippines..... | Consul General and Trade Commissioner..... | Manila (Ayala Bldg., Juan Luna St.) |
| Poland..... | Chargé d'Affaires..... | Warsaw (31 Ulica Katowika, Saska Kepa) |
| Portugal..... | Minister (Absent)..... | Lisbon (Avenida da Praia da Vitoria) |
| | Chargé d'Affaires a.i. | |

| | | |
|---|--|---|
| Singapore..... | Trade Commissioner..... | Singapore (Room D-5, Union Building) |
| Spain..... | Trade Commissioner..... | Madrid (Avenida José Antonio 70) |
| Sweden..... | Minister..... | Stockholm (Strandvägen 7-C) |
| Switzerland..... | Ambassador..... | Berne (88 Kirchenfeldstrasse) |
| Trinidad..... | Trade Commissioner..... | Port of Spain (Colonial Bldg.) |
| Turkey..... | Ambassador..... | Ankara (Müdafaayi Milliye Caddesi, No. 19, Cankaya) |
| Union of South Africa..... | High Commissioner..... | Pretoria (24 Barclay's Bank Bldg.) |
| " " | Trade Commissioner..... | Cape Town (Grand Parade Centre Building, Adderley St.) |
| " " | Trade Commissioner..... | Johannesburg (Mutual Building) |
| Union of Soviet Socialist Republics..... | Ambassador..... | Moscow (23 Starokonyushny Chargé d'Affaires, a.i. Pereulok) |
| United Kingdom..... | High Commissioner..... | London (Canada House) |
| " " | Trade Commissioner..... | Liverpool (Martins Bank Bldg.) |
| " " | Trade Commissioner..... | Belfast (36 Victoria Square) |
| United States of America..... | Ambassador..... | Washington (1746 Massachusetts Avenue) |
| " " | Consul General..... | Boston (532 Little Bldg.) |
| " " | Consul General..... | Chicago (Daily News Bldg.) |
| " " | Consul and Trade Commis- sioner..... | Detroit (1035 Penobscot Bldg.) |
| " " | Consul General (Vice-Consul in Charge)..... | Los Angeles (510 W. Sixth St.) |
| " " | Consul and Trade Commis- sioner..... | New Orleans (215 International Trade Mart) |
| " " | Consul General..... | New York (620 Fifth Ave.) |
| " " | Honorary Vice-Consul..... | Portland, Maine (443 Congress Street) |
| " " | Consul General..... | San Francisco (400 Montgomery St.) |
| Uruguay..... | Ambassador..... | Montevideo (Casilla Postal 852) |
| Venezuela..... | Ambassador..... | Caracas (2° Piso Edificio Pan-Ameri- can, Puente Urapal, Candelaria) |
| Yugoslavia..... | Ambassador..... | Belgrade (Proliterskih Brigada 69) |
| North Atlantic Council..... | Permanent Representative..... | Paris xvi (Canadian Embassy) |
| *OEEC..... | Permanent Representative..... | Paris xvi (c/o Canadian Embassy) |
| United Nations..... | Permanent Representative..... | New York (Room 504, 620 Fifth Avenue) |
| " " | Permanent Delegate..... | Geneva (La Pelouse, Palais des Nations) |
| " " | Deputy Permanent Delegate | |

*Organization for European Economic Co-operation.



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Department of External Affairs
Ottawa, Canada

The Armistice in Korea

THE Korean Armistice Agreement was signed at Panmunjom at 10:01 a.m., Monday, July 27, 1953 (Korean Time). It was signed by Lieutenant-General William K. Harrison, Senior Delegate, United Nations Command Delegation and by Nam Il, Senior Delegate, Delegation of the Korean People's Army and Chinese People's Volunteers. It was subsequently signed by General Mark W. Clark, Commander-in-Chief, United Nations Command, and by Peng Teh-huai, Commander of the Chinese People's Volunteers, and Kim Il Sung, Marshal, Democratic People's Republic of Korea, Supreme Commander, Korean People's Army. In accordance with the terms of the Armistice Agreement, hostilities ceased at 10:00 p.m. on July 27, 1953, and the Armistice Agreement became effective at that time.

The Prime Minister's Statement

The Armistice Agreement is a military agreement between military commanders. It is intended to make possible a final peaceful settlement and assumes that this end will, in good faith, be pursued. In commenting on the signing of the armistice in Korea the Prime Minister, Mr. St. Laurent, issued the following statement:

The news of the signing of the Armistice Agreement in Korea has been received with deep satisfaction by the Canadian Government and by the people of Canada. For three years, the forces of the United Nations have been fighting in Korea in order to resist an unprovoked aggression launched against the Republic of Korea. In response to the various resolutions of the Security Council of the United Nations, a Brigade of Canadian soldiers, as well as three destroyers of the Royal Canadian Navy and elements of the Royal Canadian Air Force, have been in action since early in the fighting. All Canadians are proud of the courage and discipline of our servicemen during these three years of hostilities. Never in history have our soldiers, sailors and airmen fought so far from their homeland in defence of that homeland and of the highest ideals of peace. We will not forget the sacrifices which they have made, nor will we forget their losses which are the losses of the whole nation.

We will not forget that these sacrifices and losses were part of the cost of a great collective effort shared by many peoples, especially those of the Republic of Korea and the United States, to the end that peace shall prevail. We pay tribute to all the forces allied in this effort, under the leadership of the Unified Command.

When, in the summer of 1950, the United Nations intervened in Korea, it did so for the sole purpose of resisting aggression against the Republic of Korea. This objective has now been achieved. An armistice drawn up in honourable terms has now been signed. It is the earnest hope of the Canadian Government that this armistice in Korea will be observed scrupulously by all concerned and will lead to a political settlement in that ravaged peninsula, and eventually to a general settlement of outstanding issues in the whole of the Far East.

Meeting Announced

In his capacity as President of the seventh session of the United Nations General Assembly, Mr. L. B. Pearson made an announcement from United Nations Headquarters in New York.

The armistice will end the fighting in Korea. As such it is the first step toward a peaceful settlement in that area.

The next step is to call the United Nations General Assembly back into session to prepare the way for calling the political conference, recommended in the armistice terms. There are a number of decisions that will have to be made by the Assembly before this political conference can meet. There is also the need for further United Nations action to aid the Korean people in the restoration and reconstruction of their devastated land.

Therefore, as President of the Assembly and in accordance with the Assembly's resolution of last April 18, I am informing the member governments tonight that the Assembly will reconvene at United Nations Headquarters on Monday, August 17, to take up these Korean questions.

For a very long period prior to the Armistice the central issue in dispute concerned the repatriation of prisoners-of-war. The cease-fire negotiations which began between representatives of the opposing forces in Korea on July 10, 1951, had, by the summer of 1952, resulted in the drawing up of a draft armistice agreement complete except for agreement on



—United Nations

THE UNITED NATIONS AND KOREA

The flag of the United Nations flying over the graves of United Nations soldiers killed in battle in Korea.

this subject. On this issue there was a deadlock. The United Nations negotiators held fast to the basic position that they would not accept an obligation to force North Korean and Chinese prisoners in their hands to accept repatriation against their will, while the Communist negotiators would not agree that prisoners were free to refuse to return to their own country if they so wished. On October 8, 1952, the armistice negotiations at Panmunjom were recessed by General Harrison, on behalf of the United Nations Command, after the Communist representatives had rejected the compromise proposals on the prisoner-of-war issue put forward by the United Nations Command on September 28. Shortly afterwards, the

seventh session of the General Assembly opened and the Korean question was taken up as the first item on the agenda of the First (Political) Committee. In the course of a debate lasting almost six weeks, a number of draft resolutions were submitted.*

Indian Resolution

On November 19, 1952, Mr. Krishna Menon of the Indian Delegation introduced a draft resolution, which proposed that the repatriation of prisoners should be effected in accordance with the Geneva Convention of 1949 and that force should not be used either to prevent or

* See *External Affairs*, January 1953, pp. 18-20.

to carry out the return of prisoners to their homelands. This Indian resolution was the subject of considerable discussion, particularly regarding the disposition of those prisoners-of-war who did not wish to return home. In its final form, as amended in debate, the resolution provided that, at the end of a period of 90 days after the armistice agreement had been signed, the question of the disposition of such prisoners would be referred to the political conference provided for in paragraph 60 of the Draft Armistice Agreement. If the political conference could not reach agreement on the disposition of these remaining prisoners within a period of 30 days, it was provided that "the responsibility for their care and maintenance and for their subsequent disposition shall be transferred to the United Nations which, in all matters relating to them, shall act strictly in accordance with international law". On December 3, 1952, the Indian resolution, as amended, was adopted by the Assembly by a vote of 54 in favour (including Canada), five against (the Soviet bloc), and one abstention (Nationalist China). On December 5, the President of the Assembly transmitted the resolution to the Foreign Ministers of Communist China and of North Korea, with an appeal asking the two governments to accept the resolution "as forming a just and reasonable basis for an agreement which will serve to bring about a constructive and durable peace in Korea". Despite the fact that this resolution was rejected on December 14 by Chou En-lai, Foreign Minister of the People's Republic of China, as "illegal and void", the discussion on it afforded an impressive demonstration of the solidarity of the non-Communist members of the United Nations on the issue and led, eventually, to the breaking of the deadlock on the question.

Repatriation of Sick and Wounded

Discussion of the Korean problem in the earlier stages of the second part of the seventh session of the Assembly, which began on February 24, 1953, also proved to be fruitless. Meanwhile, in Korea, on February 22, 1953, General Mark Clark, the United Nations Commander, informed the Chinese and North

Korean Commanders by letter that his Command remained ready "immediately to repatriate those seriously sick and seriously wounded captured personnel who are fit to travel in accordance with the provisions of Article 109 of the Geneva Convention". Article 109 provided *inter alia* that no sick or injured prisoner of war eligible for repatriation might be repatriated against his will during hostilities. On March 28, 1953, the Communist Commanders informed General Clark that they agreed with his proposal and suggested immediate resumption of the armistice negotiations to discuss the entire problem of prisoners of war. Negotiations on arrangements for the repatriation of the sick and wounded led to the signature of an agreement at Panmunjom on April 11. The exchange of these prisoners took place between April 30 and May 3.

Chou En-lai Pronouncement

On March 30, Chou En-lai made an important pronouncement on the prisoners-of-war question, the essence of which was his proposal "that both parties to the negotiations should undertake to repatriate immediately after the cessation of hostilities all those prisoners-of-war in their custody who insist upon repatriation and to hand over the remaining prisoners-of-war to a neutral state so as to insure a just solution to the question of their repatriation". His statement also proposed that while prisoners were in the custody of the neutral state, representatives of the countries of their origin should be given the opportunity to make "explanations" to them. The President of the Assembly, when he distributed this statement to representatives of member governments, expressed his hope that it might provide a basis for peace in Korea. On April 16, the United Nations Command agreed to resume full armistice negotiations.

At the General Assembly in New York, a Brazilian resolution was introduced on April 14 which expressed the hope that further negotiations in Panmunjom "will result in achieving an early armistice in Korea consistent with United Nations principles and objectives" and requesting "the President of the General Assembly to



THE WAR IN KOREA

—United Nations

From the ramparts of a mountain bastion, troops guard the approaches of a Korean pass.

reconvene the present session to resume consideration of the Korean question (a) upon notification by the Unified Command to the Security Council of an armistice in Korea; or (b) when, in the view of a majority of Members, other developments in Korea require consideration of this question". This draft resolution, recommended by the First Committee on April 16, was adopted unanimously by the Assembly on April 18, 1953.

The armistice negotiations at Panmunjom were resumed with renewed optimism about ultimate success. Two main points of disagreement emerged — the question of what country should be the "neutral state" referred in Chou En-lai's proposal and the procedure to be followed in disposing of those prisoners who did not wish to be repatriated. After over a month of negotiation on these issues, the United Nations Command on May 25 presented further proposals. These proposals, which the Canadian Government fully supported as a basis for negotiations, led, after further consideration, to the initialling of an agreement on the repatriation of prisoners by the two sides on June 8, 1953 (Korean time).

POW Agreement Reached

The prisoner-of-war agreement reached on June 8, which followed closely the main provisions of the General Assembly's resolution of December 3, 1952, provided that, within two months after an armistice, both sides, without offering any hindrance, would directly repatriate and hand over in groups to the side to which they belonged at the time of capture all those prisoners who insisted on repatriation. Panmunjom was to be the exchange point. A Neutral Nations Repatriation Commission, composed of Czechoslovakia, India, Poland, Sweden and Switzerland, and established within the demilitarized zone in the vicinity of Panmunjom, would take custody of all prisoners held by both sides who did not exercise their right to be repatriated. Sufficient armed forces and any other necessary operating personnel would be provided exclusively by India, which country would also provide the Chairman of this Commission. Within 60 days of the effective date of the armistice, all prisoners not directly repatriated would be released to the custody of the Commission in loca-

tions in Korea designated by the detaining side. Provisions were included for explanations to be made by national representatives within 90 days to the prisoners regarding their rights to repatriation, after which the problem of the remaining prisoners who had not elected repatriation would be submitted to the political conference provided for in the draft Armistice Agreement. During the next 30 days, during which these prisoners would continue to be in the custody of the Commission, the Conference would endeavour to settle the question of their disposition. At the end of that period, the Commission would declare the release from prisoner-of-war status to civilian status of any prisoners who had not elected repatriation and for whom no other disposition had been agreed to by the political conference. Those thus released would be assisted by the Commission and the Red Cross Society of India, an operation which would be completed within 30 days, after which the Commission would be dissolved. (This prisoner-of-war agreement was later on duly incorporated by reference into the final armistice agreement.)

POW "Escape"

While the negotiations at Panmunjom were reaching an agreement on the prisoner of war problem, the government of the Republic of Korea showed increasing restiveness. In spite of a letter to him from President Eisenhower stating that the acceptance of an armistice was required of the United Nations and of the Republic of Korea, President Rhee emphasized his opposition to any military truce by allowing the "escape", between midnight and dawn on June 18, of approximately 25,000 anti-Communist North Korean prisoners-of-war. The United Nations Command, in a public statement of June 18, intimated that "there is every evidence of actual collusion between Republic of Korea guards and prisoners".

The United Nations negotiators immediately informed the other side of what had occurred. At a plenary meeting of the negotiators on June 20 the Communist negotiators read a letter of protest, which asked: "In view of the extremely serious consequences of this incident, is

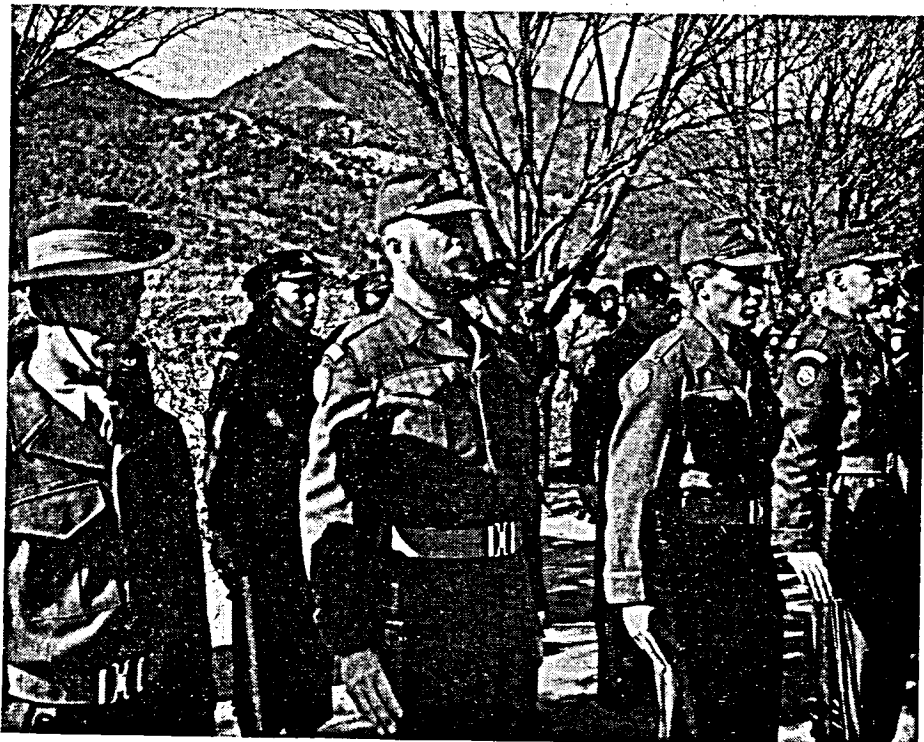
the United Nations Command able to control the South Korean Government and Army? If not, does an armistice in Korea include the Syngman Rhee clique? If it is not included, what assurances are there for implementation of an armistice agreement on the part of South Korea?" The United Nations Command was asked to be responsible for recovering the prisoners and to give assurance that similar incidents would not occur in the future.

On June 22, the President of the seventh session of the General Assembly cabled President Rhee expressing his "shock" at the latter's "unilateral action", which had violated both the repatriation agreement and President Rhee's undertaking of July 1950 to place the Korean armed forces under the "command authority" of the United Nations Command. Mr. Pearson pointed out that Dr. Rhee's release of the prisoners "threatens the results already achieved" toward an armistice "and the prospect of a peaceful solution of remaining problems".

At a meeting of liaison officers on June 29, the United Nations Command replied to the Chinese and North Korean letter of June 20, pointing out that the proposed armistice was a military agreement between the military commanders, and that the United Nations Command did not exercise authority over the Republic of Korea Government, although it did command the Korean army. The letter, signed by General Clark, assured the other side "that the United Nations Command and interested governments concerned will make every effort to obtain the co-operation of the Government of the Republic of Korea. Where necessary, the United Nations Command will, to the limits of its ability, establish military safeguards to insure that the armistice terms are observed."

Co-operation Assured

Meanwhile, Walter S. Robertson, United States Assistant Secretary of State, as the personal representative of President Eisenhower and Secretary of State Dulles, was conferring with President Rhee, in the hope of persuading him to adopt a more co-operative position regarding the armistice proposals. As a result of these meetings, the United Na-



CANADIAN FORCES IN KOREA

—United Nations

Canadian army personnel on parade in Korea with members of other Commonwealth forces.

tions Command was able to inform the Communists that the Government of the Republic of Korea had given the necessary assurances not to obstruct the implementation of the armistice agreement. At a meeting of the truce negotiators on July 19, General Nam Il, in effect, accepted these assurances by the United Nations Command. The negotiators then agreed to the designation of areas in the proposed demilitarized zone where prisoners not directly repatriated would be turned over to the custody of the Neutral Nations Repatriation Commission.

Armistice Agreement Signed

Liaison and staff officers completed their work in time for the signature of the Korean Armistice Agreement on July 27, 1953 (Korean time). The cease-fire took effect twelve hours later. Regarding the problem of prisoners-of-war, the agreement reached on June 8, 1953 (referred to above), supplemented by a further agreement dated July 27, 1953,

was attached to and incorporated by reference (paragraph 51(b) into the Armistice Agreement. These documents contained detailed terms of reference for the functioning of the Neutral Nations Repatriation Commission.

Demarcation Line Established

In addition to the provisions regarding prisoners-of-war, the Armistice Agreement established a Military Demarcation Line from which both sides would withdraw two kilometers, within seventy-two hours after a cease-fire had become effective. This line generally followed the line of battle and, though near the 38th parallel, added a small area to the territory of the Republic of Korea. Neither side might reinforce its military establishment in Korea, but provision was made for the maintenance of existing manpower and *matériel*. The Agreement also established a Military Armistice Commission of five senior officers from each side and a Neutral Nations Supervisory

Commission composed of two senior officers appointed by Sweden and Switzerland and two by Poland and Czechoslovakia. The "neutral nations" were defined as "those nations whose combatant forces have not participated in the hostilities in Korea". The Military Armistice Commission, which was to be assisted by ten Joint Observer Teams, was given the general mission of supervising the implementation of the Agreement and negotiating a settlement of any violations. The functions of the Neutral Nations Supervisory Commission (which was to be provided with twenty Neutral Nations Inspection Teams under its sole control) included inspection and supervision of the permitted replacement of men and *matériel* (through ten designated ports of entry) and the investigation, at the request of the Military Armistice Commission, of reported truce violations outside the demilitarized zone.

Report Made Public

Subsequent to the signing of the Armistice Agreement on July 27, a special report of the Unified Command to the United Nations on the armistice in Korea, dated August 7, 1953, was made public. This report contained the text of a declaration signed in Washington on July 27, 1953, by representatives of Canada and of the fifteen other members of the United Nations whose armed forces were participating in the Korean action. In the declaration, these nations affirmed "in the interests of world peace, that if there is a renewal of the armed attack, challenging again the principles of the United Nations, we should again be united and prompt to resist. The consequences of such a breach of the armistice would be

so grave that, in all probability, it would not be possible to confine hostilities within the frontiers of Korea." This declaration also expressed the opinion "that the armistice must not result in jeopardizing the restoration or the safeguarding of peace in any other part of Asia". The Canadian position, vis-à-vis this warning statement, was given by the Secretary of State for External Affairs, in a speech delivered in Toronto on August 7, 1953:

If aggression were committed again by the Communists in Korea, the same obligation of resistance would remain, but next time after a truce had been broken it might be more difficult to limit the war. On the other hand, if anyone else in Korea made a peace settlement there impossible by breaking the truce, we, in Canada, would have no obligation to support such a breach or assist in any way in meeting its consequences.

Article IV, Paragraph 60 of the Armistice Agreement stated:

In order to insure the peaceful settlement of the Korean question, the military Commanders of both sides hereby recommend to the governments of the countries concerned on both sides that, within three (3) months after the Armistice Agreement is signed and becomes effective, a political conference of a higher level of both sides be held by representatives appointed respectively to settle through negotiation the questions of the withdrawal of all foreign forces from Korea, the peaceful settlement of the Korean question, etc.

Pursuant to this recommendation and in accordance with the Assembly's resolution of April 18, 1953, the President of the General Assembly, Mr. Pearson, has reconvened the seventh session of the General Assembly in order to consider problems relating to the proposed political conference, such as its composition. At the time of writing, the Assembly is discussing these matters, but as yet has not made any recommendations.

Sixty Years of Foreign Trade

BY J. P. MANION*

JUST over 60 years ago Canada's Department of Trade and Commerce came into being, and Sir Mackenzie Bowell, who was later to be Prime Minister, became the first incumbent of the new Ministry.

There had been scattered efforts to promote external trade in previous years. As early as 1885 the House of Commons had appropriated \$10,000 to establish commercial agencies abroad. By 1892, there were eight such agencies, five in the West Indies, two in Great Britain, one in France; there were somewhat similar to honorary consulates. It was only in 1895 that the first full-time salaried agent was appointed in Australia.

Gradually, other career agents were established — in France and South Africa in 1902, in Japan in 1904, Cuba in 1909, Germany and New Zealand in 1910.

In 1911, the agencies were transformed into the Commercial Intelligence Service, and the name of trade commissioner was substituted for that of commercial agent.

Trade Restricted at First

At first, the volume and direction of Canada's trade were fairly restricted. Total exports in 1892 amounted to \$99 million, as compared to \$4,300 million in 1952. Canada was a minor trading nation in those early days — its mines were barely tapped, what gold it produced was exported in the form of "gold-bearing quartz and nuggets", its paper industry was non-existent, and the golden stream of wheat was just beginning to pour out of the Prairie Provinces.

There were anomalies, too. At that time the country was exporting petroleum to the United States from its first deposit at Petrolia. Coal accounted for \$3.2 million of \$5.9 million of mineral exports; exports of copper, nickel, asbestos and "gold nuggets" were in their infancy.

The largest category of exports was animals and animal products, which accounted for almost 30 per cent of Can-

ada's trade. Surprisingly, in this category, furs amounted to only \$1½ million.

Forest products were the second largest category, but the \$22.3 million involved included no paper and only \$355 thousand of woodpulp. Agricultural products, at \$22.1 million, included wheat and flour worth \$8.7 million, of which only \$1 million came from the Prairie Provinces.

The export of manufactured goods, excluding household effects of emigrants to the United States, came to \$5.9 million, of which \$1.1 million was leather. The largest items thereafter were agricultural implements (\$403 thousand) and pipe organs! Other articles of some importance were cotton goods (nearly all for China), carriages and wagons, and (shades of the Yankee clippers) ice to the British and Dutch West Indies.

Canada was still trading at that time with the Spanish West Indies, which took a considerable proportion of its fish. (Cuba and Puerto Rico still do.)

Newfoundland was one of Canada's important foreign markets. The Sandwich Islands took \$150 worth of cotton goods and the Hapsburg Empire bought three Canadian wagons.

The United Kingdom took 55 per cent of Canada's exports, and the United States 32 per cent. The Spanish West Indies, British West Indies and Newfoundland combined took an additional five per cent. The remaining 8 per cent, worth \$8 million, was shared, in order of importance, by Germany, Holland, Australia, Brazil, France, Norway, Sweden and China, at which point the figure drops below the \$200 thousand mark for any individual country.

It is a matter of interest that, in 1892, Canada exported \$26,927 worth of goods to Japan, and that, 60 years later, the figure had grown to \$102,603,245, more than Canada's total exports to all countries in the earlier year. In the same years, Canadian exports to Mexico were worth \$4,549 and \$39,640,575 respectively.

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TRADE PROMOTERS IN FOREIGN LANDS

Mr. G. H. Norman, Canadian ambassador to Venezuela, left, and Mr. J. A. Stiles, commercial secretary, study market possibilities for river boats and outboard motors.

The United States of Colombia 60 years ago took Canadian goods worth \$9,777 while the four succession states — Colombia, Venezuela, Ecuador and Panama — bought \$62,828,338 of Canadian merchandise in 1952.

In 60 years, therefore, exports to the countries mentioned have risen from a total of slightly over \$40,000 to over \$200,000,000, or double the value of Canadian exports to the entire world in 1892.

An 1894 Report

The problems facing trade promotional activities in those days were very much the same as they are today, except for those presented by licenses, quotas and foreign exchange restrictions. In 1894, Sir Charles Tupper, High Commissioner for Canada in London wrote:

I am glad to find that I receive an increasing correspondence from Canada, relating to trade matters, and . . . I shall be glad at all times to receive, and to answer . . . any inquiries. I am generally able to secure valuable information as to the prospects of developing any new trade, or as to

the best means of extending branches of commerce . . .

In the case of such inquiries, it may often be desirable that small samples of the goods should be sent to me; it will be readily understood, however, that I have no accommodation for bulky articles. A few samples, however, placed at my disposal might often help in obtaining reliable information . . . I have endeavoured during the last year or so, to obtain lists of the leading firms engaged in different lines of much indebted for the valuable assistance rendered to me by your Department. I have also been able to obtain the names and addresses of the leading importers of different produce in different parts of the United Kingdom.

Other Early Reports

Mr. J. S. Larke, Canada's first salaried commercial agent for Australasia (1895), wrote in another vein about the self-inflicted troubles besetting exporters:

It is not pleasant to so frequently recur to the errors of Canadian exporters, but as they are all hindrances to the extension of our trade and can be corrected only by pointing them out as they occur, it is necessary to do so. I have reason to believe that

only a portion of these mistakes come to my notice, but those are numerous and often serious enough to induce more careful attention than they get, I fear, from Canadian firms. In my mail of last month there were eight letters with only a two cents stamp affixed, and all from concerns having a large and widely extended correspondence. I am told of a House in this city which has been doing business with a Canadian firm for four years and the letters come today without being properly prepaid as in the beginning.

A second grievance was the old one of delays in replying to correspondence. Fourteen months ago, at the request of a Canadian manufacturer I secured a commission agent to take up his business here. The agent wrote him as I also did. By last mail the reply came, just thirteen months after the letters were written. Another grievance is careless office work. The last to which I shall here call attention is the imperfect way in which goods are shipped.

Mr. Larke is full of little homilies on such subjects, first berating carelessness and then gracefully turning a compliment here and there. He talks about fish which is not properly refrigerated, and cheese arriving in bad condition. He admonishes machine-tool manufacturers for shipments which were not properly demonstrated by qualified technicians, especially unknown to the Australians. On the other hand, he concedes that Canadian agricultural machinery and bicycles are better serviced than those from other countries.

At about the same period, Mr. Tripp writes from Port of Spain: "A great deal of light wine is drunk here, and there is no reason whatever that Canada should not secure a fair share in the trade which is now principally held by France and Spain." Mr. Tripp indulges a taste for metaphor: "Before many years elapse we may with fair confidence expect that trade connections with Tobago will again assume something of the same importance which attached to them in the good old days before King Sugar was dethroned by the anarchist called bounty".

Two of the personalities of those early days bridged the transition of Canada to a position of importance in world trade. Mr. Harrison Watson started reporting on commercial matters from the Canadian section of the Imperial Institute in 1901, became a full-time trade commissioner in 1913, and ended his career as Chief Trade Commissioner in the United Kingdom in 1934. Mr. D. H. Ross was ap-

pointed in 1903 and spent most of his time in Australia until he retired in 1933.

Mr. L. D. Wilgress, the present Permanent Representative of Canada to the North Atlantic Council, and the Organization for European Economic Co-operation, joined the Trade Commissioner Service in 1914. He was appointed to Omsk, Siberia in January 1916, and transferred to Vladivostock in August 1918. The latter office was finally closed in March 1920, but concurrently, from April 1915 to October 1919, a Canadian office was also maintained in Petrograd.

Only one trade commissioner, Mr. C. F. Just, was caught in enemy territory at the beginning of the First World War, and was under house arrest in Hamburg until exchanged in November 1914. Trade Commissioners abroad did not fare as well in the Second World War. Although the missions in France, Belgium, the Netherlands, Germany and Italy were successfully evacuated, several officers were interned for considerable periods. These included Mr. Grew and Mr. Monty in Oslo, Mr. Stewart in Tokyo, Mr. Duclos in Shanghai and Mr. McLane in Hong Kong. A recent blow was the violent death of Mr. J. M. Boyer during the Egyptian uprisings of January 26, 1952.

Development of Service

During the years of its development, the Trade Commissioner Service has undergone many changes and its functions have naturally expanded. Its officers are now foreign service officers, graded in the same manner as External Affairs officers. The term trade commissioner has been discarded except in those posts where Canada has no diplomatic representation. The majority of officers are now commercial counsellors, commercial secretaries or assistant commercial secretaries, forming an integral part of the missions abroad. Their responsibilities are largely in the economic and commercial sphere; that is, they share the burden of a mission's work on a functional basis because of their more intensive training in this particular sphere of activities.

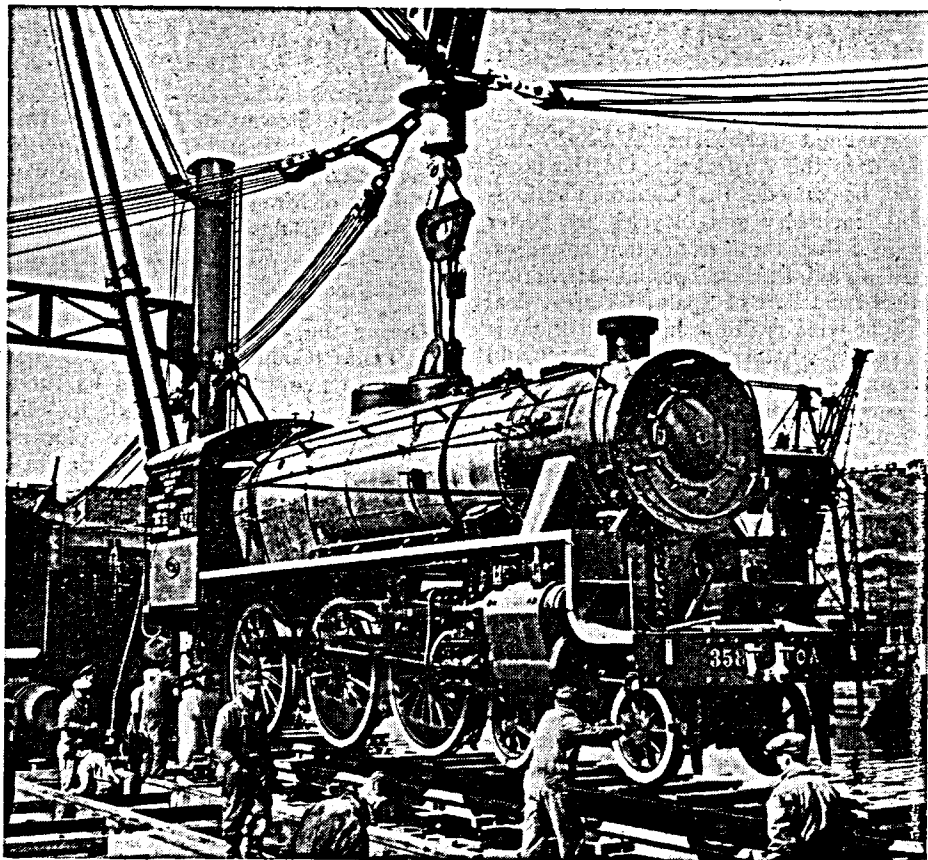
The original duties of Canadian trade representatives abroad were chiefly "pro-

motional" — the facilitation of contacts between Canadian exporters and foreign importers. The development of quota restrictions, however, and the dwindling of dollar reserves in many countries have given rise to a multitude of negotiations between governments on a day-to-day basis. When other countries plan industrial development, Canada's trade officers must keep themselves informed of the requirements for capital goods that will grow from these schemes. Is Saudi Arabia building a 150-mile railway? Then rails and railway ties, signalling equipment and rolling stock will be needed. Canadian producers are told of the potential demand for their goods, and they prepare to receive invitations to bid as soon as they are issued. Meanwhile, the trade commissioner responsible for the area is authorized to visit Saudi Arabia to try to "deliver the clincher".

Burma intends to set up a paper mill, well within the capacity of Canadian industry to produce. The trade commissioner obtains further details, but finds that the Burmese Government requires 50 per cent capital participation and a management contract on the part of the supplier. Canadian firms are unwilling to accept such long-term commitments; but at any rate they have had an opportunity to consider the business. Hydro-electric and steam-generating projects throughout the world are reported on continuously, and, where financial and technical conditions look attractive, Canadian engineers are advised to make an on-the-spot survey.

Direct Contacts

Everyday routine may appear less glamorous, but is challenging by reason



RAILWAY EQUIPMENT EXPORTED

A locomotive, part of a large consignment of rolling stock, being shipped to Southern Rhodesia.

of its diversity. Any producer or exporter in Canada has direct access to the trade commissioner. He may require a market survey, advice as to a suitable agent, help in collecting debts, confidential reports on present or prospective clients, or merely a collection of postage stamps for his son. Or he may arrive on the trade commissioner's doorstep without knowledge of the language, or of the market, or of the traditional methods of doing business, and expect to acquire a complete market survey and a suitable agent within 48 hours.

Because these direct contacts with Canadian businessmen are wide and varied, the trade commissioner maintains an intimate contact with the Canadian economy. He is one of the first to know when any particular industry is feeling the pinch on the domestic market, since the producer's first palliative will be to intensify his search for foreign markets. Contact with industry is further accentuated by means of the trade commissioner's periodic tour of Canada, in the course of which he has personal and group discussions with businessmen in all parts of Canada, visits new industrial developments, and has the opportunity, through interviews and speeches, of indicating the general trends of our trading relations with his area.

There are now 48 offices and over 100 officers in the service. This requires a far more complex organization than was formerly available. The Department publishes a weekly publication on foreign trade to present up-to-date information from officers in the field. The Dominion Bureau of Statistics issues a wide variety of publications devoted solely to foreign trade statistics. Through the Exporters' Directory, records are kept and are available in all offices, on some 4,000 regular exporting firms. The Commodity Index lists and cross-indexes every type of commodity produced in Canada, with the names of exporters. The Foreign Tariffs Division has at its finger-tips information on tariffs, import regulations and documentation required in 200 separate customs areas of the world. The Transportation Division furnishes information on shipping routes, rates, and regulations. A large Commodities Branch has specialist officers whose advice is available on every

type of commodity produced in Canada. And finally, the International Trade Relations Branch is in the background, ready to take every opportunity to break down impediments to trade and help to negotiate formal agreements with foreign countries for a downward revision of tariffs.

Import Division

One last word should be reserved for the Import Division. Canada is the only country in the world to have instituted a service whose sole function is to assist other countries in establishing a market within its own boundaries. Canada has long realized that "Trade not Aid" is an economic necessity, and all officers in soft-currency areas have as part of their job to try to help foreign exporters find a market here. Samples, price lists and detailed information are sent to the Import Division, which makes a complete survey in each case, and, when prospects are promising, indicates the best methods and channels of distribution.

This concern for balanced trade explains why the Department of Trade and Commerce has sponsored the Canadian International Trade Fair. In trying to make Canada an international marketplace, we must encourage foreign firms to exhibit and foreign visitors to attend. The onus of such promotion, as well as that of manning Canada's participation in various Trade Fairs abroad, falls on the trade commissioners.

The results of a trade commissioner's activities are often intangible. There are many cases on record where deals involving \$5 million or more are due solely to the initiative or perseverance of officers in the field. In the vast majority of cases, however, the results of new contacts provided, new agencies established can only be estimated to a very minor degree. It would be absurd to claim any stated proportion of our \$4,300 million trade as the direct result of the efforts of trade commissioners in the field. To the extent, however, that new products are introduced on new markets by the efforts of these officers, Canada's export trade broadens its base, gains fluidity and flexibility and can attain some greater degree of stability.

The Seventh Session of the Assembly of ICAO

THE Seventh Session of the Assembly of the International Civil Aviation Organization (ICAO) met in Brighton, England, between June 16 and July 6, 1953. A Specialized Agency of the United Nations, ICAO groups together 60 countries for the purpose of promoting the development of international civil aviation. Since it was established as a result of the International Civil Aviation Conference convened in Chicago in 1944 at the request of the United States Government, where the Charter of the Organization, "The Chicago Convention" was drafted,* ICAO has contributed substantially to the extraordinarily rapid growth of international air transport and to the improvement of flying safety which have characterized the post-war period.

"Major" Assembly

The Assembly of ICAO meets annually. However, at the 1950 Assembly it was decided that "major" assemblies empowered to deal with policy problems would be held triennially only, and that in intervening years "limited" assemblies dealing exclusively with administrative and financial matters would be convened. Accordingly the Brighton meeting gave member states their first opportunity since 1950 to express their views on major issues affecting international air

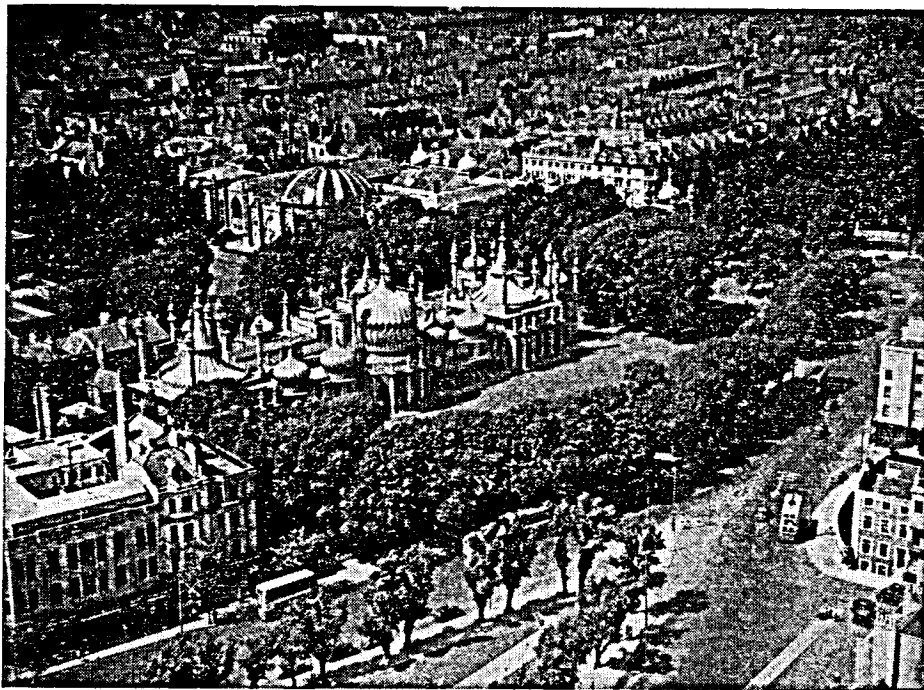
transport and was therefore particularly important. Included among the many significant items on the extensive agenda of the Conference were, the complex and vexing question of international operating rights for airlines, the possibility of simplifying licencing procedures for non-scheduled air services, the problem of securing implementation by Contracting States of ICAO Standards and regional air navigation plans and in this connection the determination of the proper role and importance of the regional offices set up by ICAO, the election of a new Council for a three-year term, the admission of Japan to the organization, and the provision of Technical Assistance to underdeveloped countries.

Opening of Conference

The Conference opened on June 8 with a Plenary Session under the temporary chairmanship of ICAO's President, Dr. Edward Warner. The sea-side city of Brighton had made available its magnificent Royal Pavilion and Corn Exchange Building in their arresting regency style. Fifty-two of ICAO's 60 contracting states were represented and five non-contracting states, the Republic of China, Ecuador, Germany, Japan and Yugoslavia, had sent observers. Observers from eight international organizations also attended. After listening to a message of welcome and good wishes from Her Majesty The Queen which was read by the Minister of Civil Aviation in the United Kingdom, The Right Honourable A. T. Lennox-Boyd and to the welcoming messages on behalf of the United Kingdom Government and of the city of Brighton, the Assembly heard general statements of policy from some of the contracting states. There was a general desire to proceed without delay to a discussion of the substantive issues before the Conference, and accordingly the Assembly quickly constituted an Executive Committee, an Economic Commission, a Technical Com-

* Article 44 of the Chicago Convention sets forth the aims for which signatory governments agree to cooperate in ICAO. They read as follows:

- (a) ensure the safe and orderly growth of international civil aviation throughout the world;
- (b) encourage the arts of aircraft design and operation for peaceful purposes;
- (c) encourage the development of airways, airports and air navigation facilities for international civil aviation;
- (d) meet the needs of the peoples of the world for safe, regular, efficient and economical air transport;
- (e) prevent economic waste caused by unreasonable competition;
- (f) ensure that the rights of contracting states are fully respected and that every contracting state has a fair opportunity to operate international airlines;
- (g) avoid discrimination between contracting states;
- (h) promote safety of flight in international air navigation;
- (i) promote generally the development of all aspects of international civil aeronautics.
(Italics ours)



CONFERENCE SITE

The Royal Pavilion, Brighton, England, centre foreground, site of the Seventh Session of the Assembly of ICAO.

mission and an Administrative Commission, and referred to them the relevant items of the agenda for their detailed discussion and report to the Assembly.

The Council's Report

The issues before the meeting were given perspective and added meaning by the report of the Council to the Assembly on the Activities of the Organization in 1952, which contained an enlightening survey of the progress of Civil Aviation since the end of the Second World War and of ICAO's contribution to it. It was apparent from this, that while a high degree of international co-operation had been achieved in technical matters, permitting the rapid improvement of international air navigation facilities, co-operation in the economic field, and in particular in the granting of commercial operating rights, had fallen considerably short of the aims set forth in the Chicago Convention.

Commercial Rights in Air Transport

Ever since it has been recognized in

International Law that national sovereignty extends to the air space over a nation's territory, the development of international air services has necessitated the agreement of the Countries to which or through which the services were to operate. The granting of commercial air rights was usually achieved by the conclusion of bilateral agreements between countries on a basis of reciprocal advantages. Before the war, this practice had often resulted in harmful and excessive competition in certain areas, and in artificial restrictions on the growth of international air transport in others, and it was with this experience very much in mind that the founders of ICAO wrote into the aims of the Organization, the prevention of "economic waste caused by unreasonable competition", the respect of the "rights of Contracting States", the provision of a "fair opportunity" in the operation of international airlines, and the avoidance of "discrimination" between States.*

* See note at bottom of preceding page.

It was generally believed at the Conference in Chicago that the conclusion of a comprehensive multilateral agreement on the exchange of commercial rights was the proper instrument for the achievement of these aims. The Organization made a major effort to achieve such an agreement in 1947 when it convened a special conference in Geneva for the specific purpose of drafting a multilateral agreement. The conference did not succeed, however, and it seemed evident that the differences of views were sufficiently deep to preclude any progress at that time. Perhaps the essential difficulty lay in the fact that two somewhat contradictory objectives were being pursued. The first was liberalization, that is the attainment of greater freedom in the use of the air space, and the second was protection and planning, to ensure "orderly growth", a "fair opportunity" and avoid "wasteful competition". In the absence of a multilateral agreement, world air routes have continued to be developed in accordance with bilateral agreements between states. The rapid post-war growth of civil air transport has necessitated the conclusion of several hundred of these.

No Early Solution

In the discussion of this problem most representatives expressed the view that the conclusion of a universal multilateral agreement must remain one of the fundamental objectives of the Organization. They recognized, however, that differences in viewpoint were still too strong to permit any early solution. Other representatives suggested that it would be possible to reach some degree of agreement now along more limited lines and that it was imperative that action be initiated without delay. Attention was drawn in this connection, to the increasing diversity of the clauses used in bilateral agreements and to the restrictive character of some bilateral agreements, particularly as regards the regulation of competition. It was suggested that one possible approach would be to achieve agreement on the form to be used for the most important clauses of bilateral agreements. Other possible approaches aiming at more limited multilateral agreements were discussed, such as a regional approach, a

common interest or group approach, a route approach, and a type-of-load approach. In its conclusions, the Assembly directed the Council to pursue actively the study of the problem and to give particular attention to the possibility of progressing along the more limited types of approaches discussed.

Conference of Western European States

The Council of Europe had requested ICAO to convene a conference of Western European States for the purpose of concluding a regional agreement on the exchange of commercial air rights and to agree on other measures to increase international co-operation in the economic field in that area. This request was examined in conjunction with the discussion on the broader problem of the exchange of commercial rights and the Assembly endorsed the action taken by the Council, which was to suggest that a preparatory committee be set up to prepare the agenda of the proposed regional conference. Several delegates indicated that it would be necessary to pay very close attention to the wording of any regional agreement to ensure that it would not result in discrimination against states outside the region.

Non-Scheduled Air Services

The Assembly decided that the time was not ripe to convene a conference for the purpose of reaching international agreement on this subject. It requested the Council, however, to undertake a study of the nature of the difficulties encountered by some states in the application of the definition of a non-scheduled air service which had been worked out by the Organization. The Assembly also directed the Council to continue and complete its study on airport charges as rapidly as possible and to communicate the results to the contracting states.

Air Navigation

The main emphasis was placed on the problem of fostering more rapid implementation by contracting states of the

international standards, recommended practices and procedures, as well as of the regional Air Navigation plans which had been developed by the Organization. For the last nine years a considerable portion of the work of the Organization in this field has been devoted to the task of developing international standards for the various kinds of equipment, techniques and procedures necessary to civil aviation. These standards had been incorporated into a set of 14 annexes to the Chicago Convention. While it was recognized that the continuing pace of scientific progress would necessitate fairly frequent revisions, it was pointed out that if ICAO standards were to be adopted by contracting states amendments should not be made too often. In its conclusions, the Assembly in general endorsed with satisfaction the technical programme carried out by ICAO during the past three years and adopted several resolutions designed to increase efficiency in this field and to promote the rapid implementation of ICAO standards and regional plans by contracting states.

Technical Assistance

The subject of technical assistance was discussed within the executive committee. Many recipient States reported in detail on the results achieved by the technical assistance projects undertaken in their own territories. They expressed general satisfaction with the nature of this assistance. Most representatives stressed the contribution which technical assistance was making to the economic development of under-developed countries and voiced concern at the curtailment of the programme threatened by the reduced amounts likely to be made available to ICAO in 1954 from the United Nations Technical Assistance Fund.

Financial and Administrative Questions

The budget of ICAO for the year 1954 was carefully scrutinized in the Administrative Commission of the Assembly which also decided on the new scale of assessments to be paid by contracting states. The majority of delegates showed strong determination to effect all possible

economies without, however, impairing the performance of the Organization in the accomplishment of its work programme. The Commission analyzed the budget in great detail and its failure to effect any really serious cuts in the proposed expenditures is a tribute both to the efficiency of ICAO and to the recognized importance of the work programme. There was lively debate in the Executive Committee on the question of suspending the voting power of contracting states having failed to discharge their financial obligations to the Organization. A number of Latin American and Arab representatives expressed their opposition to any form of sanctions on the grounds that arrears were due to circumstances beyond the control of defaulting states and that voting power was an inalienable right of all contracting states. The Assembly eventually adopted a compromise resolution on this issue. Consistent with its desire to effect all possible economies, the Assembly decided to direct the Council to conduct a thorough investigation of the Secretariat of ICAO in order to ascertain whether any reductions of staff or reallocations would be desirable.

Election of New Council

The election of the new Council of ICAO for its 3-year term took place at one of the closing plenary sessions of the Assembly. There were only 21 candidates for the 21 seats available and all candidates obtained the necessary majority of votes cast to secure their election. Elected were Argentina, Australia, Belgium, Brazil, Canada, Norway, Egypt, France, India, Lebanon, Ireland, Italy, Mexico, Netherlands, Philippines, Portugal, Spain, Union of South Africa, United Kingdom, United States of America and Venezuela.

Admission of Japan

The application of Japan for admission to the Organization was approved by the Assembly and it was decided that the Japanese adherence to the Chicago Convention would become effective on the thirtieth day after it had sent formal notification to the depositary power, the United States.

(Continued on page 281)

Canadian Films Honoured Abroad

IN the space of two months last spring, three major international awards were made to films produced by the National Film Board of Canada.

The "Oscar" of Hollywood's Academy of Motion Picture Arts and Sciences for the best documentary short film went to Norman McLaren's experimental film *Neighbours*, a "parable" about peace (or about war).

Royal Journey, a film account of the visit to Canada and to Washington, D.C. of the Princess Elizabeth and the Duke of Edinburgh, was named "best documentary film of 1952" by the British Film Academy.

Sports et Transports (French-language version of *The Romance of Transportation in Canada*) was named best animated short at the Sixth International Film Festival at Cannes.

Film Awards Won

These were the most notable among the some 30 national and international film awards won last year by N.F.B. productions. The awards won by the N.F.B. are by no means the only recognition given to Canadian film makers. Commercial producers consistently have won international awards with Canadian films sponsored by business, industry and governments. *Newfoundland Scene*, for instance, produced for Imperial Oil Limited, won favourable notice in the documentary class at the 1952 Edinburgh Film Festival. Such awards and critical recognition are gratifying testimony of Canadian film standards, and provoke valuable publicity for Canada. There are few other fields in which Canada has achieved such widespread international recognition.

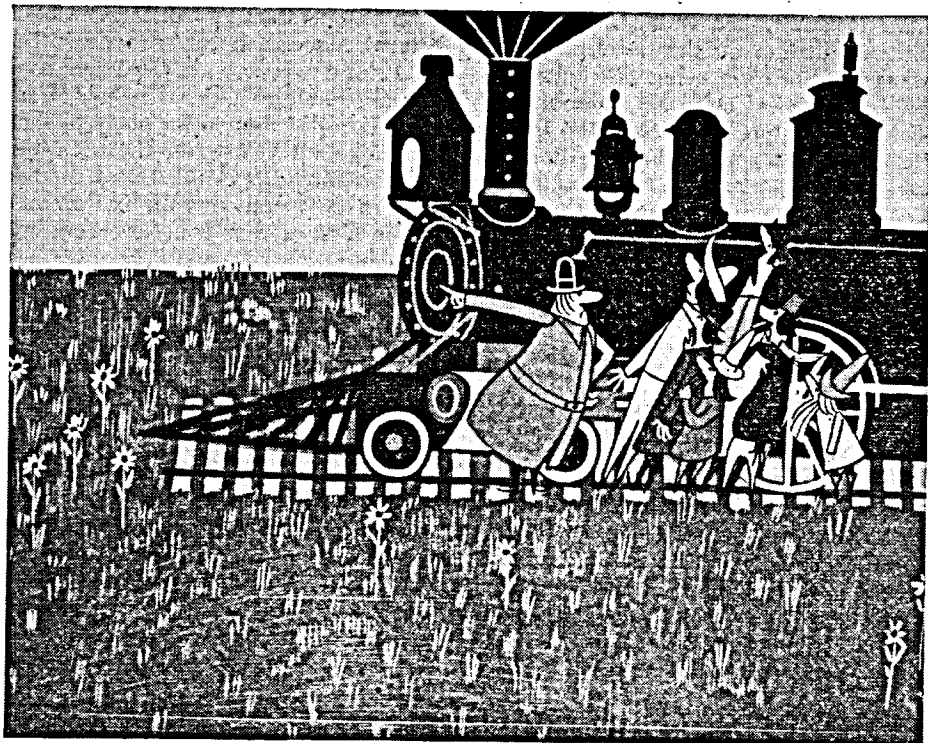
But films which win awards are not necessarily successful films. Films made for general distribution — as most Canadian films are — must be seen by many people if they are to be considered successful. If Canadian films are to be an effective medium for Canadian information abroad, other criteria than awards must be considered. Do Canadian films

appeal mainly to judges and film critics? Or do they also appeal to general audiences?

The audience reception and distribution records of the three prize-winning films above would give a fair answer for they are a mixed bag, a partial cross section of the types of films produced in Canada. *Neighbours* is a frankly experimental film, a category in which Canada is well-known; *Royal Journey* is a straightforward documentary report, another type with which Canada is closely identified; *Sports et Transports* was designed for general audiences but not for the "double feature" trade, a characteristic of most Canadian films, which, since they are produced chiefly for government or private sponsors, naturally cannot concentrate on entertainment values.

Wide Variety

Neighbours combines two techniques developed at the Board by Norman McLaren: single frame animation of real people which makes it possible, for instance, for an actor to appear to glide swiftly across a lawn on one foot and otherwise defy the laws of motion and gravity; and synthetic sound which, in simple terms, substitutes hand-drawn striations on a film sound track for those ordinarily produced electronically by actual sounds, thus eliminating musical instruments and natural sound effects. The "parable" which is presented, using these techniques, is at once whimsical and shocking. Members of the audience, according to reports, may walk out of the theatre in horror — or stay to the end and applaud wildly. Despite the unconventionality of its content and technique, *Neighbours* is being distributed in commercial theatres in Canada, the United States, the United Kingdom, France and Norway to date. In addition, 42 prints have been sent to Canadian diplomatic, consular and trade posts abroad for loan distribution and many prints have been sold. *Neighbours* will never be a draw at the "drive-ins" but, for an experimental



SPORTS ET TRANSPORTS

—NFB

A still from the animated colour film, "Sports et Transports".

film, it is being seen by a remarkably large general audience.

Royal Journey had an obvious potential for general audiences. The question in the case of *Royal Journey* was whether critical acclaim would parallel public popularity. The British Film Academy — and film critics in many countries — answered the question with enthusiasm. *Royal Journey* has been seen by more people than any other film ever produced in Canada. It was — and still is — distributed theatrically and non-theatrically in more than 40 countries.

Sports et Transports is a cartoon history of Canadian transportation using a somewhat stylized animation technique. The commentary is a parody of a travelling lecturer's vague wordiness, counterpointed, in an innocent manner, against appropriate, or suitably inappropriate, visuals. The humour is quiet, the music unusual and the visuals do not attempt any of Disney's "realistic" effects. But the film, which was released only recently, is already obtaining good distribution. It

is in general theatrical distribution in Canada. Distribution in the United States has been limited, to date, to specialty theatres but in these it has been very successful. It opened in a Broadway theatre on March 10, 1953 and at the time of writing (August 18) was still running in that theatre. It is to be featured this fall on the Ford Foundation television show "Omnibus". Commercial contracts have already been signed for France and Belgium. Other contracts are being negotiated. In addition, prints will be sent to Canadian posts abroad for non-theatrical use.

Broad Appeal

The records of these three films seem to demonstrate that Canadian films appeal not only to critics but to audiences. Admittedly these three were prize-winners, but two of them were films which were well off the beaten path of major studio mass appeal films. Distribution abroad of more conventional Canadian

films may be much wider. *Beyond The Frontier*, a film on the development of Canada's North, is being distributed by M.G.M. in the United Kingdom and by Columbia Pictures in most of the rest of the world, except for France, Belgium and the Netherlands. *The Man in the Peace Tower*, a film about the Dominion carillonneur is distributed by M.G.M. in the United Kingdom, by Belgavox in Belgium and by Universal in the United States, Central and South America and many other film territories.

Distribution System

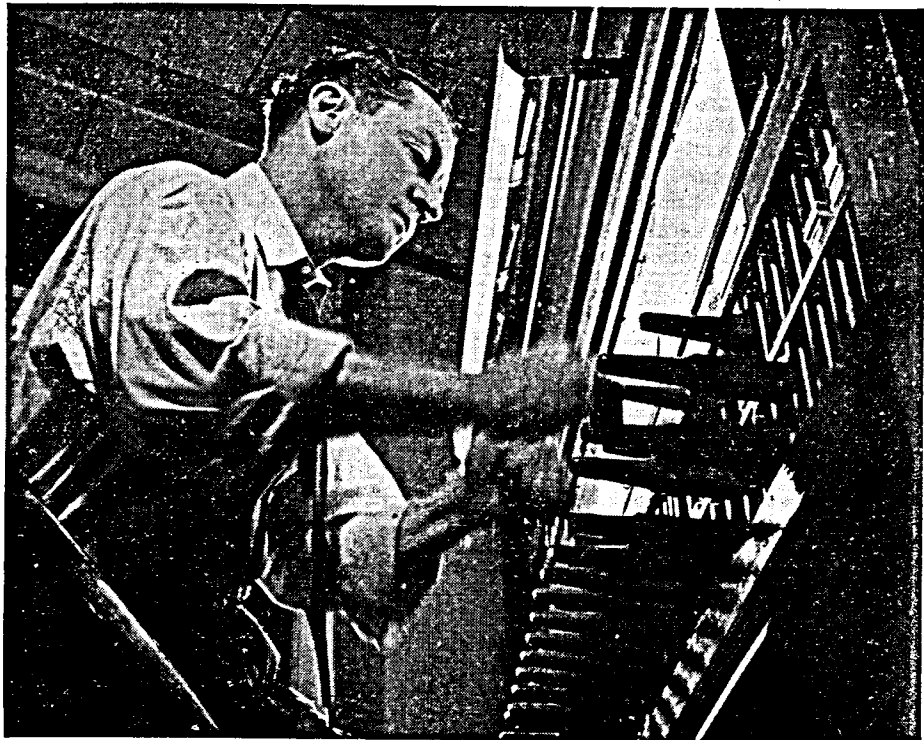
The distribution system which brings these Canadian films to people in other countries is a joint effort of the National Film Board and the Canadian diplomatic missions and consular and trade posts. The N.F.B. handles theatrical and commercial distribution, including newsreels and most television contracts. In this it is assisted, in the United States, by the Can-

adian Co-operation Project of the Motion Picture Association of America. The C.C.P. also works with Canadian commercial producers and has helped to arrange U.S. distribution for many of their films in recent years. Non-theatrical distribution abroad is handled by Canadian posts in co-operation with N.F.B. officials in Ottawa, London, New York and Chicago.

The Government-operated distribution system is used to circulate films other than those produced by the N.F.B. *Packaged Power*, produced for Aluminium Ltd., for instance, is being distributed by Canadian posts abroad.

Distribution methods abroad were described in some detail in the March 1952, issue of *External Affairs* but there have been some significant new developments which are worth reporting.

Commercial — Bookings of N.F.B. films in commercial theatres abroad increased from 10,572 in the fiscal year 1950-51 to 16,159 in 1952-53. Thirty-eight commer-



THE MAN IN THE PEACE TOWER

Mr. Robert Donnell, Dominion Carillonneur, at the practice clavier of the Peace Tower, Parliament Buildings, Ottawa.

—NFB

cial contracts for film distribution were completed last year.

Non-commercial — Non-theatrical audiences for N.F.B. films abroad increased from 9,700,000 in 1950-51 to 11,070,000 in 1952-53. The increase was made despite the closing down of the Central Office of Information distribution system in the United Kingdom, through which N.F.B. films were seen by more than 1,000,000 people yearly. This loss was more than offset by the increased film activity of Canadian posts which raised their audience figures 3,273,000 in 1950-51 to 6,238,169 in 1952-53.

Newsreels — Until last year, foreign distribution of N.F.B. newsreel material depended chiefly on its inclusion in newsreels produced in the United Kingdom

and the United States. Now the Board also works directly with newsreel producers in many other countries. The results demonstrate the wisdom of this policy. In 1950-51 N.F.B. newsreel material was included in 64 editions of foreign newsreels including television newsreels; in 1951-52, in 134 editions; and last year in 328 editions.

The foreign demand for Canadian films increases each year. The number of international awards won by Canadian films increases also. Apparently Canadian films are enjoyed by critics and audiences alike. In theatres and in 16mm community shows, in newsreels and on television, the face of Canada is exposed to foreign audiences. They seem to like it.

THE SEVENTH SESSION OF THE ASSEMBLY OF ICAO

(Continued from page 277)

Frequency of Assemblies

The Executive Committee discussed at length the possibility of lengthening the intervals between sessions of the Assembly. Most states indicated that they would favour triennial meetings instead of the present annual meetings. In the interval between Assembly sessions major policy decisions are taken by the Council of ICAO on which only 21 of the 60 contracting states of ICAO are represented. Some states represented on the Council indicated that the change suggested could only be contemplated if there was general agreement to it on the part of states not represented on the Council. It was also agreed that the only way in which such a change could be effected was amendment of the Chicago Convention, which raised some practical difficulties. The Assembly noted the wish of the majority that some lengthening of the interval between Assembly sessions was desirable and directed the Council to ascertain the

views of all contracting states concerning the desirability of amending the Chicago Convention to this effect.

As the Assembly closed on July 6 with votes of thanks to the United Kingdom Government and the city of Brighton for the hospitality provided, delegates seemed to share a general feeling of satisfaction and optimism concerning the future. The friendly atmosphere of the discussions, the exceptionally high attendance, the evidence given of the efficiency and solidity of the organization as well as the progress achieved in many fields, undoubtedly contributed to this feeling. Even more important perhaps were the frankness and forthrightness of the discussions which had taken place on the controversial economic issues. They had revealed a sense of realism on the part of most delegates, a willingness to come to grips with the concrete obstacles to a wider measure of international co-operation which could perhaps warrant reasonable hopes of future progress.

CANADIAN POSITION ON KOREA

As expressed by the Canadian Representative to the United Nations General Assembly, Mr. Paul Martin, made in the Political Committee, August 19, 1953.

With the end of the fighting in Korea we can at last turn our attention to the more constructive task of peace-making. At this resumed session I think it is now generally agreed that questions of substance are not our present concern and that they should be left to the Political Conference. Our sole responsibility is to see that the Political Conference recommended in the armistice agreement gets off to as good a start as it is humanly possible to achieve. This is our new challenge, as Mr. Lodge has called it. We may indeed have reached a turning point, as Mr. Selwyn Lloyd put it yesterday morning, not only in Korean affairs, but in a much larger sense. It is our duty not only to effect the most practical arrangements for the Conference we can contrive, but at the same time to do our best, in so far as it lies within our power, to create the most favourable atmosphere for these important negotiations.

If we fail, or achieve anything less, our efforts will have been unworthy of those who served and died so that the United Nations might live.

I add here my tribute to the dead of many lands who fought for freedom. We begin our work of peace-making in the shadow of the sorrow and loss of those in Canada and in other lands who have been bereaved. History will also acknowledge the special debt that the Korean people and the United Nations itself owes to the United States, who of all the members of the United Nations led the way in providing the Korean armed forces with prompt and effective assistance and throughout bore, together with the gallant forces of South Korea, the brunt of the fighting. The courage of the United States Government in its initial reaction to the aggression of June 25, 1950 and its patience and persistence throughout the interminable armistice negotiations is renewed proof of the strength and greatness of this country we know as friend and neighbour.

Mr. Chairman, all that the United Nations ever undertook to do by armed force has been accomplished. The aggression has been repelled. But our success remains partial, for we also set ourselves the aim of achieving by peaceful means an independent, unified and democratic Korea. This has not yet been accomplished. But this fact does not mean that the armistice agreement is conditional, this period is not war's respite, but the necessary interval between the signing of the armistice and the commencement of the Political Conference provided for in the armistice agreement.

On the basis of the resolutions before the Committee the principle issue we face at this time is the composition of the Political Conference. My delegation's approach to this problem is a practical one. I agree with Mr. Schumann, who advised us yesterday not to

put too literal an interpretation upon paragraph 60 of the armistice agreement. That document is a recommendation of the military commanders to their respective sides. When paragraph 60 was first discussed, Admiral Joy made the following statement for the record concerning the United Nations' Command's understanding of this proposal:

"First", he said, "we desire to point out that this recommendation will be made by the Commander in Chief, United Nations Command, to the United Nations as well as to the Republic of Korea."

Composition of Political Conference

So far as my delegation is concerned, therefore, our understanding of the position is as stated by Admiral Joy on behalf of the United Nations Command, that our "side" in this conflict is the United Nations itself. The central problem before us is the question of which countries should participate in the Political Conference. The resolution we have co-sponsored makes it clear that we feel that each member of the United Nations who has contributed forces to the Unified Command has earned its right to a place at the Conference table, should its government wish to exercise that right.

Our objective is to make sure — and how we do this is not the important point — that we get to the Conference those countries who should be there if the Conference is to have its best chance of achieving successful results in terms of the future peace and security of the area. As a matter of convenience we are proposing to do this by means of three resolutions rather than one.

So far as my delegation is concerned, we do not so much care whether you call it a round table or a cross table conference or a polygonal conference; the important thing is to get those who must be there *around* a table. The composition of the Conference is all the more important, in our view, because we now have, it seems to me, a unique opportunity not only for settling an issue which for the past three years has threatened at any moment to touch off a general conflagration, but for reducing, as a direct consequence of any success in Korea, dangerous tensions in Asia and other parts of the world.

It goes without saying, therefore, that my government thinks the U.S.S.R. should participate in the Political Conference because it would be quite unrealistic to hold a conference such as we have in mind without the Soviet Union which should take her full share of responsibility not only for peace-making but for peace-keeping.

My government also believes that the great and growing importance of India in Asian affairs and the leading role which she has played in and out of this Assembly in efforts

of conciliation, which have greatly facilitated the achievement of the armistice we are now celebrating, entitle her to participate in the Political Conference. I have no doubt that others were impressed, as I was, by the restraint of Mr. Nehru's statement reported in the press yesterday. As I understand the position, India, far from seeking to participate in the Conference, would only be willing to serve if the major parties concerned desire her assistance and if it is clear that she can perform some useful function in the interests of peace. We think it would be a mistake if Mr. Nehru's condition were not met — a mistake from the point of view of the success of the Conference.

My delegation will therefore vote for the participation of India. Without belabouring the point, however, I would earnestly appeal to, as the saying goes "absent friends" not to block the participation of any state whose presence is essential for the holding of an effective Conference. It is the responsibility of everyone of us to consider and urge the interests of our own government and people, but no one leader or nation today can, in this inter-dependent world, legitimately frustrate the will of most of its friends on an issue of not merely local but world-wide importance.

Rights Protected

The rights and the position of every government which will be represented at the Political Conference are surely sufficiently protected by the flat statement in the terms of the resolution which we are co-sponsoring that governments "shall be bound only by decisions or agreements to which they adhere". In my opinion that is an iron-clad and unequivocal guarantee to any of the participants that there is no question of their rights and interests being disregarded, nor for that matter any question of the Conference, as we see it, becoming involved in procedural difficulties over voting. There will either be agreement or there will be no agreement. No government is going to be bound by decisions to which it does not adhere. The language I have just quoted seems to me to give full protection not only to the Government of the Republic of Korea but for that matter to the other side. I can understand the Chinese Communists and North Koreans having some misgivings at the prospect of entering a conference in which their side might be numerically inferior to ourselves. It looks on the face of it as if there was a risk of being outvoted by the majority. I do not know whether or not these misgivings are present in the minds of the Chinese, the North Koreans and their friends, but if they are I hope that they will read carefully the language of paragraph 5 (I) of our resolution.

Turning now to the Soviet resolution which Mr. Vyshinsky presented yesterday morning, I see that he has agreed with us on at least 7 of the participants of the Political Conference: United States, United Kingdom, France, U.S.S.R., Communist China, North and South

Korea. That is already a modest step in the right direction. I would hope that as a result of our deliberation here, it might be possible to secure general agreement among all principally concerned that an eighth country, India, could also participate, in addition to those other members of the 16, not mentioned in the Soviet resolution, who may wish to come.

Two Objections

I find at least two major difficulties in the Soviet resolution in its present form and for these reasons, among others, I cannot accept it. The first major difficulty is that the final paragraph of the Soviet draft would seem to exclude the Republic of Korea from those whose consent must be given to all agreements reached at the Conference. As this is to be a Korean Political Conference, it is, I think, essential that the rights of the Republic of Korea should be protected and I have already shown how we on our side propose that this should be done.

My second objection is — if I may say so — that Canada is not included on Mr. Vyshinsky's invitation list. I should have thought that it was consistent with what has already been agreed by the Military Commanders and presumably, therefore, not unacceptable to the U.S.S.R., if it were admitted by the other side that any belligerent in Korea has the right to participate in the conference. Canada's role in Korea, on any yardstick of comparison, entitles us, I believe, to participate in the Political Conference. Allow me to remind the Committee that Canada has contributed to the Unified Command the fourth largest number of armed forces including Koreans and that we have made the third largest cash contribution to Korean relief and rehabilitation. If it is suggested that Canada is a long way away from Korea, let me say only that I never heard that argument used when the United Nations was appealing to all member states to help the hard-pressed Republic of Korea.

One more word and I have finished. In our proper and natural preoccupation with the immediate problems ahead, let us not lose sight of, nor allow anyone to obscure, the measure of the achievement marked by the armistice in Korea. The United Nations forces have done all they were ever asked to do by force of arms. It has been the first major application of the principle of collective security by an international organization, and it has been successful. We are thereby marking certainly one of the greatest achievements in human history.

Had the United Nations failed to act, or had it acted and failed, not only would a brave and ancient people have lost their freedom but the United Nations itself would, I fear, already have become the dead husk of another great idea unrealized, not for lack of resolutions but of resolution.

In the same spirit let us go forward to make peace.

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A SELECTED LIST

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(b) Mimeographed Documents:

The Korean Question - Special Report of the Unified Command on the Armistice in Korea (including Text of Armistice Agreement); 7 August 1953. Document A/2431, S/3079.

Report on The Law of Treaties by H. Lauterpacht; 24 March 1953; document A/CN.4/63. Pp. 218.

* Printed documents may be procured from the Canadian sales agents for United Nations publications, The Ryerson Press, 299 Queen Street West, Toronto, and Periodica Inc., 4234 de la Roche, Montreal, or from their sub-agents: Book Room Limited, Chronicle Building, Halifax; McGill University Book Store, Montreal; University of Toronto Press and Book Store, Toronto; Winnipeg Book Store, 493 Portage Avenue, Winnipeg; University of British Columbia Book Store, Vancouver; University of Montreal Book Store, Montreal; and Les Presses Universitaires, Laval, Quebec. Certain mimeographed document series are available by annual subscription. Further information can be obtained from Sales and Circulation Section, United Nations, New York. UNESCO publications can be obtained from their sales agents: University of Toronto Press, Toronto and Periodica Inc., 4234 de la Roche, Montreal. All publications and documents may be consulted at certain designated libraries listed in "External Affairs", January 1953, page 36.

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Department of External Affairs
Ottawa, Canada

The West German Elections, 1953

IN no Western European country since the war's end have voters spoken more decisively than did the West German electorate on September 6. During the same period no European statesman has won a clearer vote of confidence from his fellow-countrymen than the West German Chancellor has just received. The cause of European unity, of which Dr.

Konrad Adenauer is one of the doughtiest champions, has received fresh impetus from this event, which has attracted much attention in Europe and throughout the world.

The final results of the elections, as compared with the last elections four years ago, are as follows:

| Parties | Results 1949 | | | Results 1953 | | |
|---|--------------|-------------------|--------------|--------------|-------------------|--------------|
| | Seats | Votes | % of Vote | Seats | Votes | % of Vote |
| <i>The Coalition</i> | | | | | | |
| Christian Democratic Union..... (in Bavaria, Christian Social Union)—CDU/CSU | 139 | 7,359,084 | 31.0 | 244 | 12,440,799 | 45.2 |
| Free Democratic Party—FDP..... | 52 | 2,829,920 | 11.9 | 48 | 2,628,146 | 9.5 |
| German Party—DP..... | 17 | 939,934 | 4.0 | 15 | 897,952 | 3.3 |
| Coalition Totals | 208 | 11,128,938 | 46.9 | 307 | 15,966,897 | 58.0 |
| <i>The Opposition</i> | | | | | | |
| Social Democratic Party—SPD.... | 131 | 6,934,975 | 29.2 | 150 | 7,939,774 | 28.8 |
| Refugee Party—BHE..... | — | — | — | 27 | 1,614,474 | 5.9 |
| Centre Party—Z..... | 10 | 727,505 | 3.1 | 3 | 217,342 | 0.8 |
| Bavarian Party—BP..... | 17 | 986,478 | 4.2 | 0 | 465,552 | 1.7 |
| Communist Party—KPD..... | 15 | 1,361,706 | 5.7 | 0 | 607,413 | 2.2 |
| Economic Reconstruction..... | — | — | — | — | — | — |
| League—WAV..... | 12 | 681,888 | 2.9 | — | — | — |
| German Reich Party—DRP..... | 5 | 429,031 | 1.8 | 0 | 295,615 | 1.1 |
| South Schleswig Ass'n..... | 1 | 75,388 | 0.3 | 0 | 44,633 | 0.2 |
| Other Parties..... | 3 | 1,406,489 | 5.9 | 0 | 389,355 | 1.3 |
| Opposition Totals | 194 | 12,603,460 | 53.1 | 180 | 11,574,158 | 42.0 |
| Grand Totals | 402 | 23,732,398 | 100.0 | 487 | 27,541,055 | 100.0 |

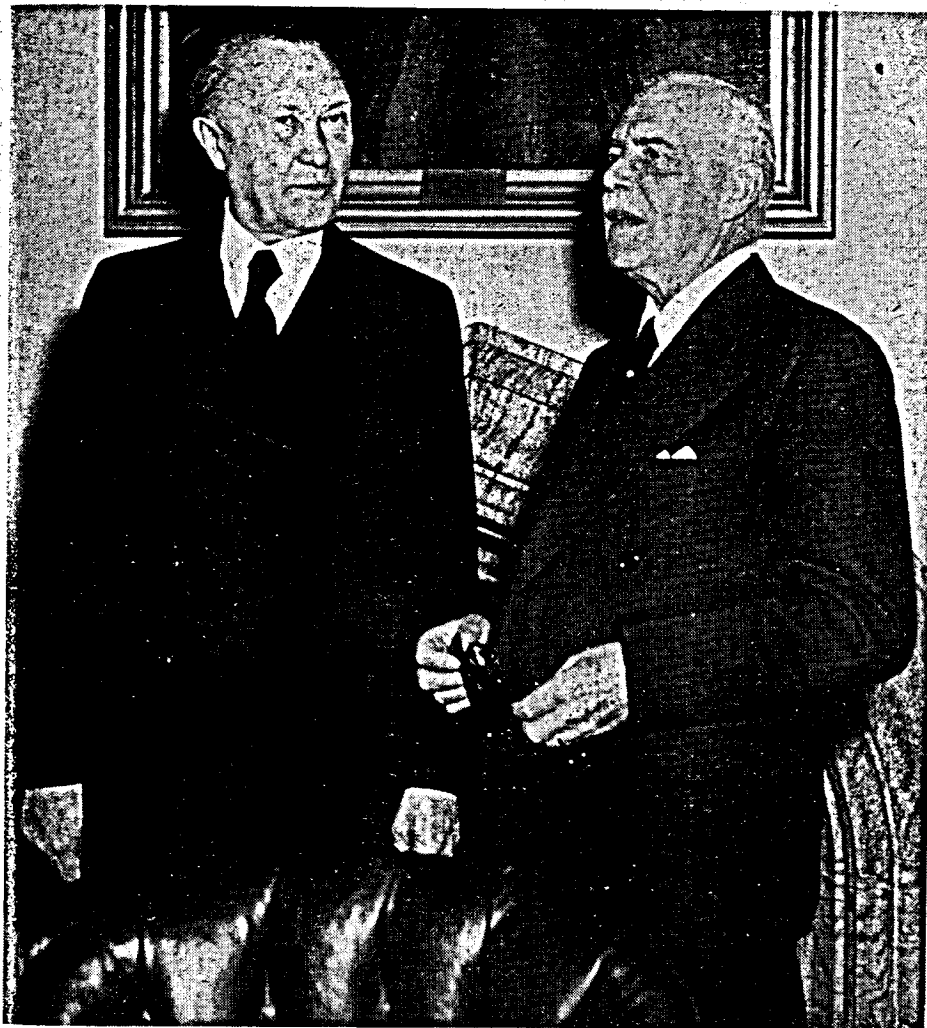
The West German Constitution, as set forth in the Basic Law enacted on May 8, 1949, provides for a bicameral federal Parliament. The Senate (Bundesrat) is composed of representatives of the governments of the nine Provinces (Länder). It was to renew the Commons (Bundestag) that the federal electorate was consulted on September 6.

The Pre-election Party Line-up

The strongest contender in the electoral campaign was the government coalition, of which Dr. Adenauer's own Christian Democratic Party is the principal mem-

ber. Formed in 1945, the CDU/CSU is an interdenominational centre party, basing its political, social and economic policies on Christian principles. In some measure it is the heir of the pre-Hitlerian Catholic Centre Party, with its platform extended to include Protestant elements, who nevertheless remain a minority, if a growing one, in the Party. Its traditional strongholds have been the Catholic rural areas, chiefly in the Rhineland and southern Germany. Its adherents range from Christian trade unionists on the left to far right of Centre conservatives.

Of the Christian Democrats' two coalition partners the Free Democrats are the



CHANCELLOR ADENAUER IN OTTAWA

—Marvin Flatt

Dr. Konrad Adenauer, left, Chancellor and Foreign Minister of the Federal Republic of Germany, and the Prime Minister, Mr. St. Laurent, on the occasion of the Chancellor's visit to Ottawa earlier this summer.

more important because they are found throughout the whole country. Formerly the Liberal Democratic Party, the FDP is a descendant of German 19th century liberalism, but includes many supporters whose sympathies were a good deal further to the right during the Weimar Republic. The party could be said to represent the philosophy of "big business": it abhors socialization, favours free enterprise, emphasizes the sanctity of private property, and favours non-denominational education. It advocates a strong central government, and inclines to a markedly nationalist line. So does the smallest

coalition partner, the German Party, a primarily historical Hanoverian grouping which is the strongest advocate of a general pardon for war criminals. This Party is also strongly opposed to socialism and favours giving business a constitutional right to share in the formulation of national policies. In foreign policy, it has taken some interesting internationalist stands. The right wings of the DP and the FDP, but especially the latter, were compromised by the evidence brought to light some months ago when the neo-Nazi Werner Naumann was arrested by the British occupation authorities.

The government coalition's most serious challenger during the elections was the Social Democratic Party. Although the SPD includes a number of middle-class voters it has been essentially, since its foundation in 1875, a working-class party deriving its inspiration from Marxism. It therefore favours a strong federal authority, non-denominational schools, nationalization of basic industries and a planned economy.

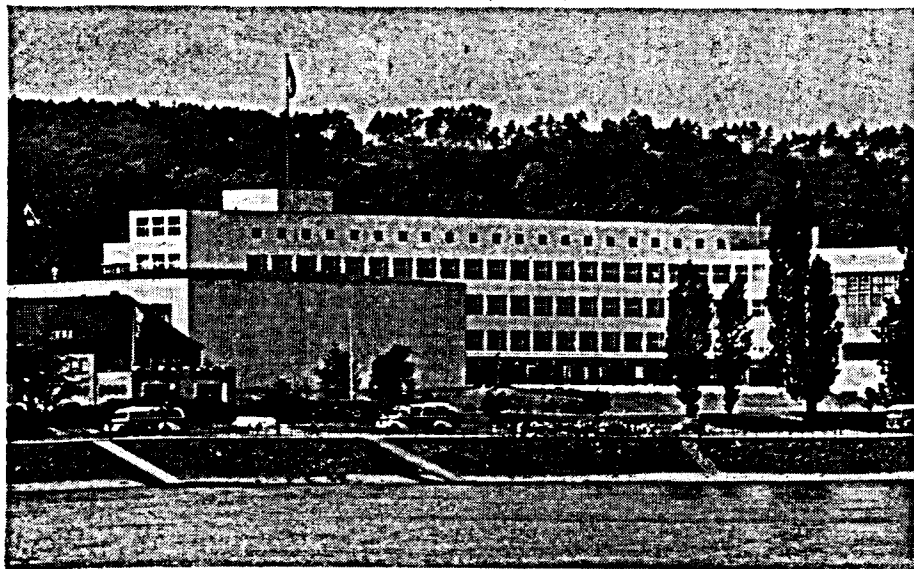
It was generally conceded before the elections that of all the other parties the BHE, a new party which aims to further the interests of the refugees from East Germany, would make the strongest showing. Although it had no seats in the Bundestag it had a decisively influential position in four Land governments, was represented in six Land parliaments and was steadily increasing its influence in municipal affairs. Strikingly enough, about one third of its members were not refugees but natives of West Germany. The probable explanation is that its avowed aim of recovering the lost territories of East Germany has a general appeal to German voters.

The influence of the Communists, who obtained only 15 of the 402 Bundestag seats in 1949, and 5.7 per cent of the votes, had been steadily declining throughout

West Germany since that time. This had been especially marked since the Berlin riots in June this year revealed the unpopularity of the Communist-dominated government of East Germany among the working class. The most threatening of the extreme right-wing parties was the German Reich Party, to which a number of leading Nazis had rallied, and which was bold enough to put up Herr Naumann himself as a candidate after his release from arrest. Also in the race was the GVP, a small neutralist party with worthy intentions but an unrealistic programme, which for tactical reasons allied itself with the fellow-travelling B.d.D. group headed by Dr. Wirth, the former Weimar Chancellor who negotiated the Rapallo agreement with the Soviet Union in 1922, and who seemed to wish to repeat that achievement.

The Issues

In domestic affairs the coalition was able to point to the really remarkable economic recovery of West Germany on the basis of free enterprise under the direction of Dr. Ludwig Erhard, the Federal Minister of Economics. The SPD claimed that the German working-class has not gained as much by this recovery



The German Parliament Buildings (Bundestag) at Bonn, as seen from the Rhine. The lower portion at the left houses the Commons (Bundestag).

as, for example, the working class has gained in the United Kingdom since the war. Nevertheless, the "German economic miracle" is so new that the general public is still dazzled by it, and the SPD, forced onto the defensive thereby on the domestic front, concentrated their attack in the field of external affairs.

Here the great issue was Dr. Adenauer's "European idea"—the integration of West Germany into a European economic, defence and ultimately political community together with France, Italy and the three Benelux countries. The Chancellor was able to talk of the real progress made by the Coal and Steel Community. He could also claim that the Defence Community, still unratified by any of its six signatories (although West Germany has completed the legislative part of the process), and the Political Community, still in the planning stage, would complete Germany's rehabilitation as an equal member of the new European community, in which German security, well-being and eventual reunification would best be achieved. The SPD chose rather to emphasize the need for immediate reunification, argued that this could best and most quickly be brought about by four-Power negotiations, and urged therefore that the notion of the Defence Community should be dropped forthwith. In the context of this general political debate an important constitutional point was also at issue: if the coalition could obtain two-thirds of the Bundestag seats, then, under the Basic Law, it could put through any constitutional amendments needed to clear ratification of the EDC through the Constitutional Court to which it had been referred.

Election Procedure

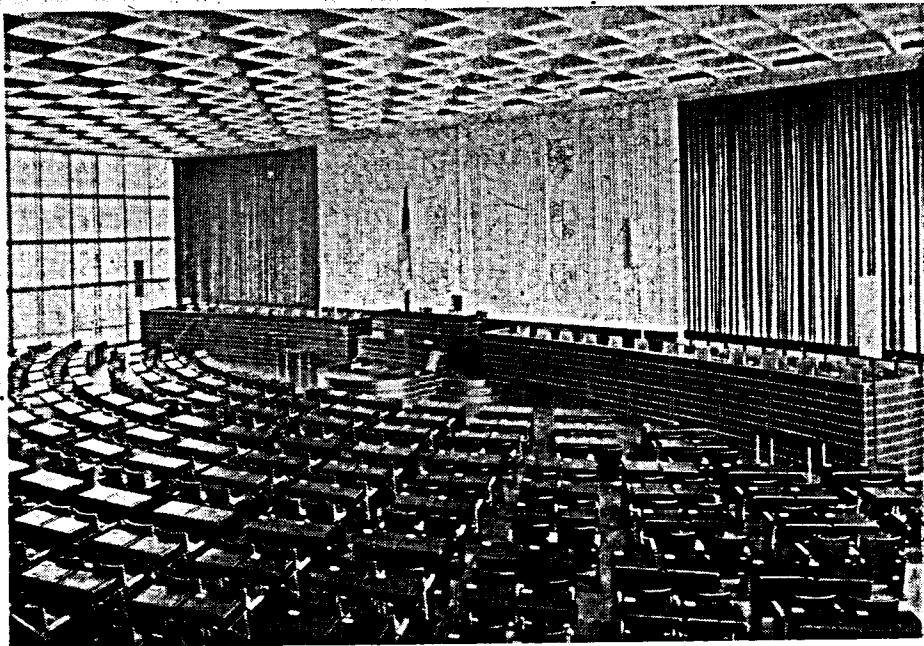
A new electoral law, enacted on July 10, greatly influenced the result of the elections. It increased Bundestag membership from 402 to a minimum of 484, of which half were to be elected directly and half indirectly. (In addition there were to be 22 non-voting "representatives" from Berlin instead of 19. The elections returned 11 CDU/CSU representatives and 11 SPD). Each elector was given two votes, one to cast for a candidate by name and one for a party list.

The votes cast for the lists were to be added together by Länder and seats then allocated to the parties on a proportional basis within each Land. The seats already won by each party in direct election in a Land would be deducted from the number to which they were entitled on that Land list. Should any party be so successful in the direct election as to win more seats than those to which it was proportionately entitled it would be, nevertheless, entitled to keep the extra seats so won. (It was the operation of this provision which raised the actual membership of the new Bundestag from 484 to 487, owing to the sweeping success of the coalition parties in Schleswig-Holstein and Hamburg).

Special provisions of the new electoral law guarded against the recrudescence of the splinter parties which proved to be the bane of the Weimar Republic. New parties, not previously represented in the Bundestag by at least five delegates, were to have their nomination papers signed by at least 500 persons in each constituency where they put up candidates, and no party (except for national minority parties) would qualify for seats unless it obtained at least five per cent of the aggregate vote in the federal area. (The latter provision obliged the Christian Democrats to come to the rescue of one of its prospective victims, the tiny Centre Party, which otherwise threatened to break its coalition with CDU/CSU in North Rhine/Westphalia. This explains why this party managed to squeeze into the Bundestag with three seats).

The Election Results

Such was the background against which the election results, as given above, were announced on September 7. The most optimistic hopes of the Christian Democrats were surpassed, as they learned that they had won more than 45 per cent of all votes cast throughout West Germany. Moreover, they had won that kind of plurality in six of the nine Länder, proving their right to speak for the Protestant north as well as for the Catholic south. This gave them 244 seats out of 487 in the Bundestag, an absolute majority of one. The coalition as a whole obtained 307 seats,



An interior view of the Bundestag. The Government members and their advisers occupy seats on the raised portion at the left, with the members of the Senate (Bundesrat) sitting at the right.

only 18 short of the two-thirds majority needed for constitutional changes, and the possibility of that majority being obtained was opened by the success of the not-unfriendly BHE in winning 27 seats.

The domination of the coalition by the CDU/CSU was accentuated by the noticeable losses of the FDP (2.4 per cent of votes and four seats) and the DP (0.7 per cent and two). That these losses were partly at least explicable by the two parties having been compromised in the Naumann affair is shown by the fact that the heaviest losses were incurred by the nationalist, not the liberal, wing of the FDP. The credit for the coalition victory has therefore been generally conceded to the Christian Democrats, and more especially to their leader Dr. Adenauer. The strongest impression left by the elections, both in Germany and elsewhere, is that they were a personal triumph for Dr. Adenauer, a plebiscite endorsing his westward-looking policies, and giving him the kind of authority to carry them out that perhaps only Bismarck had enjoyed before him.

The Social Democrats, indeed, gained a million votes and 19 seats, but this was short of the proportional increase both of

votes and of seats, reflected in the drop of their share of the total vote from 29.2 per cent to 28.8 per cent. These results, contrasted to the increase in the Christian Democratic share from 31.0 per cent to 45.2 per cent, clearly amounted to a serious defeat. Nevertheless, it remains the second party in the Bundestag, and quite strong enough to maintain effective opposition.

The second impression left by the elections, indeed, is that parliamentary democracy has emerged from them greatly strengthened. The trend away from a multiplicity of parties towards the two-party system has been confirmed, by the reduction of the number of parties represented in the Bundestag from the "baker's dozen" of 1949 to the present six, of which three certainly and perhaps four or five are to be associated in the government coalition. Even more important in this respect is the crushing defeat of the extremist parties, both on the left and on the right, with the Communists picking up a mere 2.2 per cent of the total vote, and the neo-Nazi DRP 1.1 per cent. Even the neutralists and fellow-travellers disappeared: Dr. Wirth, the man of Rapallo,

(Continued on page 295)

The CBC International Service Today

CANADA entered the field of international shortwave broadcasting a little more than eight years ago, on February 25 1945. At the outset the CBC International Service was designed primarily to provide programmes for Canadian troops overseas, and broadcasts to Germany, Czechoslovakia, Holland and France. Since then it has grown into an organization projecting Canada abroad in 16 languages to more than 30 countries. Like many other institutions of the free world, it has also assumed an active role in the struggle against tyranny and aggression by transmitting objective news and counteracting malicious propaganda. But the essential purpose of Radio Canada remains the same — to make Canadian life and ways known to the world, to encourage the exchange of ideas and information, and to promote the ideals of freedom, security and peace.

Twenty Million Listeners

The achievement of the International Service, with its two 50-kilowatt transmitters in Sackville, New Brunswick, has been impressive by any standard of comparison. Starting from nothing in 1945, Radio Canada has gained a world audience of regular listeners totalling close to four million at a conservative estimate, including those who occasionally hear Canadian programmes by shortwave, the total comes to almost 20 million persons in Europe, Africa, Latin America, Australasia and the Far East.

These figures were calculated by the tested and generally accepted methods of audience research used by the BBC and the Voice of America. The statistical material came from questionnaires sent out by the CBC-IS, from special surveys conducted by public opinion organizations and from analysis of mail received — 32,366 letters in 1952. Another indication is the circulation of the monthly Programme Schedule: 112,000 for the European Edition and 25,000 for the Latin American, which is always on the increase.

On this basis, CBC-IS programmes are

reaching, at present, 38.5 per cent of the shortwave receivers in the countries to which they are broadcast.

Relays and Transcriptions

But this is not the whole story. In addition to shortwave listeners, Radio Canada occasionally reaches still larger audiences through the medium of relays and transcriptions. Relays are programmes recorded by foreign radio organizations from IS shortwave transmissions and re-broadcast over their own wave-lengths. Transcriptions are recordings made in IS studios and airshipped overseas for use by other networks and stations.

Re-broadcasting in these ways has certain qualities that make it a useful supplement to IS shortwave operations. They reach large, regular radio audiences, including listeners who do not own shortwave receivers. Transcriptions have the additional advantage of high fidelity of the reproduced speech or music and freedom from static and other atmospheric interferences that occasionally disturb direct transmissions.

Relays and transcriptions are, of course, subject to severe limitations. They can never be considered a satisfactory alternative to shortwave broadcasting. In the first place, the time element is against them. Relays are delayed by the process of recording, and they must then await a suitable place in the schedules of the re-broadcasting station. Transcriptions take days or weeks to reach destination. The time loss restricts the content of such programmes to material that is more or less timeless — music, talks of a non-topical nature, documentaries and educational features.

There is another limitation imposed on these programmes by the fact that they must be shaped to the policies and taste of the foreign broadcasting agency and its following. Moreover, the total amount of broadcasting time that Radio Canada can hope to be given in the schedules of any foreign station or network can never be large, even with superlative programme.



CBC INTERNATIONAL SERVICE

Trainees under the Colombo Plan recording a Dominion Day feature through the facilities of the International Service of the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation. The programme was broadcast over the National Service of Radio Ceylon on July 1 last. Standing, left, Nadaraja Rajaratnam and Ananda Abeyaratna; seated, left to right: Dick Hahed, of the CBC International Service, Miss Pat de Saram, and Livi Wijemanne, Programme Organizer, Radio Ceylon.

Nevertheless relays and transcriptions are particularly important at the present time, for they represent the principal means of increasing the influence abroad of Radio Canada. The present shortwave transmission facilities of the IS cannot carry more programmes or more languages.

Canadian Position

In his testimony to the External Affairs Committee of the House of Commons earlier this year, the former Director-General of the International Service, Mr. Jean Désy, outlined Canada's position in the field of international broadcasting:

With respect to the time used in external broadcasts, we now come after the BBC, the U.S.S.R., the satellites, the "Voice of America," France, Italy, Australia, Yugo-

slavia, and we are followed only by Holland, Spain, Portugal and Turkey.

It may be useful to point out also that the British Broadcasting Corporation operates 37 transmitters, using approximately 85 frequencies. Its general overseas programmes are prepared in some 40 languages and its simultaneous beams are usually carried by no less than five frequencies. The "Voice of America" operates approximately 38 transmitters (in North America) and uses approximately 90 frequencies. It broadcasts in some 30 languages simultaneous programmes usually carried by no less than five frequencies.

The International Service of the CBC operates two transmitters, and broadcasts in 15 languages . . . using a maximum of two frequencies at one time.*

It is obvious from these figures that facilities of the International Service are overtaxed, and that as a result it is difficult

* Since Mr. Désy's testimony, a 16th language, Polish, has been added to IS schedules.

to give adequate service to countries in Eastern or Western Europe.

The daily operation of the two Sackville transmitters involves 23 changes of languages, six changes of frequency and six slewings (directional alterations of antennae). With such short periods of transmission in each language, there is little opportunity to develop the habit of regular listening among a prospective audience in any particular country.

Until additional transmission facilities are available, the difficulty can be partially overcome by the use of relays and transcriptions.

The effectiveness of these programmes when they are successfully placed for re-broadcast, is sometimes remarkable. Last spring IS prepared a 15-minute feature on the coronation celebrations in the small farming community of Coronation, Alberta. The programme was distributed in transcription. It was re-broadcast in New Zealand, Australia, Jamaica, Hong Kong, Barbados, Ceylon, Bermuda, and by the Home Service of the BBC. A total of 17,000 persons wrote to the town from all over the world, indicting that the programme has an audience many times that figure.

In this case, the intense interest throughout the world in everything to do with the coronation of Queen Elizabeth assured widespread use by other stations and networks of a Canadian programme. Ordinarily, however, the successful "selling" of transcriptions and broadcasts for relay demands constant and detailed contact with radio organizations all over the world. The heads of the language sections maintain productive relations with the countries to which they broadcast through periodic visits and by correspondence. But the IS also needs the assistance of Canadian diplomatic missions abroad in making arrangements and delivering broadcast material.

Assistance from Missions Abroad

The effective assistance the missions are able to give has been shown particularly in Latin America, where Canadian representatives have helped both in publicizing shortwave broadcasts and in dealing with local stations for re-broadcasts. The result is a comparatively large and

responsive audience for the Voice of Canada.

One of the most important transcriptions prepared by the IS is the annual half-hour Dominion Day Programme. This is distributed mainly through the missions abroad. A programme of music by Canadian composers, it is made available by the missions to local radio stations. Similarly, the missions act as distributors for the 90 or so transcriptions of works by Canadian composers and musicians included in the general IS Transcription Service catalogue.

Musical programme constitute the bulk of the material available from the Transcription Service. All of the language sections rely partly on transcriptions as well as relays, however, the IS broadcasts to the people of two important countries, Austria and Greece, are handled entirely by transcription for the local radio systems.

Types of Programmes

The programmes generally most acceptable to foreign radio for re-broadcasting fall into three main categories: musical, educational, and news when it involves an event of either international significance or special interest to the people of another nation.

From the "Canadian Chronicle" programme prepared by the English Section of the IS, the BBC picks up an average of six to eight news-feature items per month. Most of these are used on the BBC Home Service, but a few are carried on the Overseas Service as well. In addition, the English Section prepares monthly newsletters for the Scottish and Welsh Home Services, occasional documentaries and talks.

Chiefly for Canadian Forces in Germany, the British Forces Network carries five to six hours a week of CBC recorded material, mostly entertainment, together with daily transmissions of Canadian news and weekly sports hour. Similar programme are relayed in Korea for the Canadian Forces there.

There is also a weekly summary of Canadian press comment on Canadian-American affairs prepared for release through the 65 stations and state-wide networks operated by universities and

educational organizations belonging to the National Association of Educational Broadcasters of the United States.

The IS French Section has two regular relay features to France, a weekly political commentary from Ottawa and a travelogue titled "Un Petit Voyage au Canada," and another weekly programme of folk songs for the Belgian National network.

The German Section's half-hour broadcast on Sunday is relayed regularly by the BBC to Germany at the same time as it is broadcast from Sackville. The special advantage of this relay, apart from the obvious one of closeness to the receiving area, is that the half-hour of Canadian material becomes part of a full two-hour BBC programme in German, at the peak listening period of 9 to 9.30 p.m.

There are all regular relay features. In addition, all the language sections of the IS supply material of all kinds for the

national programmes of the countries with which they are concerned.

In Holland, the government-sponsored Saturday night programme "Spotlight on Western Defence" is open to contributions from other countries. In March, April and May of this year, the bulk of the programmes described Canada's contribution to NATO. All this material was supplied in transcription by the Dutch Section of the IS.

Transcribed educational programmes for schools and adult education projects are constantly being prepared for overseas use. This year, Radio Frankfurt, Germany, scheduled a whole "Canada Week," a series of five half-hour documentaries on various aspects of Canadian life, and one programme of folk songs from all parts of Canada.

The various Scandinavian radio systems also use considerable material supplied by IS. Last year, for example, the



THE CBC IS AT THE INTERNATIONAL TRADE FAIR
Ton van Alphen, centre, of the International Service Dutch Section, interviews Dutch representative at the International Trade Fair in Toronto.

Norwegian State Radio relayed four talks on Canada and Canadians as well as a half-hour school broadcast, which was also carried by the Swedish School Broadcast Service. The Swedish Radio also relayed a broadcast on the visit to Canada of the Swedish cruiser "Gotland," reports of the Assembly of the International Civil Aviation Organization in Montreal and the International Red Cross Conference in Toronto, and a documentary on the trip of the Swedish "Monica Smith" from Kingston to Montreal. Denmark also was interested in the Red Cross meeting as well as interviews with Danish visitors to Canada, items on the International Trade Fair in Toronto and the graduation of Danish air cadets in Winnipeg.

Radio Italiana last year carried an IS programme on Premier Alcide de Gasperi's visit to Canada and several others on the training of Italian NATO officers and the graduation of NATO pilots.

The Latin American Service in Spanish and Portuguese also supplies transcriptions to the countries of South and Central America. In 1952, special half-hour programmes were prepared for the Independence Day celebrations for most of the republics of Latin America.

In its relations with foreign radio organizations regarding relays and transcriptions, the International Service sub-

ordinates its own broadcasting function and becomes in a sense a producing organization for them. This relationship is occasionally made to work both ways, and IS obtains material from overseas for broadcast on the CBC national network. Two outstanding CBC concert series this summer were made up of recorded music obtained from European and South American radio systems by the IS.

After more than eight years of broadcasting, the direct shortwave transmissions of the CBC International Service have attained a substantial audience in Europe and South America. With present technical facilities, however, the limit has been reached.

But the International Service has the continuing objective of making Canada known as widely as possible throughout the world, and there are many areas yet to be reached. Attention now is turning toward the Far East and toward India, Pakistan and Ceylon. Relay arrangements and the transcription service are the only means of reaching these countries at present.

Close relations with local radio systems will continue to be developed. Here, as elsewhere, the International Service will seek the help of Canadian missions in making the voice of Canada effective in constantly widening areas of the world.

THE WEST GERMAN ELECTIONS, 1953

(Continued from page 290)

got only 833 votes out of the 112,000 cast in his constituency. Best of all, these results were achieved, not by a democratically-minded minority, but by 86 per cent of the electorate, and in some Länder by over 90 per cent, voting in a completely calm and orderly atmosphere.

Canadian opinion has welcomed the emergence and consolidation of a stable government in West Germany, dedicated to the peaceful integration of that country into the framework of the new Europe

that is now a-building. This welcome is all the more sincere because the new West German government will be exposed to the parliamentary criticism of a responsible opposition, and because both government and opposition have proved their respect for the principles of democracy as they are understood throughout the free world. Clearly, the seeds of Western democracy have taken an encouraging hold on life in the soil of Germany.

Canada and the United Nations

Korean Question and the Reconvened Seventh Session of the United Nations General Assembly

On August 17, the seventh session of the United Nations General Assembly reconvened, pursuant to the call of its President, to resume consideration of the Korean question. In his opening statement the President noted that the task of the Assembly was to provide for United Nations machinery to bring about a peaceful settlement in Korea.

Korean Resolutions Adopted

As a result of its deliberations the Assembly adopted four resolutions relating to Korea. The first resolution was sponsored by 15 countries (including Canada) which had contributed armed forces to the Unified Command, and had as its purpose the implementation of Paragraph 60 of the Korean Armistice Agreement. In this resolution, the General Assembly reaffirmed "that the objectives of the United Nations remained the achievement by peaceful means of a unified, independent and democratic Korea, under a representative form of government, and the full restoration of international peace and security in the area." The Assembly recommended that the side contributing armed forces under the Unified Command would have as participants in the Political Conference those member states which contributed armed forces and which wished to participate, together with the Republic of Korea. Participating governments would have full freedom of action at the Conference, and would be bound only by decisions to which they adhered. The United States, after consultation with these participating countries, would arrange with the other side for the Political Conference to be held no later than October 28, 1953, at a time and place satisfactory to both sides. Member states participating would inform the United Nations when agreement was reached at the Conference, and keep the United Nations informed at other appropriate times. Finally, by this resolution

the Assembly reaffirmed its intention to carry out its programme for relief and rehabilitation in Korea, and appealed to all member governments to contribute to this task. The Assembly adopted the resolution on August 28 by a vote of forty-three in favour, (including Canada), five against, and ten abstentions.

The Assembly also approved a resolution recommending the Soviet Union as a participant in the Conference, "provided the other side desires it", by a vote of 55 in favour, (including Canada), 1 against, and 1 abstention.

Question of Indian Participation

A great proportion of the Assembly's time was devoted to consideration of a resolution sponsored by Canada, the United Kingdom, Australia and New Zealand, recommending without qualification the participation of India in the Political Conference. In the First Committee, where only a simple majority is required, this resolution was approved by a vote of 27 in favour (including Canada), 21 against and 11 abstentions.

The following countries supported the resolution: Afghanistan, Australia, Burma, Byelorussia, Canada, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Egypt, Ethiopia, Guatemala, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Lebanon, Liberia, Mexico, New Zealand, Norway, Poland, Saudi Arabia, Sweden, Syria, U.S.S.R., Ukraine, United Kingdom, Yemen and Yugoslavia.

Against the resolution were Bolivia, Brazil, Chile, Nationalist China, Colombia, Costa Rica, Cuba, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, El Salvador, Greece, Haiti, Honduras, Nicaragua, Pakistan, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, United States, Uruguay and Venezuela.

Those abstaining were Argentina, Belgium, France, Israel, Ireland, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, Philippines, Thailand, Turkey and South Africa.

India did not participate in the vote.



—United Nations

KOREAN POLITICAL CONFERENCE ARRANGEMENTS DEBATED

Mr. Paul Martin, of the Canadian Delegation to the United Nations, addressing the Political Committee during the debate on the arrangements for the Korean political conference.

The vote indicated that in Plenary Session the Resolution would be defeated since it would fail to obtain the necessary two-thirds majority. The Indian representative requested in Plenary Session that no vote be taken on the resolution and in the absence of any objection the President complied.

Communist Regimes Notified

By a third resolution the Assembly, by a vote of 54 in favour (including Canada), 3 against, and 2 abstentions, requested the Secretary-General to communicate the proposals on the Korean question, together with the records relevant thereto to the Peking and North

Korean regimes, and "to report as appropriate".

Finally, the Assembly, by another resolution, saluted "the heroic soldiers of the Republic of Korea and of all those countries which sent armed forces to her assistance"; paid tribute to all those who died in resisting aggression, and expressed its satisfaction "that the first efforts pursuant to the call of the United Nations to repel armed aggression by collective military measures has been successful" This resolution was approved by 53 (including Canada), to 5. The vote on this resolution concluded the consideration of the Korean agenda item and finished the work of the seventh session.

The Opening of the Eighth Session of the General Assembly

The President of the seventh session of the General Assembly, Mr. L. B. Pearson, presided over the opening of the eighth regular session which took place at United Nations headquarters in New York on the afternoon of September 15.

Mr. Pearson made a brief address and the Assembly was just about to proceed with the election of the President of the eighth session when the representative of the U.S.S.R. proposed that the Assembly consider inviting the "government of the People's Republic of China to occupy their legitimate seats in the General Assembly and the other organs of the United Nations." After a protracted debate, the Assembly approved a United States motion to postpone for this year any consideration of proposals to change a Chinese representation. The vote on this motion was 44 in favour (including Canada) 10 against (the Soviet bloc, the Scandinavian countries and India) and 2 abstentions (Israel and Afghanistan).

New President Elected

The Assembly immediately proceeded to the election, by secret ballot, of a new President. On the first ballot, Mrs. Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit of India received 37 votes and Prince Wan Waithayakom of Thailand received 22 votes. As only a simple majority was required, Mrs. Pandit was elected President of the eighth session of the General Assembly. On her election, Mrs. Pandit addressed the Assembly in part as follows:

I should like to express my deep appreciation to my fellow representatives for the great honour they have just conferred upon me. They can be certain that I shall do my best to justify their confidence and to discharge impartially the responsibilities of this high office. I regard your choice as a tribute to my country and a recognition of her profound desire to serve the purposes of the United Nations and through them the paramount interests of world peace. It is also a recognition of the part that women have played and are playing in furthering the aims and purposes of this great organization . . .

The Assembly then elected seven vice-presidents and the chairmen of the seven committees. A Canadian representative, Dr. George Davidson, Deputy Minister of Welfare, was elected chairman of the Third (Social) Committee. Debate then

took place on the agenda, which contained a total of 72 items. Inclusion of most of these items was approved without objections, votes being required on only five of them. Two of the five items concerned racial questions in South Africa and their inclusion was contested by the South African representative. Two new items which related to preparatory work looking to the possible revision of the United Nations Charter were opposed by the Soviet bloc members. (The Soviet bloc also objected to inclusion of an item relating to the problem of prisoners-of-war from the Second World War who have not yet been repatriated. All of the items were, however, finally approved by large majorities. The Assembly will consider two items on Korea, including the report of the United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea and the report of the United Nations Agent-General for Korean Reconstruction. Other political items include the questions of Morocco and Tunisia, which have again been placed on the agenda by the Arab-Asian group, the work of the Disarmament Commission, and the problem of Chinese Nationalist Forces in Burma. Of special interest are several economic items including the proposed establishment of an International Finance Corporation, a special fund for grants-in-aid to under-developed countries, and the report of the Economic and Social Council on the Expanded Programme of Technical Assistance.

Canadian Delegation

The Canadian Delegation to the eighth session is as follows:

Representatives:

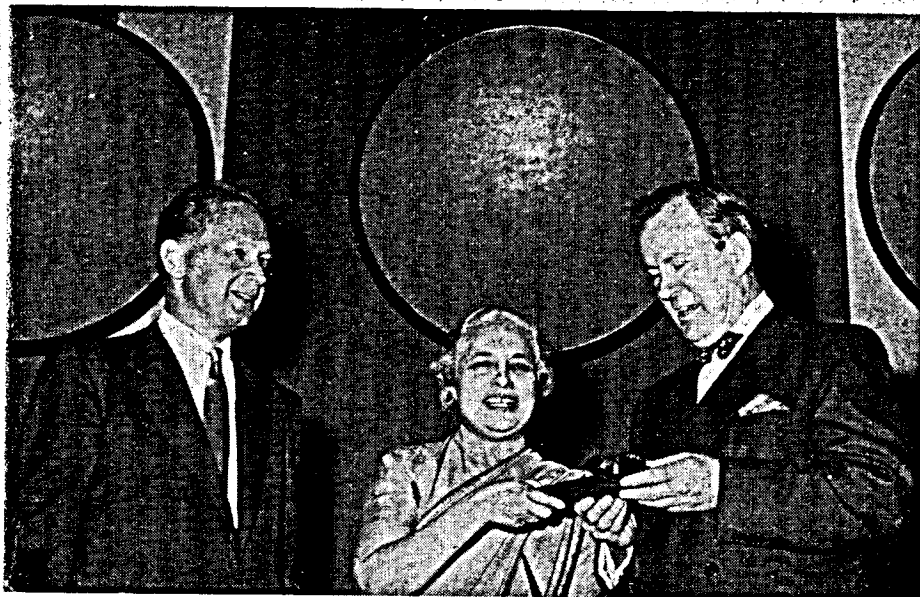
The Hon. L. B. Pearson, M.P., Secretary of State for External Affairs (Chairman of the Delegation).

The Hon. Alcide Côté, M.P., Postmaster-General (Vice-Chairman of the Delegation).

Senator Stanley S. McKeen.

Mr. D. M. Johnson, Canadian Permanent Representative to the United Nations in New York.

Dr. George F. Davidson, Deputy Minister of Welfare.



—United Nations

NEW PRESIDENT ELECTED FOR THE UNITED NATIONS GENERAL ASSEMBLY

Madame Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit, of India, elected President of the eighth session of the General Assembly of the United Nations, receives the gavel from Mr. L. B. Pearson, the retiring President. Standing at the left is Mr. Dag Hammarskjöld, Secretary-General of the United Nations.

Alternate Representatives:

Mr. Alan Macnaughton, M.P.

Mr. G. S. Patterson, Consul General of Canada, Boston.

Mrs. A. L. Caldwell, Member of the Board of Governors of the National Film Board.

Mr. Stuart Hemsley, Department of

External Affairs.

Mr. G. B. Summers, Q.C., Department of External Affairs.

Advisers to the Delegation have been drawn from the Department of External Affairs in Ottawa and from the Canadian Permanent Delegation to the United Nations in New York.

Canada and the United Nations 1952-1953

Canada and the United Nations 1952-1953 is the seventh in the regular series of reports issued by the Department of External Affairs. They deal with all aspects of the activities of the United Nations and its Specialized Agencies, but naturally devote special attention to Canadian participation in these activities. The present volume as a whole covers the period from July 1, 1952 to June 30, 1953, though the article on Korea has been extended to include the events up to the signing of the armistice on July 26.

In a brief foreword, the Secretary of State for External Affairs emphasizes that the success of the United Nations action in Korea has more than a purely military importance and that it "does not itself

mean peace; it merely gives us the opportunity to make peace."

Other questions of far-reaching importance have arisen during the period under review and are dealt with fully in the book. They include the choice of a new Secretary-General to succeed Mr. Trygve Lie and the discussion of personnel policies in the Secretariat, and the racial and colonial problems which received much attention at the seventh session of the General Assembly. In addition, the most recent developments in the continuing work of the United Nations in the economic, social, legal and cultural fields are concisely described and a section is devoted to the financial and budgetary arrangements of the United Nations and Specialized Agencies.

Commonwealth Index of Scientific Translations

AT a Commonwealth Scientific Official Conference held in London in 1946 consideration was given to means of improving the distribution of scientific information within the Commonwealth. Scientific literature in foreign languages is an important source of such information, but many scientists are not able to use articles in the original languages and consequently require translations.

Translators of such languages as Russian and Japanese are few, and those who can translate scientific literature with accuracy are even fewer. Consequently, many scientists have either to do without these sources of information or to use the brief outlines that appear in abstracting journals. On the other hand, it is known that many papers in foreign languages may be translated several times, sometimes in the same country and even in the same city. This, of course, is a waste of scarce translating talent.

List Set Up

It was therefore decided that some means was required of providing information about translations already available. The obvious method was to set up a list of translations available within the Commonwealth. As a first step, it was decided to arrange for the collection of the titles of all translations held in each country. Arrangements were made to set up an agency in each country to collect titles, which would eventually become the source of information on the location of translations. The Scientific Liaison Office of the National Research Council in Ottawa became the Canadian agency and proceeded, as comprehensively as possible, to collect titles of translations available in Canada. The same procedure was followed in other Commonwealth countries.

Lists of the collected titles were forwarded to a centre in London, which undertook to set up a card index including titles from Canada and the other

Commonwealth countries. The agency in each country now receives copies of the index cards for the whole Commonwealth as they become available. These cards constitute the Commonwealth Index of Translations.

The success of this venture depends on the co-operation of those organizations that have translations made in the course of their normal operations. These include government departments, universities and industrial concerns, each of which has agreed to list its translations and, if necessary, to supply copies free or at cost or to lend them for reading or copying. A Canadian borrower has merely to write to the Liaison Office of the National Research Council, supplying a reference including, if possible, the names of the authors, the complete title, and the number and date of issue of the journal in which the article appears. If the translation is listed in the index, the Liaison Office will either undertake to secure a copy for the borrower or supply information as to where and under what circumstances a copy may be obtained.

Never Complete

Obviously, this index will never be complete, since it is being added to as rapidly as translations are being made. Neither will it contain at any time the titles of all translations available. Many agencies outside the Commonwealth are translating articles from the more difficult languages into English, French and German, and indexes of available translations are kept by various organizations in some European countries and in the United States. The Liaison Office is gradually acquiring contacts with these agencies and it is hoped that these will provide a useful supplement to the Commonwealth Index. The United States particularly is a potential source of many translations.

The work of commercial translation agencies cannot be overlooked and lists

from these are also being used as sources. Possibilities of borrowing, exchanging, and lending among non-commercial agencies are continually being investigated. If the only known translation has been made by a commercial organization, the enquirer will be directed to the agency and given whatever information is available on prices. Contacts with all of these organizations will broaden the field of available translations and should increase the likelihood of a borrower being able to secure a given title.

Since scientists are most keenly interested in recent literature, the efficiency of the index can be increased if organizations having translations made would notify the Liaison Office at the earliest possible time, preferably as soon as the

decision to undertake the translation is made. Many organizations already make a practice of checking with the index before undertaking a translation and some of them have been able to secure translated papers quickly enough to save unnecessary work. An additional advantage of any enquiry is that the Liaison Office knows that a translation is likely to be made or that the enquirer will still be interested when the office is notified that the translation in question has become available in one of the reporting agencies.

At present the Liaison Office has a record of nearly 13,000 translations, including the Commonwealth Index and information from other non-commercial and commercial sources.

Demonstration Centre for Rehabilitation of the Blind

Arthur Napier Magill, a Canadian, himself sightless, is the director of Egypt's new Demonstration Centre for Rehabilitation of the Blind. El Zeitun, about six miles outside of Cairo and near the Sphinx, is the site of the Centre which will open this autumn with a staff supplied by the Technical Assistance Administration. The Centre will serve as a rehabilitation and training centre for the Middle East.

Because there are more than 10,000 blind children under age of eighteen in Egypt, a large section of the Centre is devoted to a school and a vocational training centre. For children from 6 to 8 years, the Centre provides a regular primary education, while those in older age groups who have never been to school before, will take a course designed to give

them as much schooling as possible along with practical vocational training.

For the many blind unable to come to the Centre, Mr. Magill has instituted a home-teaching program under the direction of Miss Miriam Wallis, of London, England. Home teachers will give lessons in braille reading, and advise on finding a pastime, occupation or handicraft. The teachers will also aid blind children during their school vacations.

Located in a modern three-story building, the Centre includes dormitories, class-rooms, a dispensary, a floor for braille printing, and administrative offices. The Centre has another smaller building for industrial training, as well as a small mosque. All buildings are equipped with modern furniture designed specifically for use by the sightless . . .

Indian Heads Canadian Student Federation

MR. Raghbir Singh Basi, President of the National Federation of Canadian University Students (N.F.C.U.S.) for 1952-1953, visited the Department of External Affairs in September to discuss interests of university students in the international sphere. Mr. Basi, accompanied by Mr. Yves Pilon, Secretary-Treasurer of the N.F.C.U.S., conferred with Mr. R. M.

Macdonnell, Assistant Under-Secretary of State for External Affairs, and outlined for him the activities of the Federation in scholarship and seminar projects.

The National Federation of Canadian University Students was founded in 1926, and now represents the students of twenty-three Canadian universities and colleges. Amongst its affiliations is mem-



Left to right: Mr. Raghbir Singh Basi, President of the National Federation of Canadian University Students; Mr. Yves Pilon, Secretary Treasurer, N.F.C.U.S.; and Mr. R. M. Macdonnell, Assistant Under-Secretary of State for External Affairs.

bership in the Co-ordinating Secretariat of the National Unions of Students, which maintains offices in Leyden, the Netherlands. This Secretariat, established during the past year by the student associations of thirty-five countries, is preparing the Fourth Annual International Student Conference which representatives of the N.F.C.U.S. will attend in Istanbul early in January, 1954.

Mr. Basi's election as President of the N.F.C.U.S. at the annual meeting held in October, 1952, at Laval University, Quebec City, marked the climax of his active participation in Canadian undergraduate life. Born in Kharoudi, East Punjab, India, twenty-three years ago, Mr. Basi studied at the Sikh National College, Punjab University, Lahore, from 1946 to 1947. He then attended Khalsa College, Mahilpur, East Punjab, India, and entered the University of British Co-

lumbia, Vancouver, in 1949. He received an honours B.A. in sociology in June of this year, and will enter Harvard University Graduate School of Public Administration this autumn on an Administration Fellowship to study for a Master's degree.

While attending U.B.C., Mr. Basi was a leading figure in student government, serving on the executive of the United Nations Club, on the International House Committee, and as President of the Alma Mater Society (student council). Among his achievements, Mr. Basi also counts a number of scholarships.

The N.F.C.U.S. will elect Mr. Basi's successor for 1953-1954 at its annual meeting this month at McGill University, Montreal. However Mr. Basi says his interest in Canadian, Commonwealth and international student affairs will always remain lively as a result of his service with the N.F.C.U.S.

Mr. Jean Désy Surveys Overseas Awards

At the request of the Secretary of State for External Affairs, Mr. Jean Désy, Q.C., is surveying the operation of the Canadian Government Overseas Awards. His mission will take him to France, the Netherlands, and Italy, where blocked funds owing to Canada have been set aside for educational purposes.

The Overseas Awards programme was approved by the Canadian Government in June 1952. It provides scholarships for advanced academic study and fellowships, for both advanced study and creative work, to candidates selected by the Awards Committee of the Royal Society of Canada. Overseas the programme is administered by the Canadian diplomatic missions in the countries concerned.

In France and the Netherlands, where the programme is in its second year of operation, Mr. Désy will study existing arrangements and liaison with local educational and cultural authorities. In Italy,

where the programme is still pending, he will take part in the negotiation of a cultural agreement as provided for under the Civilian Relief Agreement between Italy and Canada which was ratified by the Italian Parliament in April, 1953. Mr. Désy will be able to draw on his experience as former Canadian Ambassador to Brazil (where he negotiated a cultural agreement with Brazil), The Hague, and Rome.

Mr. Désy joined the Department of External Affairs in 1925. During the past year he served on loan from the Department as Director-General of the International Service of the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation.

The Canadian Government Overseas Awards for 1953-54 consist of twelve fellowships valued at \$4,000 each, and sixteen scholarships, worth \$2,000 each; the scholarships are renewable. About fifty awards have been made to date under the programme.

STATEMENT BY MR. L. B. PEARSON

Chairman, Canadian Delegation to the eighth session of the United Nations General Assembly, New York, September 23, 1953.

May I, in the first place, offer you, Madame President, my sincere congratulations and those of my delegation on your election as President of the Assembly, an honour well-deserved by the services that you and your country have given to the United Nations. As the President of the preceding Assembly, and for two long hours and 6 minutes the presiding officer of this one, I can assure you that my congratulations and good wishes are not coloured, even faintly, by envy!

The eighth Assembly meets at a time when many think that the successful negotiation of some of the outstanding differences between the two major power groupings may be possible.

Belief in Freedom

If there is any such happy possibility, it would be due, I think, not only to the armistice in Korea, or to changes on the other side of the Iron Curtain, but even more to the fact that in recent years a large part of the free, democratic world has learned to co-operate in purpose, policy and action for the defence of peace. Gradually, and not without difficulty, because we are speaking now of free and independent sovereign states, a unity and strength is developing, which is based on more than economic and military power. It is based also on a common belief in freedom and a determination to defend it against any reactionary and subversive forces which may threaten it.

Our co-operation is not synthetic; our unity is not imposed, nor is it of that monolithic type that Mr. Vyshinsky proudly ascribed yesterday to Soviet society. Honest differences, openly expressed, are bound to exist within and between free governments. Not only do we acknowledge them. At times we seem gratuitously to advertise them. But anyone who seeks to divide us, in the United Nations or elsewhere, by misinterpreting or exploiting these differences will soon find that the things that hold us together are far stronger and more enduring than those which, at times, seem to divide us.

If there are opportunities now for easing in some degree international tension, I hope that the eighth Assembly will use them to the full. We may not be able to change the facts of international life by resolutions in our Assembly. But by commission or omission, by what we say or do not say, we can lighten or darken the international atmosphere in which our problems must be solved.

The spirit of reason and conciliation which has for long animated the free peoples in approaching these problems was given eloquent and sincere expression in this Assembly last Thursday by the Secretary of State of the United States. He reaffirmed our will to peace which is deep and abiding. On our side, that will to peace exists. Does it co-exist?

The Soviet bloc deny that our policies make for peace. They claim that our coalitions and our associations, particularly what they call the "aggressive North Atlantic bloc", are a menace to their security and are designed for aggressive war. Nothing could be more remote from reality than that change.

It may be that their fear on this score is merely manufactured by propaganda as a cloak for plans and policies of their own, which in their turn rouse deep and anxious fear in us. But even if the Communist fear were genuine, it is unfounded. The peoples of our free coalition are passionately pacific, and its leader, the United States, as Canadians have special reason to know and appreciate, is one of the least imperialistically minded power that ever had world leadership and responsibility thrust upon it. But even if anyone were tempted to believe these untrue communist charges of American warmongering imperialism, does anyone really think that the United States could decree aggressive or provocative collective action by, say, the North Atlantic, the Inter-American or the Anzus groups?

A Reassuring Fact

Furthermore, this friendly association of other countries with the United States, some of which have had as tragic an experience of the miseries and destructions of war as the Soviet Union itself, should be a reassuring rather than a disturbing fact to all those who seek peace. As Mr. Dulles put it last Thursday:

The Soviet leaders . . . should know, and probably they do know, that community arrangements are the least likely to be aggressive. Military force which is within a single nation can be used offensively at the dictation of one government alone, sometimes of one man alone. Military force which is distributed throughout several countries cannot be used effectively unless all of the countries concerned are in agreement.

Then he added, and his words, I assure you, apply to my country:

Such agreement would be totally unattainable except for operations responsive to the clear menace of aggression.

We of the free democratic countries must not and will not adopt any policy or take any action which could give any other state valid reason to fear for its security or for its legitimate national interests. Such interests however, do not include, as making for peace, (and here I quote with complete agreement from Mr. Vyshinsky's speech of Monday last): "a policy which professedly is designed to explode the social or political structure of any other country".

But Communist doctrine, in our eyes, professes just that. That is one reason why we feel a deep, genuine fear—not a fear as Mr.

Vyshinsky said "artificially stimulated by the Pentagon. That fear flows also from the loss of freedom in Eastern Europe, from the Berlin blockade, from Korea, from the awful dangers of totalitarian tyranny, and from 175 Soviet divisions—if that's the figure—ready to march.

Mr. Spaak's Statement

Mr. Spaak of Belgium put our feelings as eloquently and succinctly as they have ever been put when he said to the General Assembly in 1948:

The Soviet delegate need not look for complicated explanations of our policy. I will tell him what is the basis of our policy—in terms, perhaps slightly cruel, but which only the representative of a small nation could use: Do you know what is the basis of our policy? It is fear of you, fear of your government, fear of your policy!" Then he went on:

I use the word 'fear' but the fear I have in mind is not that of a coward or of a minister representing a frightened country, a country ready to ask for mercy and beg for pity. No, it is not that kind of fear. It is the fear which should be felt by a man when he peers into the future and realizes all the possible horror, tragedy and terrible responsibility held in store by that future.

Does the U.S.S.R. Delegation know why the Western European countries are afraid? They are afraid because the U.S.S.R. Delegation often speaks of imperialism.

What is the definition and current notion of imperialism? It is usually the notion of a nation—generally a great Power—that effects conquests and increases its influence throughout the world.

What is the historic truth that has emerged from the recent years? It is that one great country alone has emerged from the war having conquered other territories—and that great country is the Soviet Union . . .

The empire of the U.S.S.R. stretches from the Far East to the Baltic Sea and from the Black Sea to the Mediterranean, and is now also felt on the banks of the Rhine . . . and then the U.S.S.R. wonders why the other nations feel anxious!

The echo of those words of Mr. Spaak, spoken five years ago, has not faded from our minds.

With these fears still haunting us, and with the sure knowledge that weakness in this world is a provocation and not a protection, we intend to become strong and remain strong, until security can rest on a better and more lasting foundation even than strength.

I am aware, of course, that fear on one side often results in action which causes new fear on the other side; and that this provokes counter-action, which in its turn brings about even greater fear. So a vicious circle is begun, which goes on and on until it is either cut through in the right way, by sincere negotiation and wise political decisions, or in the wrong way, by war; which now means atomic annihilation.

If these are, then, the alternatives, and if by our policies we make the latter choice inevitable, then George Bernard Shaw was certainly right when he said: "If the other planets are inhabited, the earth is their lunatic asylum."

Yet, it is all too apparent that the tide of world affairs, for the past seven years, have been flowing in one direction—sometimes faster, sometimes slower, but always, unhappily in the direction of a possible catastrophe that might leave in the rubble little worth salvaging of what we are still able to call civilization.

The growing unity and strength of the Western democracies, however, and the confidence that is beginning to come from this; the events of the last few months, and in particular the conclusion of an armistice in Korea, may give us now a chance to move away from possible co-destruction and toward a co-existence which will be more than a word.

Hope for Progress

I do not mean to suggest of course that an era of sweetness and light is just around the corner. Nor will it be ushered in merely by changes of tactics or by paper promises of peace. But it does seem that there is at least more hope now for progress towards real peace than there was when the Seventh Assembly opened almost a year ago. Whether this is wishful thinking or not, such progress is the fundamental purpose to which our United Nations is dedicated. We are, in all conscience, bound to keep everlastingly trying to bring about a better state of international relations; for if we fail in this we fail, sooner or later, in everything.

Faced with this task then, we should ask ourselves among other things if our present methods of diplomacy, inside or outside the United Nations, are adequate and effective enough for the purposes of negotiating differences, when the opportunity for such negotiation presents itself.

The United Nations is a place where we can meet either to settle problems or make settlement more difficult. It is a place where we can try to find collective solutions, or one which we can use to get support and publicity for purely national solutions. It is a place where we can talk to each other with a view to securing general agreement, or to the television and radio audiences in order to explain that disagreement is the fault of somebody else.

In any event, whatever face the United Nations now presents to the public is enlarged to alarming proportions by all media of information which now carry our words, our attitudes, even our appearances to the ends of the earth.

I know that without the active participation of world agencies of communication and information, this experiment in world organization could not succeed, because it would not be able to secure popular support. But the United Nations has, or should have, a private as well as a public face. There should be

opportunities here for other than public appearances. A television panel discussion can be instructive and entertaining, but it is no substitute for direct consultation or for that old-fashioned diplomacy which is becoming more respectable by comparison with some of its gaudier, but not always more responsible or restrained successors.

It is, of course, essential that all free peoples should know and understand the great issues of policy which may mean life or death for them. But it is not essential, as I see it, indeed it is often harmful, for the negotiation of policy always to be conducted in glass houses which are often too tempting a target for brickbats. It is all too easy to strike attitudes in public, only to find later that we are stuck with them. Open diplomacy now tends to become frozen diplomacy.

Need For Quiet Discussion

I'm sure that we can all think of subjects that have come before us in recent Assemblies that could have been more constructively discussed and more easily settled if previously there had been quiet and confidential discussion of them between delegations and governments, especially between those which were in disagreement over the matters in question.

And it is my feeling that the opportunities for such consultation at United Nations meetings seems to be diminishing, and a kind of "bloc" or "group" discussion is on the other hand increasing, the results of which are often in one form or another made public almost before the discussions have taken place. If we are not careful, useful as these discussions are, these publicly confidential discussions may cause the United Nations to lose in prestige as a place where opposing views can be constructively considered, and where their reconciliation can at least be attempted in an efficient and businesslike way.

But whatever methods we adopt, the fear and tension which now grips the whole world will not be reduced until some of the current international issues which divide us are successfully resolved; either by the United Nations, or by those states, acting, if necessary, outside the United Nations, who have the main share of responsibility for international peace and security.

In his penetrating address last Thursday, Mr. Dulles pointed to certain of these problems. If concrete progress and not mere talk about peaceful intentions can be achieved in solving some of these problems, here in the United Nations or elsewhere, we will then, but only then, have any real ground for hope; for only then will our words have been confirmed by actions.

The two principal issues which will test the reality behind the talk, are Germany and Korea. The latter issue, which is before us, Korea, has now narrowed down to the political conference to be held under paragraph 60 of the armistice agreement.

The countries which fought in Korea on the United Nations side sent their troops there for no other purpose than to help repel aggres-

sion, declared as such by a United Nations decision.

So far as the Canadian Government is concerned, we will not support any military action in Korea which is not United Nations action, and we would be opposed to any attempt to interpret existing United Nations objectives as including for instance the unification of Korea by force. On the other hand, we are aware that the signing of an armistice does not discharge us from obligations we have already undertaken in Korea as a member of the United Nations.

Political Conference Must Meet

To convert this armistice into peace, the Political Conference must meet. There is no other way. Less than a month ago the Seventh Assembly made provision for the United Nations side of this meeting. True, this was done in a way which did not meet the full wishes of certain delegations, including my own. But the decision was made, and, after long and exhaustive debate, the composition of the Conference on the United Nations side was decided, which, if not perfect, should be satisfactory for the purpose we have in mind, making peace in Korea. Surely it would be wrong merely because the Communist Governments of Peking and North Korea demand it, to reopen at once the whole matter and try to reverse our decision after such a short interval.

Insistence, for instance, by the Communist side that the Korean Conference cannot convene unless the United Nations agree that the U.S.S.R. be present as a "neutral" member would surely throw serious doubt on their desire to have the conference meet at all.

We have the right to expect that the Communist Governments to whom our resolutions have been forwarded should now without delay designate their own representatives, and express their views regarding time and place.

Once the conference meets there will be ample opportunity to iron out other difficulties which may arise. But are these of sufficient consequence to justify the other side in boycotting this necessary first step in peace-making, not only in Korea, but perhaps over a broader area?

For it is surely not too much to hope that if we are successful in negotiating on a specific and defined range of questions, we may succeed also in strengthening the prospects for the settlement over wider Asian issues, not necessarily through the same mechanism which we have recommended for the Korean Conference.

But for this wider objective to be achieved, or even approached, we must first succeed in making peace in Korea. If—and this is a big "if"—there is good faith and good will on both sides, a settlement here should be possible. I suggest that any such settlement must provide for a free and united Korea, with a government resting on the will of the Korean people freely expressed through elections held under United Nations supervision. All foreign forces should, of course, be withdrawn, and

Korea's security might be provided for under an international and supervised guarantee.

The Korean problem is certainly not an insoluble one. If a fair and lasting solution is desired it can be found. It is certainly desired by the vast majority of the members of the United Nations, I am sure. If the communist side, or anyone else, by obstruction and inadmissible demands make a peaceful solution impossible, then the responsibility for failure will be made clear, and the United Nations, at least, will have done its duty.

Korea, in short, will provide an acid test for the hope and claim that successful negotiation can and must be conducted now, not only on the future of Korea but on European and cold war problems generally, in order to bring about an easing of fear and tension, and a peace which will be something better than cold war.

There is another respect in which Korea is an acid test; in the assistance we give the Korean people to restore and rehabilitate their country, ravaged and devastated by war.

I am certain this Assembly will agree with the Secretary-General, Mr. Hammarskjöld, that it is of high importance that this collective responsibility for reconstruction and rehabilitation in Korea "should be carried out honourably, vigorously and generously by the United Nations and with the widest possible participation of its members."

In referring to Korea as a supreme test, I am well aware that the obstacles to agreement, like the present divisions in our world, may seem great. Yet we can remind ourselves that, as it has been said, the longest journey must begin with a single step. It is the belief of the country which I represent, and I am sure of the overwhelming majority of the countries represented here, that, if this all-important first step—to co-operate in bringing peace to Korea—is taken by those who speak in the name of the world community in this Assembly, the long journey towards a wider peace will have begun.

Madame President, this is a general debate, but I do not propose to comment on other issues, many of them very important, which will come before us. There will be time enough for this in the weeks ahead.

This eighth Assembly, like its predecessors now faces a long and complex programme of work. The problems before the eighth session, in the formal enumeration of our official agenda, reflect the basic conflicts and high tensions of our divided world. Ultimate judgments on the utility or the futility of this Organization will be based on the extent to which we make these items on our agenda the signposts to action and practical achievement.

The Canadian delegation will do its best to make a worth while contribution to this essential result, and thereby serve the high purposes of peace that bring us together.

STATEMENTS AND SPEECHES

(Obtainable from the Information Division, Department of External Affairs, Ottawa, Canada)

The following serial numbers are available in Canada and abroad:

- No. 53/32—*Water Problems on the Canadian Boundary*, an address given to the Canadian Manufacturers' Association, Toronto, by General A. G. L. McNaughton, May 28, 1953.
- No. 53/33—*Canadian Development and Productivity*, an address by the Minister of Labour, Mr. Milton F. Gregg, delivered at a plenary meeting of the 36th Session of the International Labour Conference, at Geneva, June 8, 1953.
- No. 53/34—*Canadian Position on Korea*, as expressed by the Canadian Representative to the United Nations General Assembly, Mr. Paul Martin, in the Political Committee, August 19, 1953.
- No. 53/35—*The General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade*, an address by the Minister of Trade and Commerce, Mr. C. D. Howe, made at the eighth session of the Contracting Parties to the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade, at Geneva, Switzerland, September 18, 1953.
- No. 53/36—*Canada - United States Trade Problems*, an address by the Prime Minister, Mr. St. Laurent, made at the International Municipal Congress, Montreal, September 23, 1953.
- No. 53/37—*Canadian Statement in the Opening General Debate of the Eighth Session of the United Nations General Assembly*, delivered by the Secretary of State for External Affairs, and Chairman of the Canadian Delegation to the Eighth Session, Mr. L. B. Pearson.

APPOINTMENTS AND TRANSFERS IN THE CANADIAN DIPLOMATIC SERVICE

- Mr. L. D. Wilgress, Ambassador, was posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Permanent Delegation to the North Atlantic Council, effective August 7, 1953.
- Mr. S. D. Pierce, Ambassador, was posted from temporary duty in Ottawa, to the Canadian Embassy, Rio de Janeiro, effective September 16, 1953.
- Mr. W. E. Bauer was posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Legation, Warsaw, effective July 31, 1953.
- Mr. G. H. Southam was posted from home leave (Stockholm) to Ottawa, effective August 13, 1953.
- Mr. H. M. Robertson was posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Embassy, Tokyo, effective August 14, 1953.
- Mr. S. M. Scott was posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Embassy, Tokyo, effective August 25, 1953.
- Mr. P. T. Molson retired from the Foreign Service effective August 25, 1953.
- Mr. J. P. Erichsen-Brown was posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Embassy, Brussels, effective August 26, 1953.
- Mr. A. R. Menzies was posted from home leave (Tokyo) to Ottawa, effective August 26, 1953.
- Mr. L. V. J. Roy was posted from Ottawa to the National Defence College, Kingston, effective September 1, 1953.
- Mr. D. Stansfield was posted from Ottawa to the National Defence College, Kingston, effective September 1, 1953.
- Mr. A. Rive was posted from Home Leave to the National Defence College, Kingston, effective September 1, 1953.
- Mr. M. A. Crowe was posted from the National Defence College, Kingston, to Headquarters in Ottawa, effective September 1, 1953.
- Mr. P. Dumas was posted from the Canadian Embassy, Paris, to home leave, effective September 3, 1953.
- Mr. C. H. West was posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Consulate General, Seattle, effective September 6, 1953.
- Mr. C. M. Senior was posted from Ottawa to Seattle, as Consul General, effective September 7, 1953.
- Mr. J. W. Holmes was posted from the National Defence College, Kingston, to Ottawa, effective September 8, 1953.
- Mr. J. E. Thibault was posted to the Canadian Permanent Delegation to the United Nations, New York, effective September 9, 1953.
- Mr. H. R. Horne retired from the Foreign Service, effective September 10, 1953.
- Mr. J. A. Chapdelaine was posted from home leave (Bonn) to Ottawa, effective September 14, 1953.
- Mr. A. F. Hart was posted from the Canadian Legation to home leave, effective September 17, 1953.
- Mr. R. Duder was posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Embassy, Belgrade, effective September 18, 1953.
- Mr. L. G. Chance, Consul General, was posted from Ottawa to Los Angeles, effective September 26, 1953.
- Mr. J. D. M. Weld was posted from Ottawa to the Consulate General, New York, effective September 30, 1953.

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Department of External Affairs
Ottawa, Canada

A Tour of the Georgian Soviet Socialist Republic

BY ROBERT A. D. FORD*

IN June I made a ten-days' tour of the Georgian Soviet Socialist Republic in the company of the Australian Chargé d'Affaires and his wife and the Canadian Chargé d'Affaires to Poland, Mr. Carter. We travelled to Tbilisi, the capital of Georgia, by train, a journey of three days and three nights but one well worth doing because of the excellent picture it gave of the immensity of the Soviet Union and the variety of its landscape and peoples. In this three-days' trip, travelling almost due south most of the time, one passes from the wooded, slightly undulating country around Moscow to the edge of the Ukrainian steppe, then through the great industrial complex of the Donetz Basin which at night looks not unlike the British Midlands with the fires in the furnaces of the smelting plants burning brightly on the horizon, through the ancient city of Rostov-on-Don, into the Kuban steppe, famous for its horses and the Kuban Cossacks, and finally into the foothills of the Caucasus.

Landscape Changes

Here the railway turns sharply west and follows the line of the mountains to Tuapse on the Black Sea. As far as the junction from Maikop, which was the furthest spot reached by the Germans in their invasion of the Caucasus, the Kuban steppe remains unchanged. From then on the line of the mountains on our left became sharper and we were soon well into the foothills. From Tuapse the railway proceeds along the Black Sea coast as far as Ochetchiri but we only saw the part as far as Sochi in daylight. The landscape changes with incredible speed from the flat, colourless plain of Russia to the brilliance of a Mediterranean landscape. The houses are white and clean, the foliage is lush and the trees are mostly junipers and cypress. On one side are the

green hills and on the other the blue sea. As the train wound around the indentations of the coast the scene ahead looked very much like some parts of Italy, with white villas clinging to the edge of a sandy beach between the mountains and the sea.

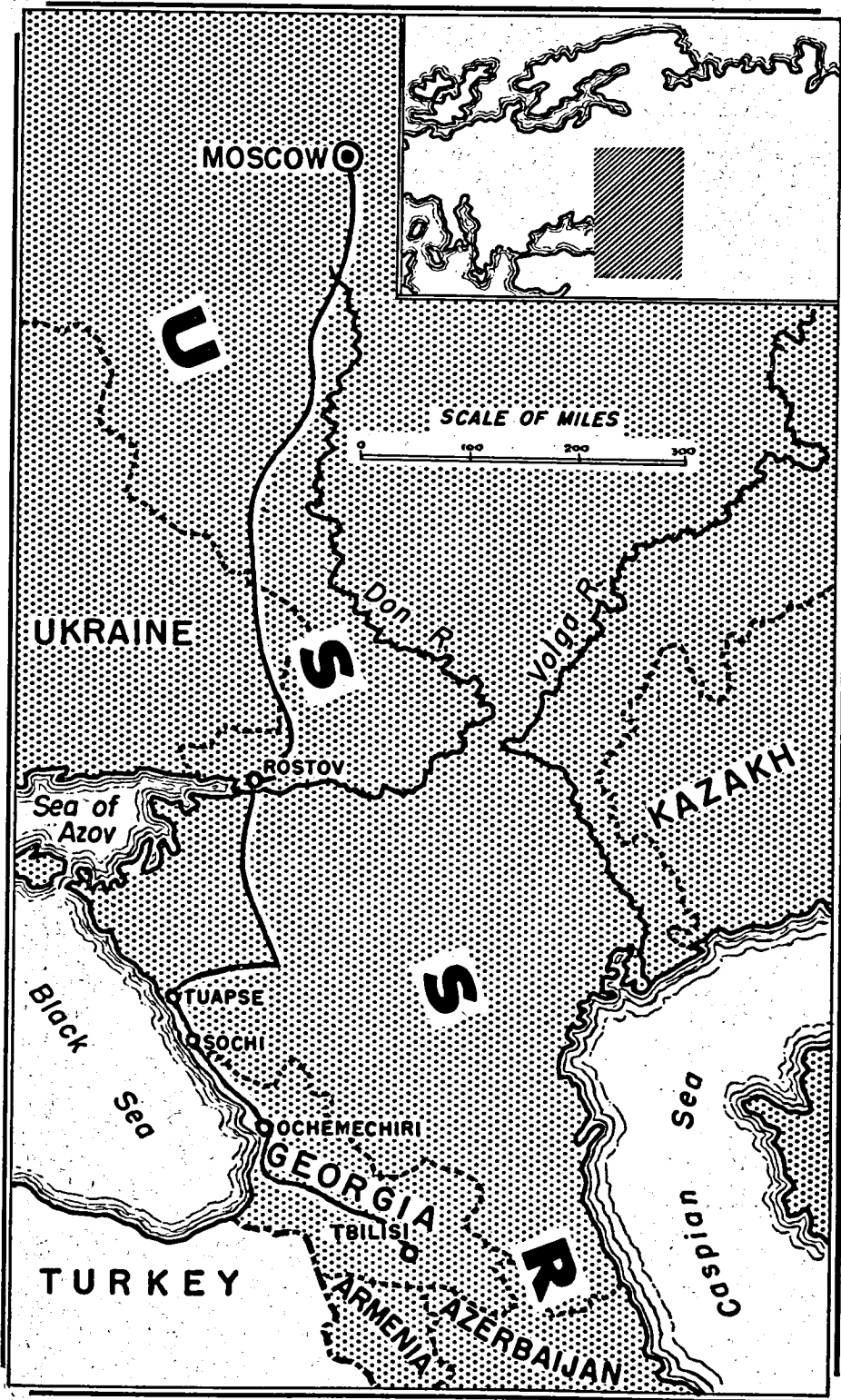
Into the Mountains

When we awoke the morning of the third day we were already some distance up into the mountains having turned directly east again on the long climb up to Tbilisi, the train following the course of the small river, the Rioni. The landscape was still quite Mediterranean with the flat fertile valley around us and snow-capped hills in the background. The towns seemed relatively modern but in the countryside the normal transportation appeared to be high two-wheeled carts drawn by oxen which also provided the motive power for plowing. Occasionally one saw men on horseback, their faces protected by a kind of burnoose. The women, even in the towns, wore black dresses with the black kerchief or hood of the Georgian women, so different from the white or coloured kerchiefs of the Ukrainians and Russians. In the valley the houses were mostly built on stilts, their tiled roofs and pink and white stucco making a distinct contrast with the houses of Russia and the Ukraine.

As we proceeded up the valley of the Rioni the hills pressed in closer on us. Presently the valley became very wild and was little more than a gorge. It was crossed at strategic points by foot-bridges. The conglomeration of very green, almost sub-tropical foliage, the hills and the stucco houses with tile roofs, reminded me very much of some parts of Brazil which I visited in 1942, particularly the interior of the state of Espirito Santo.

After we crossed the pass the landscape began to open out again. It had less of the lush Mediterranean atmosphere and

* Mr. Ford is Chargé d'Affaires a.i. of the Canadian Embassy, Moscow.



more that of a plateau. The hills are brown rather than green and in some places the landscape looked not unlike the Badlands of Dakota. The hills themselves are completely bare of trees or even shrubs, and when I asked a Georgian later why the country around Tbilisi was so "shaven", resulting in bad erosion, he replied that it was the work of Batu the Terrible, the Mongol leader who sacked Tbilisi in the 14th century. Up until then the hills of the Tbilisi Valley were covered with rich forests but the Mongols, to punish the Georgians for their fierce resistance, burned them down and until recently no serious attempt has been made at re-forestation. We discovered later that this is now seriously in hand and at many spots around the city we saw nurseries and the results of the first attempts at re-foresting the slopes.

As we approached Tbilisi we noticed at Kharagauli an old castle perched above the river looking very much like the castles on the Rhine belonging to the medieval robber barons. These became more numerous as we approached Tbilisi but curiously enough the countryside became much less cultivated.

The City of Tbilisi

The first impression of the city is one of the grace and charm of its broad main streets lined with trees, its dark and narrow shaded side streets, and the ever present hills which completely surround the city. It is a curious combination of the new and the old. It was founded in the 5th century and some of the churches go back as far as the beginning of the 6th century. At the same time a great attempt has been made at modernizing, on the whole with good taste. Some of the modern buildings, particularly those put up in the late 30's and just after the war, reflect the Moscow style; some of the more recent buildings are very fine. The government building facing the Hotel Orient on Rustaveli Prospect, for example, is an excellent attempt to draw inspiration from old Georgian styles, using native Georgian stone. Some of the other good modern buildings are the Tea Institute and the seat of the Coal Trust. An attempt is apparently being made to give the present buildings a more Georgian

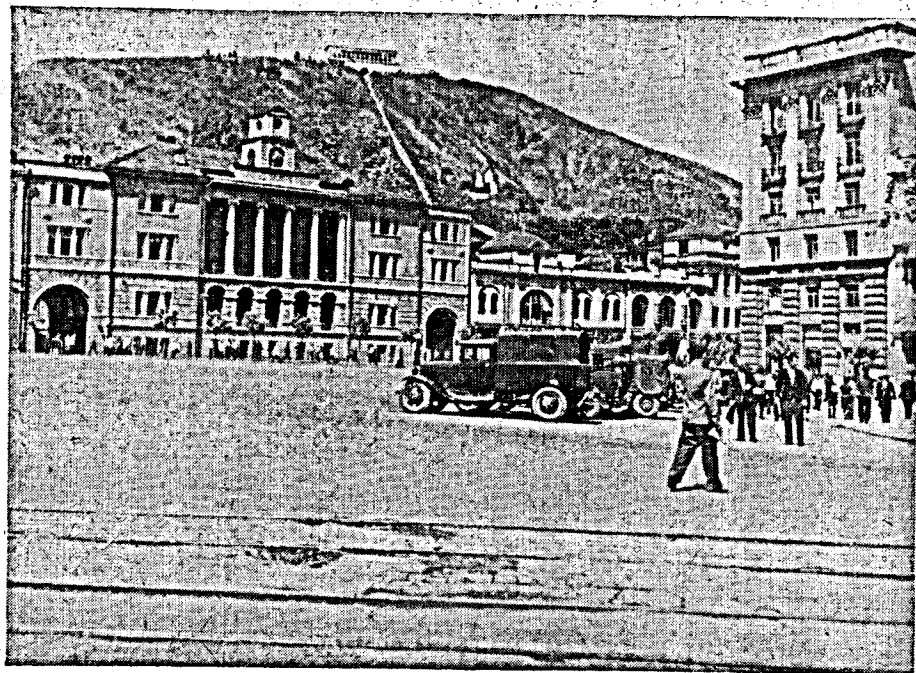
character and they certainly are far more distinct in their style than, for example, the Marx-Engels Institute put up about 1937.

Large Construction Programme

Apart from public buildings there is a great deal of construction going on. We examined the outside of the Railway Engineering Institute, which has just been completed, and several blocks of flats. Rustaveli Prospect, which is now a rather stylish avenue, is being broadened at its western end to extend all the way past the University to the outskirts of the city. At the far end of it there is a fine new park which blends very skilfully with the natural growth on a neighbouring hillside. The city is dominated by the modern pavilion and restaurant built about 1939, which is reached either by a funicular railway or by an excellent road which twists and turns up through the hills much like the highway to the top of Corcovado in Rio de Janeiro. The excellent maintenance of the road and the neatness with which it is lined by shrubs and flowers, makes it quite unique in the U.S.S.R. The building itself is not a great gem of architecture but it has a certain airiness about it. The restaurant is superbly situated on the edge of a terrace overlooking the whole city. We viewed it just at dusk and it reminded me of Florence seen from the Michelangelo Square—the Kura winding through the city, the red-tiled roofs, the domes of the many churches and in the distance the brown and green hills.

There is another side to the city, of course—that is the old town and the slums. Here the streets are narrow and cobble-stoned but the south seems to deprive them of that air of stark poverty which you find in the north. There is a distinctly oriental air about these quarters with their bazaars and little workshops open to the street. There seems to be a good deal of private enterprise going on in these small shops but I imagine most of them are controlled through artels.

The city is dominated by the old fortress of Narikara. While it was first built in the 5th century most of the present fort dates from the 15th century. It looks very much like the remains of a Norman



THE CITY OF TBILISI

The main square, Tbilisi. In the background, on top of the hill reached by a funicular railway, is the pavilion and restaurant.

castle in England or France and the walls are in a good state of repair. On the other side of the Kura River at a point where it rushes through a narrow gorge is situated the former royal palace and church of Metekhi. Most of the palace, apart from the walls, has disappeared, but the outside of the church is still in a fair state of preservation. The interior is closed, however, since it was used during the Tzarist regime as a prison and in fact it was here that Stalin was first incarcerated. The only other traces of Stalin's residence in Tbilisi are the house in the suburbs where he lived for a short time and operated a clandestine printing press, and the seminary where he studied for the priesthood.

The only other old building of great interest in Tbilisi itself is the Sionsky Cathedral which dates from the 7th century though a great deal of it was restored in the 11th century. Among other curiosities it contains the cross of St. Nina, the Greek merchant's daughter who converted the Georgian royal family to Christianity in 326.

The People

The Georgians are, of course, an entirely different race from the Russians and this is immediately obvious from the swarthy skins, black eyes and hair and lithe figures of both the men and women. One is almost in the sub-tropics here, and this is reflected in the light summer dresses of the women and the linen suits of the men, many of whom also wear a very sensible and rather attractive short coat of white linen or silk. Some of the younger men wear black sport shirts. The atmosphere on the streets is one of gaiety on the whole and wherever two or three Georgians are gathered together you can hear the ripple of conversation and laughter.

Tbilisi is a city of many races and while the Georgians of course predominate, there are also a great number of Russians resident in the city as well as Armenians, Jews, Azerbaijanians, Kurds (their women make a colourful figure as they still wear their national dress), Tartars and many of the other minor races of the Caucasus. When we took our trip on the Georgian

Military Highway we stopped at a spot in the Ossetian A.S.S.R. An Ossetian shepherd who was tending his flock came down to talk to our drivers. Curiously enough he preferred to speak in Russian to them rather than in Georgian. He looked quite different from the Georgians in race. His appearance was much like that of a North American Indian and he was taller in stature than the average Georgian. The Caucasus is, of course, one of the most extraordinary melting pots of races in the world and it was curious to identify the various peoples in the streets of Tbilisi.

The Environs of Tbilisi

One day we made an expedition to Mtskheta, the ancient capital situated about 20 kilometres away on the Black Aragvi River. It is a truly ancient town, its beginnings dating back to some 4000 years before Christ. On the hills near Mtskheta can be seen troglodyte caves of the Stone Age. However, the remains of the old city now date mostly from the 11th century though a church and fortress situated on one of the neighbouring mountain tops dates from much earlier. Sveti-tskhoveli, the cathedral of Mtskheta and the shrine of Georgian orthodoxy, was built around a chapel dating from the 5th century. The cathedral itself dates almost entirely from the 11th century. It is one of the most perfect architectural gems of Georgia and is a magnificently preserved example of the Georgian genius for building. From the outside it is not dissimilar to Romanesque churches of northern Germany, France or England. The octangular dome is distinctive, however, as well as some of the semi-heathen carvings on the sides of the church which were intended to explain graphically to the natives the significance of their change in religion. The cathedral is built within a large courtyard surrounded by an almost perfectly preserved 12th century fortress, the only portion of which has largely disappeared being the old royal palace. The interior of the church is extraordinarily tall with clean-cut lines and beautiful cupola and excellently preserved frescoes. It is interesting to note on many of the frescoes that the eyes of the saints have been gouged out of the stone, according to the guide, by the Mongols. The tombs

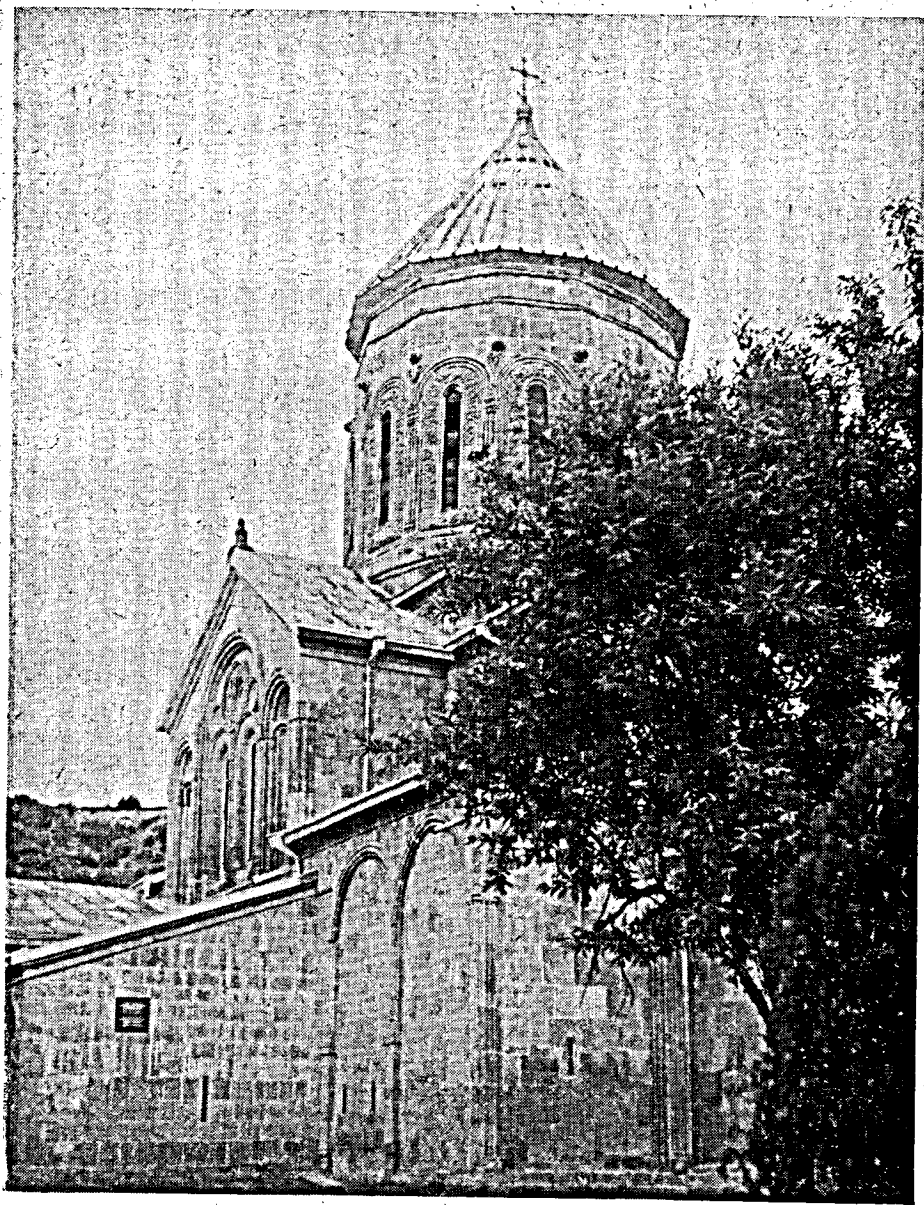
of most of the Bagratians, former kings of Georgia, are also located in the cathedral.

The other church of interest in Mtskheta is the Convent of Santauro which is older but has been restofed more often and has not the same architectural interest as Sveti-tskhoveli. It contains the tombs of King Miriam and Queen Nana, the rulers of Georgia who were converted to Christianity and in turn converted their people. In the courtyard is the tiny house in which St. Nina is supposed to have lived.

On our way to Sveti-tskhoveli we were forced to take a long detour because of work being done on the highway. It proved rather interesting, however, as it took us through some typical countryside and through a "non-tourist" village. At first sight the village looked immensely old, the houses being solidly built of stone and seeming to grow almost out of the ground. The women wore exclusively black with snoods over their heads and a piece of cloth drawn up over their mouths. In one corner of the village was a waterhole in which a great number of water buffalo were cooling themselves in the mud. Half-way between this village and Sveti-tskhoveli is the tiny 5th century chapel of St. George, the patron saint of Georgia. Near it is a large statue of Lenin pointing symbolically to a hydro-electric power station on the Aragvi—the first to be built in Georgia.

Georgian Military Highway

I asked permission to travel on the Georgian Military Highway to Kazbek and back, a matter of about 350 kilometres. As the trip normally takes a minimum of 12 hours we left early in the morning taking food with us. The first part of the highway is asphalted and follows the valley of the Black Aragvi to the town of Pasanuri where it is joined by the White Aragvi. The difference is immediately noticeable since the waters of the former are of a definitely dark colour and of the latter quite white. We were already deep in the mountains by the time we reached Pasanuri and from then on the highway began to mount slowly, still following the valley of the river. By this time it was gravel and very narrow and at many places completely washed out. I noted at least six spots in



SVETI-TSKHOVELI

Sveti-tskhoveli, the cathedral of Mtskheta and the shrine of Georgian orthodoxy.

which water covered the road for a depth of a foot.

Perhaps 20 kilometres beyond Pasanuri the road suddenly began to climb very rapidly making some of the most hair-raising twists and turns I have ever seen on a mountain highway. At one point near the top of the pass there is a sheer drop of $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles to the river bed, no

barricade on the road and the latter only just barely wide enough for two cars to pass. As we were continually encountering buses and trucks I can only consider it remarkable that accidents are not more frequent. Added to this, our Georgian driver seemed to think it was his duty to reach Kazbek in the shortest possible time and the journey was anything but comfortable.

At the top of the pass, about 8500 feet up, we stopped to admire the mountain wild flowers and to breathe in the clear air. Around us were the snow-capped peaks of the Caucasian range and in the ditch by the roadside still lay great patches of snow. As we stood there a herd of sheep came down the steep mountainside watched over by an Ossetian shepherd who attempted to sell one of his lambs to our driver. Fortunately the deal fell through. All the way through the gorge we met Ossetians and other natives of the parts wearing the curious wool hats of the region—rather elegantly shaped hats made of waterproof wool. Further back we encountered many Georgians wearing their traditional dress and the heavy wool headgear which they cling to summer and winter.

Shortly after leaving the shepherds we started to descend on the other side of the pass. At one point a minor glacier had enveloped the road which was cut through the middle of it. The melting snow filled the road with about a foot and a half of water. The descent was much more rapid than the ascent and we were presently down in a valley quite unlike the country on the other side of the pass. It was barren and brown and with the tiny villages perched half-way up the mountainsides reminded me of the Bolivian Andes between Cochabamba and La Paz.

The town of Kazbek itself is small but very clean and neat, the mountains pressing right down almost to the back doors of the houses. We had our sandwiches in the local "traktir" from which we got a look at the snow-covered might of Mount Kazbek, 16,000 feet high. At its foot flowed the Terek, the river made famous by Lermontov, and by Tolstoy in "The Cossacks".

We had to leave this wild and romantic scenery all too soon in order to get over the mountains before nightfall. After another hair raising dash over the pass, complicated this time by a blinding rain storm, we took it more easily back down the valley, again stopping at Pasanuri for tea and reaching Tbilisi in time for a late dinner.

The Georgian military highway dates back to the early days of the Russian conquest and it is the only direct motor

communication across the central range of the Caucasus. Shortly beyond Kazbek the mountains come to an end and from there to the end of the highway at Dzau Dzhikau the scenery is quite uninteresting. The course of the road has been changed three times and we could see at various places where the original road had gone. A good deal of work is being done on the highway, and over the pass tunnels are being made to prevent the washing out of the road every spring, and to make maintenance of the highway a less formidable task.

Georgian Art

Before returning to Moscow I wished to see the museum of Georgian art which is now housed in the seminary where Stalin passed a short time as a student. More particularly I wished to see the treasures of the museum which are not open to the general public and contain a very rich collection of Georgian antiquities. Intourist arranged for us to see them and we were fortunate in having as our guide Professor Songo-Olashvili, a man of about 70 who has spent his entire life studying Georgian art. He received us very politely and proceeded at once to unlock the treasure rooms. The latter were for me a revelation of the richness of Georgian medieval and renaissance art. The beaten silver and gold work of the 11th century, the golden age of Georgian art, are the equal of similar work done two or three centuries later in England and France. One large piece of beaten silver representing scenes from the life of Christ reminded me somewhat of the doors of Ghiberti in Florence though if anything the Georgian work is finer in detail. One magnificent piece of solid gold work at least two yards by one and one-half yards in size is said to be worth seven million dollars. A pectoral cross belonging to the famous Queen Tamara is also practically invaluable. It has a curious inscription on the back proclaiming her both king and queen of Georgia in view of her tremendous power.

The museum reflects the rich and colourful past of this vigorous race which for so many centuries was an outpost of Christianity against successive waves of oriental invasions.

NATO's Common Infrastructure Programme

THE word 'infrastructure' crept into the jargon of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization some years ago, became accepted, and has been widely misunderstood ever since.

Definition of Infrastructure

A French railroading term used to describe the equipment required to operate a railroad in addition to the rails and rolling-stock, the word 'infrastructure' has been adopted by NATO as a general term applying to fixed installations required for the effective operation of military forces. The term includes both facilities which are not specifically of a military character such as roads and ports and those of a purely military character such as headquarters, airfields, signals communications facilities, troop accommodation, etc.

In NATO, infrastructure is described as "national infrastructure" or "NATO common infrastructure", depending on how it is financed. "National" infrastructure facilities are those required primarily or solely for the use of national forces and are constructed at the expense of the nation concerned. Included within this category are the main military construction programmes of all NATO nations.

"NATO common infrastructure" facilities are those required in addition to installations normally provided by individual countries for their own forces and which have been approved for common financing by the North Atlantic Council. They are constructed for the use of the several forces assigned to, or earmarked for, NATO's two Supreme Commanders (such as signals communications), or for assignment by the Supreme Commanders to the forces of one or more NATO nations (such as airfields). The cost of these common infrastructure facilities is being shared by all the NATO nations according to an agreed percentage contribution or "cost-sharing formula".

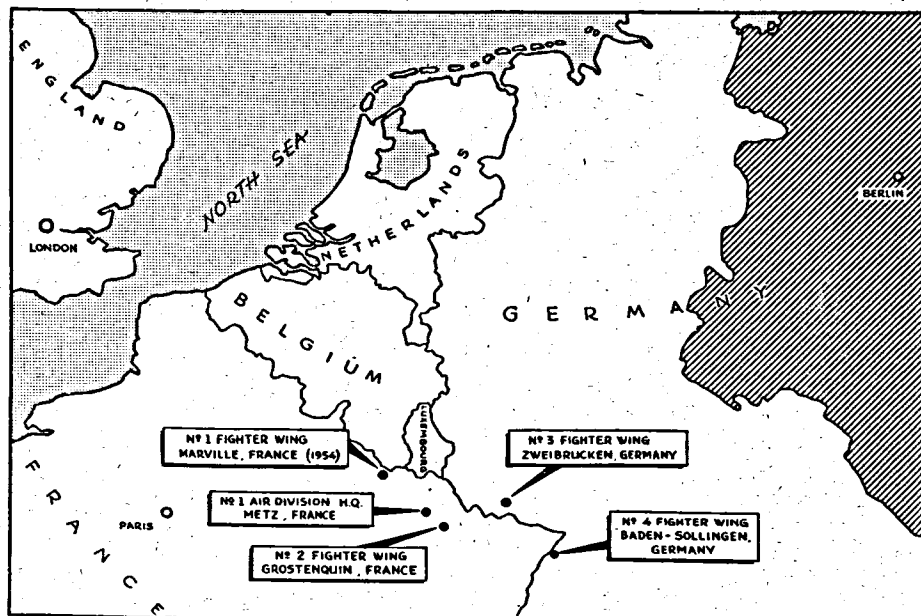
Most of the common infrastructure projects are being constructed for the

use of the forces assigned to SACEUR (Supreme Allied Commander, Europe) and are therefore located, for the most part, in Continental Europe. In Canada all defence installations would qualify as national infrastructure as no NATO common infrastructure installations have yet been located in Canada.

Member nations have pledged approximately \$1,900,000,000 for the cost of common infrastructure projects to be constructed by the end of 1957. Of this amount, Canada has agreed to contribute approximately \$116,000,000. The NATO common infrastructure programme is a significant development in the field of mutual co-operation. It should be pointed out, however, that the total cost of the programme, large as it may seem, represents but a small fraction of the total cost to member countries of their efforts for NATO common defence. For example, Canada's estimated contribution towards the costs of common infrastructure during the current fiscal year amounts to about three-quarters of one percent of its total defence budget for the same period.

Member Nations Bear Cost

By and large, the cost of NATO's defence effort is met directly by the member nations, as there is no NATO defence budget to which member nations contribute and from which the daily expenses of the forces assigned to SACEUR and earmarked for SACLANT (Supreme Allied Commander, Atlantic) are met. Canada, for example, having agreed to contribute an Infantry Brigade and an Air Division of twelve squadrons to the integrated force under SACEUR, must provide in its defence budget for their operational expenses—food, fuel, equipment, ammunition, etc. Aside from the common infrastructure programme, only the costs of NATO's civil and military administration in Paris and at the various subordinate international military headquarters are financed in common.



Map of Western Europe showing the location of airfields at Grostenquin and Marville in France, and Zweibrücken and Sollingen in Germany.

The common infrastructure programme originated under the Brussels Treaty Organization with the five members of the Western Union Defence Organization (Belgium, France, Luxembourg, the Netherlands and the U.K.) contributing, collectively, \$84,000,000 for the construction of airfields. This programme has since become known as the "First Slice" of NATO common infrastructure, although its costs have not been shared by the other NATO countries. At the Ottawa meeting of the North Atlantic Council in September 1951, NATO in effect took over the Western Union airfields programme and agreed to the financing of a "Second Slice" of common infrastructure, which included airfields and signals communications facilities. Agreement on the financing of the "Third Slice" was reached at Lisbon in February 1952 and on the first and second portions of the "Fourth Slice" at Paris in December 1952 and April 1953 respectively. Each succeeding "Slice" of the programme has been developed so as to dovetail with its predecessor and to permit additions and extensions in the future as required.

In April 1953, in order to eliminate the practice of negotiating a cost-sharing formula for each "Slice" and to facilitate

both financial planning by member governments and military planning by NATO military authorities, the NATO Council adopted a long term cost-sharing formula for application to the costs of additional "Slices" in 1954, 1955 and 1956. The contributions of member countries are, of course, subject to whatever legislative action is appropriate in each member nation for the provision of the required funds.

The NATO military authorities are responsible for recommending to the NATO Council, for its approval, infrastructure projects for common financing. The North Atlantic Council and its Infrastructure Committee, before approving projects, have to ensure that they are eligible for common financing, that is to say, that they are not projects which should be financed out of national funds. They must also ensure that the projects recommended meet the military requirements in the most efficient and economical manner and that full use is being made of national facilities. The actual construction of the common infrastructure facilities is the responsibility of the countries in which they are located, which are known as the "host countries".

A system of budgetary control over

expenditures has also been developed. Under this system, the "host country" must obtain approval for the commitment of funds from the Infrastructure Payments and Progress Committee before letting any contracts for the construction of individual projects. This Committee, which consists of representatives of all the member countries, must ensure that the cost estimates are sound and that the facilities are being constructed in accordance with agreed standards which have been developed for the various categories. Once commitment authority has been granted, the "host country" is able to go ahead with construction. For each quarter of the calendar year the "host country" concerned submits estimates of the expenditures it expects to incur during that period. The Payments and Progress Committee examines the estimates and when it has approved them requests each country to pay its share direct to the "host country". There is no NATO common infrastructure fund or bank account.

Economy Encouraged

As an additional means of encouraging economy and to accelerate construction, it has recently been agreed that within certain limitations competent firms from all NATO countries, and not just the "host country" concerned, should be allowed to submit bids for the individual projects. Finally, all common infrastructure accounts are subject to audit by a special NATO Board of Auditors. Aside from financial controls, final acceptance of a project by NATO is preceded by a physical inspection to ensure that it meets agreed standards.

The Council and its sub-committees on Infrastructure are assisted in their review of the projects submitted for approval and in their control of expenditures after approval, by a small staff of technical experts in the International Secretariat. All possible means have been adopted to ensure that NATO receives the best possible value for its common infrastructure dollar.

The major categories of common infrastructure projects approved for common financing to date are tactical airfields, a jet fuel storage and distribution system, and signals communications facilities.

Other categories include war headquarters, maritime airfields, naval bases, radar warning systems and radio navigational aids. A brief description of the first three categories is given below.

Tactical Airfields

Airfields generally received top priority in the first three slices of infrastructure. It was early realized that from a purely geographical defence point of view, air force operational requirements would necessarily demand greater efforts from certain of the member countries than they could reasonably be expected to undertake from their own defence budgets, and it was then that, in the interests of common defence, the idea of sharing this financial burden was born.

During the current calendar year, new airfields are being made available for the use of NATO air forces at a rate of rather more than one a week. Approximately sixty airfields were available at the end of 1952 and it is expected that at least 120 will be usable at the end of 1953. Of the 120 airfields, 90 are being financed by NATO nations as common infrastructure, while 30 airfields, located in Western Germany, are being financed out of occupation funds which are provided by the Germans to the occupying powers. These 120 airfields are in addition to national airfields already available or under construction. Two airfields in France included in the common infrastructure programme have been assigned to Canada: Grostenquin, which is already in use, and Marville, which is under construction. In addition, two airfields in Western Germany, Zweibrucken and Sollingen, have been assigned to the Canadian Air Division.

The airfields assigned to Canada and to other NATO nations under the common infrastructure programme, are built to minimum standards as defined by the military authorities for the operation of modern jet aeroplanes. Basic facilities which are commonly financed include runways, taxiways, dispersal areas, control towers, hangars, operational rooms, internal roads, etc. The host country provides, free of charge, the land (approximately 1100 acres), water supply, sewage, electric power and other essential

services to agreed minimum standards. The nations using the airfields are responsible for additional facilities, such as barracks, hospitals, messes, recreation rooms, chapels and utilities beyond the agreed minimum standards. The airfields in Germany have been financed entirely out of occupation funds.

Jet Fuel Supply System

With the introduction of jet aircraft, which have a high consumption of fuel, it became clear that a large reserve supply of jet fuel must be stored in the forward area near the tactical airfields to permit them to operate continuously, especially in the critical early days of an emergency. Provision has therefore been made for the forward storage of jet fuel in tank farms at strategic points, and for its distribution to the airfields by an integrated system of pipe lines. A high priority has been given to the construc-

tion of these facilities which involves the laying of approximately 2,000 miles of pipe.

Signals Communications

In order to provide for an immediate effective control of forces assigned to the Supreme Commanders, a considerable amount of additional facilities, over and above those existing or planned in national programmes, is required. Maximum use is being made of national civilian networks, but these have required substantial reinforcement to meet the heavy demands which would be made on them in an emergency. In addition, special projects are essential to some areas of particular military significance, to by-pass probable target areas, to provide "back-up" routes in strategic areas, and to link up lateral networks. Considerable progress has already been made in this field.

United Nations Day

Statement by the Prime Minister, Mr. St. Laurent, on United Nations Day, October 24, 1953.

On October 24, 1945, the Charter of the United Nations came into force. This eighth anniversary of that momentous event has perhaps a deeper significance than any earlier milestone on what we profoundly hope will prove the path to peace.

With the signing of the Armistice in Korea, the organization which we honour today has met and overcome the first great challenge to the principles on which it was founded; it has justified in part at least the faith which brought it into being, and has helped to secure the peace which it was formed to protect.

While we may share in the pride of all the free peoples who together engaged in that arduous struggle, we must not forget that our responsibility continues. We must persevere in seeking an honourable peace, a just political settlement, and a generous measure of relief for the Korean people, and we must hope that our efforts in Korea may be a prelude to the solution of those

wider Asian problems which must be resolved if the world is to live in peace.

In the achievement of these ends lies our best opportunity to repay for their sacrifice those men of all lands who died for the cause of the United Nations in Korea.

In its attempt to deal with other grave international problems, the United Nations continues to command our respect and our firmest support. The work of its subordinate bodies in assisting the economic development of less developed countries, in combatting hunger and disease, in protecting the rights of minorities, and in promoting the peaceful extension of self-government to colonial peoples, shows slow but heartening progress.

I am sure it is the heartfelt wish of all Canadians that this progress may continue, and that, under the banner of the United Nations, mankind may move forward to that secure and lasting peace which is our common goal.

Canada and the United Nations

Eighth General Assembly—Progress Report

During its first five weeks, the General Assembly made good progress on its 73-item agenda. Among major issues on which action has been taken in plenary sessions or which have been completed by Committees are the following:

Elections

In plenary sessions, elections were held for the three Councils. The results were as follows:

Security Council: Brazil (56 votes) was elected as a replacement for Chile; New Zealand (48) to replace Pakistan, and Turkey (40) to replace Greece. Brazil and New Zealand were elected on the first ballot. It was not, however, until the eighth ballot in a succession of contests with Poland that Turkey secured the 40 votes necessary for election. The membership of the Security Council after December 31, 1953 will thus be as follows: United Kingdom, United States, France, China, U.S.S.R., Colombia, Denmark, Lebanon, Brazil, New Zealand and Turkey.

Economic and Social Council: Six new members were elected to ECOSOC. The votes they received were as follows (previous members shown in brackets): United Kingdom 47 (United Kingdom); U.S.S.R. 45 (U.S.S.R.); Ecuador 45 (Uruguay); Norway 42 (Sweden) and Czechoslovakia 42 (Poland); and Pakistan (Philippines). When these countries take their place after December 31, 1953, the composition of ECOSOC will be as follows: United Kingdom, U.S.S.R., Ecuador, Norway, Czechoslovakia and Pakistan—to December 31, 1956; Australia, India, Turkey, Venezuela, United States and Yugoslavia—to December 31, 1955; Argentina, Belgium, China, Cuba, Egypt, France—to December 31, 1954.

Trusteeship Council: India and Haiti were elected to the Trusteeship Council as replacements for Thailand and the Dominican Republic. The compo-

sition of the Council when these countries take office after December 31, 1953 will be: United Kingdom, United States, France, Belgium, Australia and New Zealand; China and the U.S.S.R.; and El Salvador, Syria, India and Haiti.

Morocco and Tunisia

The First Committee of the General Assembly completed its debate on Morocco and Tunisia. On Morocco, the Committee passed an amended Bolivian resolution by 31 votes in favour, 18 against and 9 abstentions. The resolution appeals for the reduction of tension in Morocco and urges that the right of the Moroccan people to free political institutions be insured. On Tunisia, the Committee passed an amended Arab-Asian resolution, by 29 votes in favour, 22 against and 5 abstentions. The resolution recommends that steps be taken to give the Tunisian people full sovereignty and independence. Canada voted against both resolutions. The two resolutions must now be taken up by the General Assembly in full plenary session.

Admission of New Members

There are at present 21 applications for membership outstanding, but not a single applicant has been admitted since Indonesia became the sixtieth member in September 1950. Little progress in this direction was made when this problem was up for discussion at the eighth session of the Assembly. In discussion of this item the *Ad Hoc* Committee had before it a Peruvian draft resolution for the establishment of a three-member committee of good offices empowered to consult with members of the Security Council and report back to the Assembly. The Soviet advanced a resolution calling for a "package deal" whereby the Assembly would request the Security Council to reconsider the applications of fourteen countries. This was an identical proposal to that submitted last year by Poland. The resolution was defeated last year.

The Canadian representative made a statement on October 6, the main points of which were as follows: Admission of members must not be achieved by circumventing the Charter. It would be a great step forward if all permanent members of the Security Council would agree to refrain from exercising the veto in connection with membership applications. It had been hoped that the Soviet would have changed its proposal concerning admission of new members, but the Soviet position this year was identical with that taken in other years. It would be almost impossible for Canada to accept Outer Mongolia as an independent state while excluding other states which were fully qualified. Canada would therefore vote against the Soviet resolution. At the same time, the Canadian Delegation would support the proposal for the establishment of the committee of good offices. Both in the Committee and in the plenary meeting, the Peruvian proposal received unanimous approval.

Treatment of Indians in South Africa

At last year's Assembly, a resolution was adopted establishing a Good Offices Commission to arrange and assist in negotiations between the Governments of South Africa, India and Pakistan, regarding alleged violation of human rights in the treatment of Indians in South Africa. It also called on the South African Government to suspend certain legislation affecting this matter. In May 1953, South Africa notified the United Nations that it had consistently held the Indian problem in South Africa to be a domestic question and consequently regarded the Assembly resolution as unconstitutional. It would therefore grant no recognition to the Good Offices Commission.

Protracted discussion of this item took place in the *Ad Hoc* Committee at the eighth session of the Assembly. A resolution was adopted by the Committee on October 27, 1953 under which it was decided to continue the Good Offices Commission and to urge South Africa to co-operate with that body. This resolution was approved by 38 in favour, 2 against, and 19 abstentions (including Canada).

In explaining the Canadian position, the Canadian representative stated that

Canada fully and whole-heartedly supported universal respect for the observations of human rights and fundamental freedoms and was greatly concerned at allegations that human values are disregarded anywhere in the world. In the past, he said, Canada had indicated grave doubt as to whether resolutions of this kind were within the competence of the United Nations. Also, the Canadian Delegation doubted the value of passing a resolution which seemed to have little chance of being put into effect. The Canadian representative said that the history of this question indicated that direct discussions might offer the only possibility of progress toward a settlement.

Continuation of UNICEF

On October 6, 1953, the General Assembly decided by a unanimous vote to extend the activities of the United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund for an indefinite period. The Fund thus becomes a permanent organization which will henceforth be called the United Nations Children's Fund although the symbol UNICEF will be retained. Canada was one of the nine countries which sponsored the General Assembly resolution in favour of the continuation of the Fund.

UNICEF was established in 1947 for the purpose of helping children in war-devastated countries. In 1950, it was authorized to undertake for a period of three years ending December 31, 1953 long-range welfare projects for needy children in under-developed countries.

The Canadian Government has contributed \$8,375,000 to the Fund since its inception and voluntary contributions in this country have amounted to more than \$1,500,000.

Technical Assistance

The four items relating to technical assistance on the Agenda of the current session of the General Assembly have already been disposed of in the plenary session.

The Assembly has passed a general resolution on the Expanded Programme of Technical Assistance for the Economic Development of Under-developed Countries. This resolution, which was adopted unanimously, endorses the Programme,



—United Nations

EIGHTH SESSION OF THE U.N. GENERAL ASSEMBLY

Mr. Andrei y. Vyshinsky, left, Permanent Representative of the Soviet Union to the United Nations, and Mr. L. B. Pearson, Chairman of the Canadian Delegation, chatting informally before a meeting of the current General Assembly of the United Nations. In the centre is Mr. Simyon K. Tsarapkin of the U.S.S.R.

and urges Governments to contribute for 1954 so that the Programme needs for that year can be met to the maximum extent possible, and in any event, so that the funds available shall not be less than the amount required to finance the 1953 Programme. The resolution also emphasizes the need for prompt payment of pledges and calls for a review of the administrative procedures being followed in the execution of the Programme. In addition, the resolution establishes a formula in accordance with which funds to be made available in 1954 will be divided between the various participating agencies.

The second resolution on technical assistance, unanimously adopted by the General Assembly, redefines the objectives and terms of reference of the Expanded Technical Assistance Programme, to embrace assistance in the field of public administration. The United Nations Technical Assistance Administration has for some time been provided assistance in this field, and the resolution brings this work formally within the scope of U.N. Technical Assistance activities.

Two additional resolutions on technical

assistance have been approved; the first gives authority for the provision of expert technical advice and other services to assist member states in promoting and safeguarding the rights of women. The second resolution provides for technical assistance in the field of the prevention of discrimination and the protection of minorities. Canada supported both these resolutions.

On October 28, the Canadian representative announced that the Canadian Government, subject to parliamentary approval, was prepared to increase its contribution to the 1954 expanded programme of technical assistance from \$800,000, as it was in 1953, up to a maximum of \$1,500,000 (U.S.). This increased contribution would be made if the support for the 1954 programme by other contributors warranted such action and if the total of the contributions was sufficient to make a reasonable and workable programme.

Social Questions

In the social field, the Assembly urged states to take all possible measures to develop the political rights of women,

including the rights of women in dependent territories. Considerable discussion centred on the programme of concerted practical action in the social field which was planned by ECOSOC in conjunction with the Secretary-General and the Specialized Agencies to give priority to projects that would yield early and permanent results and reach a maximum number of people. The Assembly in taking note of this programme requested ECOSOC to keep it under consideration with a view to its progressive improvement and to report on the progress achieved. The Canadian representative, in supporting the resolution, stressed that the role of the United Nations in the social field appeared to be one of guidance, encouragement and co-ordination. It was hoped that the programme would be given a reasonable chance to develop and not be subject to too many changes and alterations.

U.N. High Commissioner for Refugees

From October 14 to October 20, the Third (Social, Humanitarian and Cultural) Committee considered the work of the U.N. High Commissioner for Refugees. With the exception of the Soviet delegate, all speakers paid tribute to the work of the High Commissioner, Dr. G. J. Van Heuven Goedhart. At the conclusion of the debate, the Committee, by substantial majorities, adopted resolutions recommending the continuation of the High Commissioner's Office, which was established in December 1950, for another five years, and appealing to all governments "to intensify their efforts" on behalf of refugees. The Canadian representative warmly praised the work of the High Commissioner and gave full support to the Assembly's resolution on this subject.

Dependent Territories

The Fourth (Trusteeship) Committee debated questions relating to non-self-governing territories. In addition to a discussion of the work of the Committee on Information from Non-Self-Governing Territories, attention was given to the question of what considerations should be taken into account in deciding whether

a territory had or had not attained a full measure of self-government. It also established a special committee to give more thorough study to this question and this committee submitted to the eighth session a somewhat modified list of factors. A resolution was adopted by the Fourth Committee on October 9, 1953, under which this list of factors, with further modifications, was approved, and it was recommended that it be used as a guide by the Assembly and by administering powers.

Although the Canadian Delegation was in favour of adopting the list of factors as submitted to the Assembly by the committee, the Canadian representative found it necessary to vote against the final resolution because he considered that the list of factors had been altered by the Fourth Committee without adequate study and that the resolution contained statements with which the Canadian Delegation could not agree. These statements were concerned with the basic question of where responsibility should lie for determining when a territory was no longer in the non-self-governing category.

Legal Questions

The General Assembly elected 15 new members of the International Law Commission. In regard to measures designed to limit the duration of the regular sessions of the Assembly, approval was given to certain amendments to rules of procedure which would require main committees of the Assembly to adopt their own priorities and to take into account the closing date fixed for the Assembly session, when arranging for completion of the items assigned to them. The Assembly voted to continue the functions of the United Nations Tribunal for Libya which was set up in 1950 to give advice and to settle disputes regarding economic and financial decisions of the Assembly in relation to Libya. After giving authority to the Secretary-General to invite certain non-members states to adhere to the convention on the political rights of women and urging all member states to adhere to the Genocide Convention, the Assembly voted to transfer to the United Nations the functions and powers exercised by the League of Nations under the Slavery Convention of 1926.

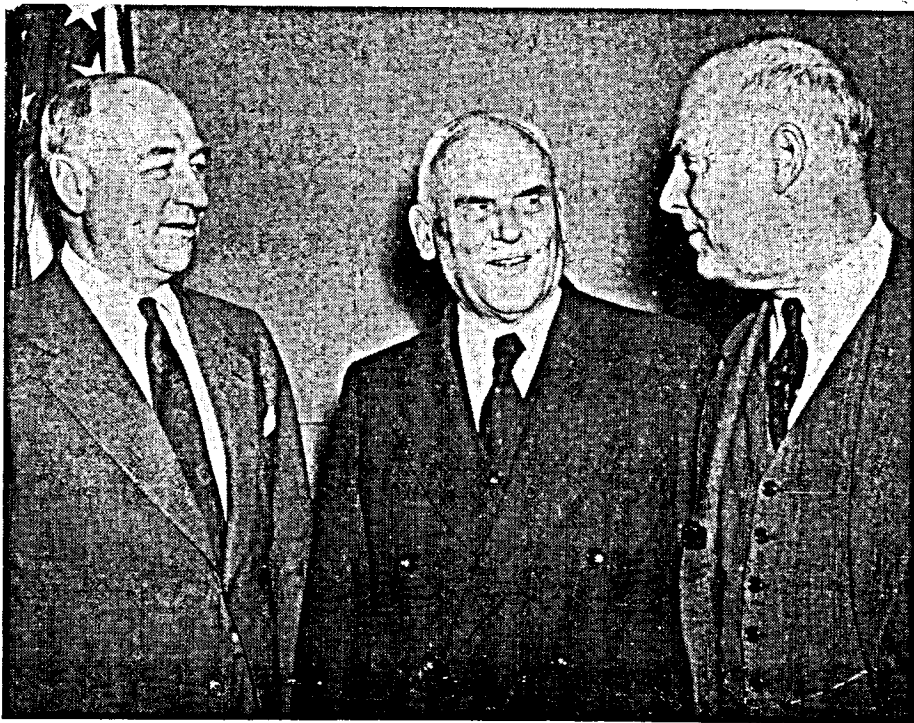
Canadian-U.S. Economic Co-operation Reviewed

REPRESENTATIVES of the agencies connected with defence mobilization in Canada and the United States met in Washington last month as the Canadian-U.S. Joint Industrial Mobilization Committee, on the invitation of Mr. Arthur S. Fleming, Director of Defence Mobilization. Mr. C. D. Howe, Canadian Minister of Defence Production, represented Canada at the session of the committee. Mr. Howe was accompanied by R. M. Brophy, Deputy Minister of Defence Production, T. N. Beaupre, and D. A. Golden, both Assistant Deputy Ministers of Defence Production.

The United States members of the Joint Industrial Mobilization Committee, in addition to Mr. Fleming, as Chairman,

were Secretary of Treasury, George A. Humphrey; Secretary of Commerce, Sinclair Weeks; Deputy Secretary of Defence, Roger Kyes; and Assistant Secretary of Defence (supply and logistics) Charles S. Thomas. The agenda of the committee included the reaffirmation of the principles for economic co-operation which was signed by the two countries in October, 1950.* This statement of principles proclaimed a mutuality of interests and resolved that the two governments would co-operate, where practicable, within the limits of their respective executive powers to achieve co-ordination

* (The statement of principles for economic co-operation mentioned above was published in "External Affairs", of November 1950).



—United Press
JOINT U.S.-CANADIAN INDUSTRIAL MOBILIZATION COMMISSION MEETS

Canadian and United States officials met in Washington on October 8 to discuss defence mobilization problems involving both countries. The group included, left to right, United States Secretary of the Treasury, George Humphrey; Canadian Minister of Defence Production, Mr. C. D. Howe; and United States Secretary of Commerce, Sinclair Weeks.

in the interests of common defence.

The committee agreed that:

- (I) The United States and Canada can better defend themselves and do justice to their worldwide commitments by viewing defence problems as continental rather than national.
- (II) The effective utilization of joint resources is fundamental to the joint defence and the economic strength of both countries.

In consequence, the committee reaffirmed the statement of principles for economic co-operation, signed by the two countries in October, 1950.

The consideration of the current problems of joint interest to the mobilization efforts of the two countries was followed by a discussion of the new problems of economic mobilization which confront both Canada and the United States, and for which, in many cases joint study and action will be needed.

United Nations Day

Statement by the Secretary of State for External Affairs, Mr. L. B. Pearson, as used on the CBC United Nations Day Television Programme, October 24, 1953.

Today, on this eighth anniversary of the coming into force of the United Nations Charter, the whole world will be observing United Nations Day.

The tribute to the United Nations which will be paid in many different ways in many different parts of our own country reflects the deep conviction that what the United Nations does—or does not do—is of vital concern to Canada and to every Canadian, as it is to peoples everywhere.

Eight years ago at San Francisco, Canada was proud to share in the task of drafting the Charter which has been our guide in these critical post-war years. All of us who were there were deeply conscious of the responsibility we shared for drawing up this blueprint for future peace.

We have, however, in the long and hard years since the Charter was signed, learned that it is easier to produce a blueprint than to build the structure for peace. The U.N. has had failures and disappointments. But it has also had its achievements, political, economic, social and humanitarian. The achievements should hearten us, and the difficulties become a challenge which should spur us to greater effort in the cause of international co-operation for peace and progress.

Nothing that has happened since the days of San Francisco has altered, or can alter, the fact that the principles of the Charter remain valid today as guides to international action. There are many these days who are discouraged and downhearted about the United Nations. They should be discouraged instead about the state of the world in which the United Nations has to operate. One thing, however, we can say without qualification; that state would be worse if the United Nations were not there as a forum in which issues can be argued and solutions can be sought.

The main lesson which the world has to learn—and the time in which we have to learn it is short—is how to live with itself. This lesson can never be learned in a world of isolated national states where international anarchy reigns. It can be learned through co-operation for the maintenance of peace, for the common welfare, and for the defence of the rule of law, in the school of shared human and political experience which the United Nations provides.

So I know you will wish to join with me, on this United Nations Day, in pledging again our support for the principles and the purposes of the United Nations Charter, and the great cause of world peace which it is designed to serve.

Canada Co-operating in Technical Assistance Programmes

INTERNATIONAL programmes of technical assistance are designed to help under-developed countries help themselves by drawing on the skills and experience of the industrially and economically-advanced nations.

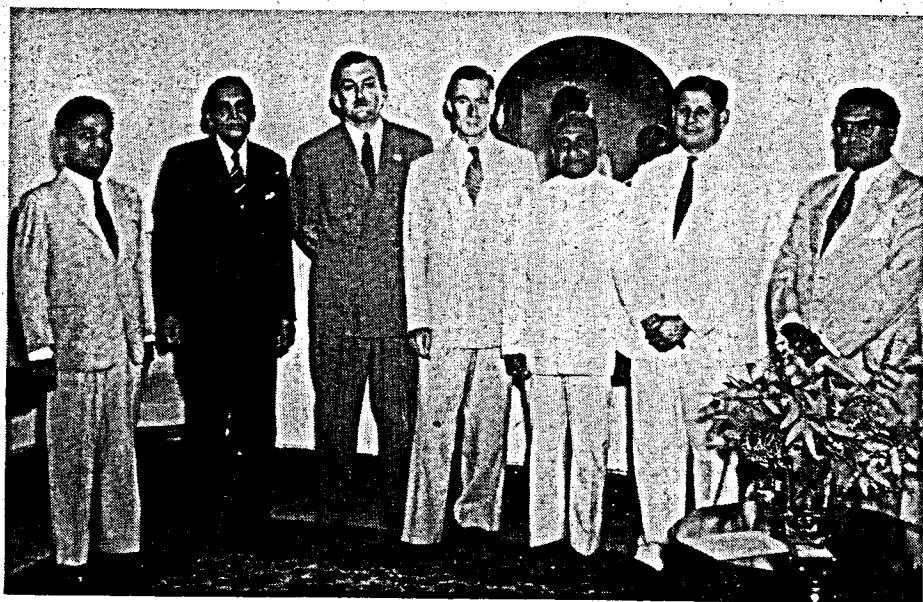
The ultimate aim is to raise standards of living in under-developed countries, many of which have great potential productive capacities. Canada has been playing an active role in international technical assistance programmes by providing training facilities in Canada for trainees and apprentices, and by sending Canadian teachers and instructors abroad.

Currently more than 100 technical assistance trainees are in Canada and approximately 100 Canadian experts are

serving abroad. Canadian industry is co-operating with the Government in providing posts for the visitors to Canada.

The two major technical assistance programmes in which Canada participates are (a) the United Nations Expanded Technical Assistance Programme, and (b) the Programme for Technical Co-operation under the Colombo Plan for Economic Development in South and South-east Asia.

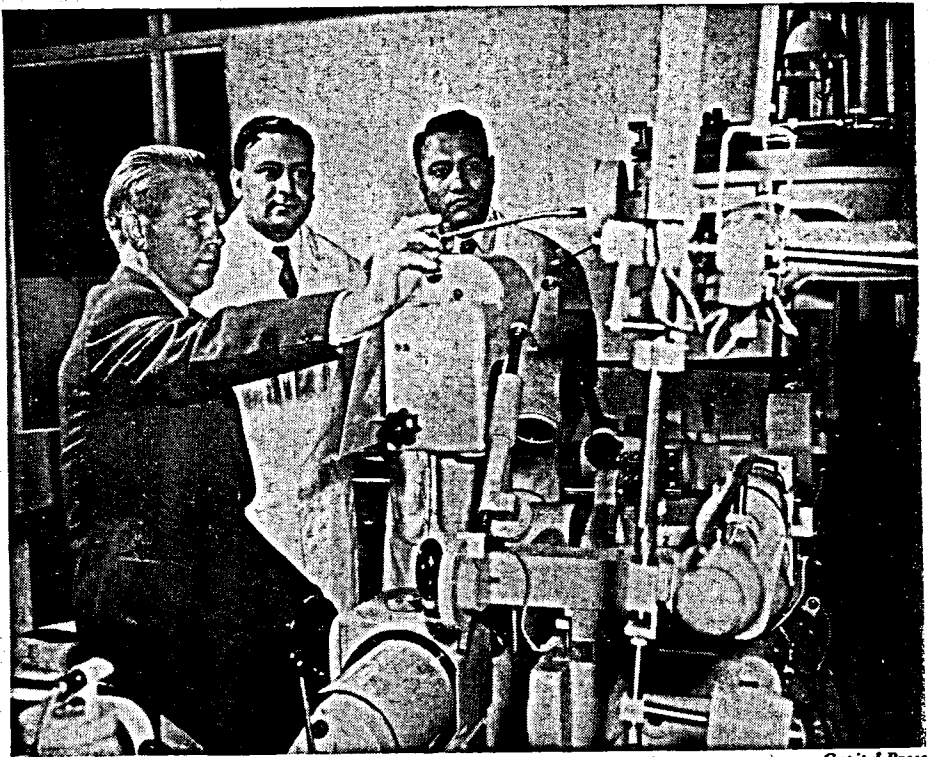
The United Nations Programme co-ordinates the activities of the U.N. itself and its Specialized Agencies under the general supervision of the Technical Assistance Board. Canada, as a member of the Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC) until 1952, was a member of this body



CO-OPERATIVE MISSION LEAVES FOR CANADA

—Government of India

A four-man mission consisting of Mr. M. R. Bhide, Additional Secretary, Ministry of Food and Agriculture, and leader of the mission, Mr. R. Bhardwaj, Joint Registrar, Co-operatives Societies, U.P.; Mr. A. D. Shah, Principal, Co-operative Training Institute, Poona; and Mr. S. Bharsoe, Registrar of Co-operative Societies, Bhopal, proceeded to Canada recently under the Colombo Plan to study the formation and management of credit societies, and the co-operative marketing of agricultural products in small communities and fisheries. Before leaving India, the High Commissioner for Canada in India, Mr. Escott Reid, gave a luncheon in Delhi to members of the Mission; the Indian Minister for Agriculture, Dr. Panjabrao Deshmukh, and the Canadian Minister of Fisheries, and leader of the Canadian Delegation to the Colombo Plan Meetings, Mr. James Sinclair, were also present. Left to right: Mr. Bhardwaj, Mr. Shah, Mr. Sinclair, Mr. Reid, Mr. Deshmukh, Mr. Bhide and Mr. Bharose.



—Capital Press

SURVEY OF PAKISTAN OFFICIALS IN CANADA

Two officials of the Survey of Pakistan visit Canada under provisions of the Colombo Plan, and in connection with the Resources Inventory of Pakistan, receive instruction in the operation of the stereoplanigraph, used in aerial photography and photogrammetry, at the National Research Council, Ottawa. Left to right: T. J. Blachut, Chief of the Photogrammetric Research at the NRC; Said Hasan Khan; and Nazir Ahmed Qureshi.

and was thus able to assist in supervising this programme. Canada's annual contribution has averaged \$775,000.00.

The Colombo Plan Programme, drafted at a meeting of the Commonwealth Consultative Committee on South and South-east Asia in London in September 1950, assists in the economic development of that area by the provision of technical assistance. A bureau for Technical co-operation is responsible for co-ordination and administration under the general supervision of a council of member states. Canada has contributed \$400,000 yearly to this programme since 1950.

Apart from these programmes, most of the Specialized Agencies, such as the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), the International Civil Aviation Organization (ICAO), the Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO), and the World

Health Organization (WHO), provide technical assistance to under-developed countries as part of their regular budget and activities.

Assistance has already been extended on request in various forms: technicians and students from under-developed countries come to Canada under fellowship programmes; missions from abroad come to Canada to study the latest techniques or practices in the fields of planning, development or reconstruction, scientific research, public administration, health, social welfare, agriculture, industry, commerce and other productive activities; Canadian experts are despatched to advise under-developed countries on the subjects in which they are specialists. Equipment required for training or use by technical experts in the region also is being provided.

(Continued on page 331)

AN ADDRESS BY THE PRIME MINISTER, MR. ST. LAURENT

Made at the Canadian Shoe and Leather Fair, Montreal, October 12, 1953.

Your industry was probably one of the first—if not the first—set up on this continent, for as early as 1671 it is recorded that Intendant Talon said “that he found in the Canadian industry all that was needed to clothe oneself from head to foot”.

We all know, too, that even before that time, the Indians, the first explorers, *coureurs de bois* and settlers were already skilled in the art of curing leather and in the manufacture of shoes, some models of which have scarcely changed since then which is surely a tribute to the skill of those early craftsmen.

As a Canadian born in this province and proud of the industrial development of Canada, I derive considerable pride from the fact that the commercial shoe industry was born in Quebec.

First Factory

The first shoe factory in Canada was, I believe, started on Saint-Vallier Street, in Quebec City, around 1859, by Guillaume Bresse, a shoemaker by trade. That city in due course became the centre of the Canadian shoe industry. And as you know that industry, once it was no longer restricted to the individual homes, has continued to keep pace with modern industrial techniques and by so doing has won an important place for itself in our national economy and even in our foreign trade.

It is not my intention to quote numerous figures, but I do wish to suggest that an industry such as yours, which employs some 20,000 people in 275 factories and has an annual income of approximately \$125 million, deserves the attention and interest which it has received from government.

That interest was evident from the very start of your industry, for in its infancy the government in power levied a 25 per cent tariff on shoe imports from the United States. That measure enabled the new industry to get established in Canada and to sustain the competition of shoe manufacturers of the New England States, who had got off to a head start in mass production, by applying the sewing machine which had been invented in 1846 by Elias Howe, a New Englander.

I hasten to add, however, that except in very exceptional circumstances, various governments have always adopted a “hands off” policy because of your obvious ability to look after yourselves.

As a matter of fact, even during the Korean war, when the situation became rather difficult and the American shoe industry was subjected to controls by the United States government, the Canadian government refrained from such measures, and I think you will agree that events have shown us to have been right.

It has been the belief of Canadian governments since Confederation and it certainly will be the practice of any government with

which I am associated, that, except in grave emergencies such as total war when all the national resources have to be marshalled for survival, government should not interfere in the affairs of a business as long as it is operating legally and is performing a public service.

However, this attitude does not mean that we take no interest in your industry and, indeed, all Canadian industry. We do take an interest but I hope it is an interest of assistance and not one of interference. For example, the Department of Trade and Commerce recently opened in Rockefeller Centre a pavilion where, during the months of May and June, shoe samples of some fifteen Canadian manufacturers were on display. I am told that this publicity not only created good will but aroused considerable interest among our neighbours in the capabilities of the Canadian shoe manufacturing industry.

Because of the sizeable volume of purchases of American-made shoes in Canada, I am sure that you will feel that we are justified in helping you find new outlets in that country in order to benefit from the vast market open there.

And, of course, Canadian commercial representatives in 39 countries of the world are both qualified and ready to give you all possible help and co-operation. One of their main duties is to make Canadian products known and accepted.

New Markets Sought

It is true that during the past few years, exchange problems have made trading operations very difficult, but let us hope that some way may be found to overcome those problems and gain new markets. Certainly our policy consists in doing everything within our power to increase multilateral trade and overcome currency exchange problems. The Minister of Trade and Commerce, Mr. Howe, made that clear at the recent conference in Geneva on tariffs and trade agreements.

In the furtherance of that policy at this very moment, the Minister of Fisheries, Mr. Sinclair is on an extensive world tour not the least of the objects of which is to find larger markets for our fish products.

And recently, I was pleased to announce that our Finance Minister, Mr. Abbott, would be attending a conference of Commonwealth finance ministers in Sydney, Australia, next January where I have no doubt the means of solving finance and trade problems within the Commonwealth will be high on the agenda.

While my forthcoming visit to New Zealand, Australia, India, Pakistan and other nations of the Far East is not primarily a trade mission, I do hope that my conversations with leaders of those countries will better acquaint me with their problems in that field. And I hope that the knowledge I acquire can be put to good use in the interests of freer trade.

Of course, I need scarcely add that these efforts of my colleagues and of government officials which I have mentioned, are not expended solely for the benefit of the shoe and leather industry or for that matter for industry in general, but for the promotion of the well-being of all Canadians of all occupations.

There are few people in Canada today, even in industry where the die-hard high protectionist is becoming a rarity, who do not recognize that the less numerous the tariff restrictions and the greater the exchange of goods between nations the greater the prosperity for Canadians.

Benefits of Free Trade

Because we are the greatest trading nation in the world per capita we are perhaps more aware than most peoples of the benefits that freer trade can bring. And I do not think it is boastful to say that in working for a greater and freer exchange of goods between peoples we are not working solely in our own selfish interests but in the interests of all mankind. We know that a high level of trade means a higher level of employment and a high level of living. And we feel that in encouraging greater and freer international trade we are working for a better standard of living for all. This surely is a most effective antidote to the spread of Communism whose poison is ineffectual against an economy of prosperity in which all can realize that they have both a stake and a share. Surely that is the sanest way to restore stability to this unhappy world.

But we cannot expect nations who have suffered the devastations of war to give the lead. Leadership must be given by those nations who have escaped war damage to themselves and who have maintained a prosperous economy. Canada is one such nation and I am confident that the Canadian people are accepting their responsibility. But it is a responsibility which cannot be shouldered by 15,000,000 people alone. It must be shared by the people and the governments of other nations who are as well-off as ourselves.

President Eisenhower stressed that responsibility the other day when he was speaking to the Commission on Foreign Economic Policy, which had met in the White House to lay plans for the study of trade and tariff problems.

The President told the group: "The economic health of our own country and that of other friendly nations depends in good measure on the success of your work. Your task is to find acceptable ways and means of widening and deepening the channels of economic intercourse between ourselves and our partners of the free world."

"It is essential", the President added, "that we develop new markets for our great productive power and at the same time assist other nations to earn their own living in the world."

I know that the people of Canada and the free world appreciate those words of our good friend and his efforts to bring about freer trade.

Much generosity, in fact generosity unprecedented in international history, has been shown since the war to relieve the sufferings of homeless people and to help rebuild homes and factories which had been destroyed. I wonder, however, if that generosity may not be wasted if those nations are not permitted to help themselves by offering for sale in the markets of the world the products of their rehabilitated skills and their restored factories. "Trade, not aid", is their cry, and it is a cry that cannot be ignored if we are sincere and wise in our efforts to see that our friends and allies do not go under.

Now, from the point of view of the shoe and leather industry and all industry, the promotion of trade is only one aspect of the relationship between government and industry. You pay taxes and they of course are imposed by governments at all levels. You are subject to certain regulations covering the working conditions of your employees and these are government regulations. You are not permitted even if you wanted to do so, to combine and impose monopolistic prices on your customers, and that, too, is the result of action of government.

These are but a few examples of where government does influence your business. But I think it is fair to say that in all such instances, government has the right and the duty, even in a system of free enterprise, to act in the interests of the community at large.

A healthy economy must have some signposts such as those I have mentioned to mark the differences between anarchy and civilized society. And there may even be time of great emergency when roadblocks may have to be erected to prevent any sector of the economy from speeding into disaster.

Controls Imposed

During the last war, the government felt it necessary to place many controls and restrictions on business and industry. I was a member of that government and I don't apologize for what was done in an effort to equalize the sacrifices our people as a whole had accepted as their duty.

But when the war was over steps were taken to reduce those controls, not all at once for that would have been disastrous, but gradually and as smoothly as possible in order to facilitate the adjustment of our industry, which had so greatly expanded during the war, to a peacetime economy.

We were anxious to remove those controls because we believed that industry and business can give a better service to the community when government intervention is kept to a minimum.

In this respect I am in agreement with the policy declaration formulated by the Canadian Chamber of Commerce meeting at Edmonton recently. What the Chamber said about business applies equally as well to industry. The declaration read in part:

"The attitude of business and government towards one another are of vital importance. The Chamber believes that government con-

controls and intervention in business should be kept at a minimum, and should only occur where there is a clear need to protect some accurately defined public interest."

It was gratifying to learn of the Chamber's approval of the relationship between business and government expressed in the same declaration and I hope that the Chamber and industry will be able to repeat these same words in future years: "The Chamber believes that the existing relationship between business and government in Canada is something that is unique in the world, and valuable and worth keeping. To this end, the Chamber urges that business should refrain from looking to government for the solution of its problems and difficulties, and that government should refrain from imposing on business both the concrete burdens of restrictive taxes and the intangible burdens of a managed economy. Both Canadian business and Canadian government have adopted and accepted a system of private competitive enterprise, and the support of that system is a basic and sufficient principle for the guidance of both members of this unique Canadian partnership".

Because Canadian business and industry are serving the Canadian public so well, I am confident the Canadian people will never elect a government which would attempt a managed economy.

Taxes, not only on business and industry but also on personal incomes had to be high to pay for the high financial impositions of war. And because high taxation was restrictive on enterprise, both individual and corporate, they were reduced after the war as rapidly as possible.

They remain higher than they were in 1939 but that is because we have greatly expanded social security measures which I think are acceptable to most Canadians, and because

we have had to assume a higher burden of defence costs than before the Second World War. Our military alliance under the North Atlantic Treaty has called for a very costly build up of armed forces and equipment, but already we appear to be receiving dividends in the apparent lessening of the menace of communist expansion both in Europe and in Asia.

Despite these costly obligations, Canada has succeeded in expanding her industrial power and in maintaining an economic stability which is admired by many nations of the world.

And I hope that you will agree that the industrial expansion, which is benefitting all classes of society would not have been so great nor so rapid without the friendly relations which prevail between the government and industry.

Like all Canadian businessmen and public men, you probably wonder what will be the economic and business conditions for your industry during the next few years.

Not being a prophet nor an economist, I will venture to say only that I feel optimistic and have every reason to believe that you too can feel hopeful.

I am hopeful that the changes in the meteorological and the economic climate in the next few years will not be so drastic as to make footwear either unnecessary or unattainable. Certainly, if our population continues to increase at its present rate there will be many more customers who, like the baby of the ballad, will need new shoes.

And I will not be making too rash a promise, I think, if I assure you that the government will treat your industry much better than Emperor Maximianus treated St. Crispin, your patron saint.

CANADA CO-OPERATING IN TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE PROGRAMMES

(Continued from page 328)

In September 1953, about 123 technical assistance trainees were in Canada. These came from 25 countries including: India (71), Pakistan (20), Ceylon (4), Burma (1), Thailand (1), Indonesia (1), Cambodia (1), Nepal (1), Japan (1), Australia (1), Egypt (1), Lebanon (1), Iraq (1), Jordan (1), Israel (1), Nigeria (1), French Togoland (1), Brazil (1), Bolivia (1), Venezuela (1), Mexico (1), British Guiana (1), Virgin Islands (1), Haiti (5), and Finland (1). Thirty-four of these

trainees came to Canada under the Colombo Plan Technical Co-operation Programme.

At present, about 25 Canadian experts are serving abroad in Ceylon, Malaya and Pakistan under the Colombo Plan. About 75 others are with various United Nations agencies.

The Technical Co-operation Service of the Department of Trade and Commerce co-ordinates Canadian participation in the technical assistance field.

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A SELECTED LIST

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UNESCO

The Catholic Church and the race question by Reverend Father Yves M.-J. Congar, O.P. (The Race Question and Modern Thought). Paris 1953. Pp. 62. 40 cents.

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*Printed documents may be procured from the Canadian sales agents for United Nations publications, The Ryerson Press, 299 Queen Street West, Toronto, and Periodica Inc., 4234 de la Roche, Montreal, or from their sub-agents: Book Room Limited, Chronicle Building, Halifax; McGill University Book Store, Montreal; University of Toronto Press and Book Store, Toronto; Winnipeg Book Store, 493 Portage Avenue, Winnipeg; University of British Columbia Book Store, Vancouver; University of Montreal Book Store, Montreal; and Les Presses Universitaires, Laval, Quebec. Certain mimeographed document series are available by annual subscription. Further information can be obtained from Sales and Circulation Section, United Nations, New York. UNESCO publications can be obtained from their sales agents: University of Toronto Press, Toronto and Periodica Inc., 4234 de la Roche, Montreal. All publications and documents may be consulted at certain designated libraries listed in "External Affairs", January 1953, page 36.

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Department of External Affairs
Ottawa, Canada

Visit of President Eisenhower to Ottawa

CANADA'S capital extended a warm welcome on November 13 and 14 to the President of the United States and Mrs. Eisenhower.

Travelling from Washington by train the visitors were welcomed at the border by the Secretary of State for External Affairs, Mr. Pearson, and Mrs. Pearson, and the United States Ambassador to Canada, Mr. Stuart, and Mrs. Stuart. The Governor General and the Prime Minister greeted the Presidential party on arrival in Ottawa. The Canadian Ambassador to the United States, Mr. Heeneey, and Mrs. Heeneey; the Delegate of the United States to the United Nations, Mr. Lodge, and Mrs. Lodge, and the assistant to the President, Mr. Sherman Adams, were included in the party. Approximately 40 United States press, newsreel, radio and television representatives from Washington were aboard the Presidential train.

Highlights of Visit

Highlights of the visit included the laying of a wreath by the President at the National War Memorial; a dinner and reception at Rideau Hall, residence of the Governor General; an address by the President to members of the Senate and the House of Commons in the Parliament Buildings;* a meeting by the President with members of the Cabinet, and a dinner and reception given by the President and Mrs. Eisenhower at the United States Embassy. This was the first occasion on which proceedings in the Commons Chamber were televised and broadcast.

Three observations contained in the President's address to the Canadian Parliament were outstanding. They were:

"The free world must come to recognize that trade barriers, although intended to protect a country's economy, often in fact shackle its prosperity. In the United States there is a growing recognition that free nations

cannot expand their productivity and economic strength without a high level of international trade. . . ."

"Joint development and use of the St. Lawrence-Great Lakes waterway is inevitable, is sure and certain. With you, I consider this measure a vital addition to our economic and national security. Of course, no proposal yet made is entirely free from faults of some sort. But every one of them can be corrected, given patience and co-operation. . . ."

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

Joint Communiqué

Following is the text of a joint communiqué issued on the conclusion of President Eisenhower's visit:

"During the course of President Eisenhower's state visit to Canada, the Prime Minister of Canada and members of the Canadian Cabinet had an opportunity of having informal discussions with him on matters of mutual interest to the United States and Canada. The President and the Prime Minister last reviewed some of these questions when the Prime Minister visited Washington last May.

"Views were exchanged on recent developments in the world situation and on measures which might bring about a relaxation of current international tensions. It was agreed that all efforts for peace and improved world conditions being made by the United Nations or elsewhere should be supported and the necessity of maintaining the strength, unity and determination of the free world to resist aggression was fully recognized.

"The President and the Prime Minister agreed on the importance to the

* Texts of the address by the President and an address of welcome by the Prime Minister are published on page 356.



—Capital Press

PRESIDENT EISENHOWER VISITS OTTAWA

The President of the United States, Mr. Eisenhower, right, waving goodbye as he leaves Ottawa after a two-day visit. On his right is the Prime Minister, Mr. St. Laurent.

free world of healthy national economies and of the expansion of world trade on a multilateral basis. Satisfaction was expressed at the recent establishment of a joint United States-Canadian Committee on Trade and Economic Affairs. The importance of the St. Lawrence Seaway and Power Project was emphasized, and there was full

agreement on the urgency of initiating the first phase — construction of the power project in accordance with arrangements which already have been made between the two governments.

“In discussing the means of strengthening the security of the free world, the importance of collective arrangements under the North Atlantic Treaty

Organization was emphasized, including the special responsibility of the United States and Canada for building up the defences of this continent. There was complete agreement on the vital importance of effective methods for joint defence, especially in the light of evidence of increasing technical capability of direct attack on both countries by weapons of great destructive power.

"Co-operation on joint defence matters had its origin in the Ogdensburg Agreement of 1940 which established the Permanent Joint Board on Defence. In 1947 the two countries issued a joint statement which set forth the

principles and methods by which co-operation would be continued and strengthened. The full respect of each country for the sovereignty of the other is inherent in these principles. These principles are equally valid today when Canada and the United States, recognizing that the defence of North America must be considered as a whole, are undertaking further efforts for their joint security. The arrangements for collaboration which have proved satisfactory over the years provide a firm basis on which to carry forward the close relationship between Canada and the United States in matters of common defence."

Joint United States-Canadian Committee on Trade and Economic Affairs

The Department of External Affairs announced on November 12 that the Governments of the United States and Canada had concluded an agreement establishing a Joint United States-Canadian Committee on Trade and Economic Affairs. The agreement was effected by an Exchange of Notes between the Canadian Ambassador in Washington and the United States Secretary of State on November 12. The Canadian members of the Committee will consist of the Secretary of State for External Affairs and the Ministers of Finance, Trade and Commerce and Agriculture or Fisheries. The United States members will be the Secretaries of State, the Treasury, Agriculture and Commerce.

The suggestion that a joint committee of this type might be established was

originally made during the visit of the Prime Minister to Washington last May. Both governments have recognized that the free world is vitally interested in promoting a healthy flow of international trade. The activities of the Joint Committee will constitute one aspect of the efforts of both countries in promoting satisfactory trade relations on a multi-lateral basis throughout the free world.

The Joint Committee which will meet at least once a year alternately in Washington and Ottawa will consider broad questions affecting the harmonious economic relations of the two countries. After receiving reports of the Joint Committee's work each government will have an opportunity to consider measures to improve economic relations and to encourage the flow of trade.

The Philippines

THE elections which were held in the Philippines on November 10, 1953, resulted in an overwhelming victory for the Nacionalista-Democratic coalition led by president-elect Ramon Magsaysay. They mark the end of a seven-year period of government by a Liberal administration which had been in office since the inauguration of the independent Philippine Republic on July 4, 1946.

The majority of the five million registered voters responsible for the victory of the new president also elected all but a few of the coalition's candidates for the House of Representatives. The way to the Nacionalista victory was paved by the sudden formation of a coalition against the ruling Liberal Party of President Quirino. On March 1, 1953, Mr. Magsaysay announced his resignation from the post of Secretary of National Defence in the Liberal Cabinet over a disagreement on the method of dealing with the Communist-led "Huk" movement. This provided the Nacionalista party with the opportunity of supporting an incorruptible candidate whom they would have found difficult to defeat. Carlos P. Romulo, Philippine Ambassador to the United States, was recalled to Manila to strengthen the Liberal ranks. He was not pleased with the situation which he found on arrival and, after breaking with President Quirino at the Nomination Convention, he announced on May 27 the formation of the Demo-

cratic party. Not quite three months later he announced his decision to withdraw from the three-man presidential contest and pledged his party's support to Mr. Magsaysay. The campaign and subsequent election were noteworthy for the peaceful manner in which they were conducted in a country which has often been referred to as the "show-window of Democracy in the Far East".

For the Islands' citizens it was a symbolic act in the realization of their long-sought-after goal of independence and self-government. In a part of the world where the force of nationalism has found such powerful expression since the Second World War, the Philippines can claim an active nationalist movement which played an important role in obtaining the sur-

render of Spanish control of the islands to the United States. Subsequently, nationalists continued to press for complete independence as a natural development of "Commonwealth" status in association with the United States. The names of the Filipino patriots, Rizal, Bonifacio and Aguinaldo, have an honoured place along with Bataan and Corregedor in the history of Philippine resistance. The comparatively short time which has elapsed in the successful struggle for independence is witnessed by the fact that Emilio Aguinaldo, the nationalist leader who aided Admiral Dewey in the capture of Manila during the Spanish-American War, is still



President Ramon Magsaysay

alive. In 1898, he returned from exile in Hong Kong to head the first provisional government and, with the help of Felipe Calleron, drew up a Constitution, which was promulgated in January 1899. With such a record of nationalist activity, the Republic can be justly proud of its present position as a sovereign nation with a democratic responsible government.

The Land and People

Lying between the Tropic of Cancer and the Equator, the Philippine archipelago consists of some 7,000 compactly grouped islands. Only some 500 of these have an area of 1 square mile or over and of these the eleven principal islands contain 94 per cent of the total population. The two largest, Luzon and Mindinao, account for over two-thirds of the country's total area of 115,000 square miles.

Its strategic location some 700 miles off the coasts of China, Indochina and Indonesia adds greatly to its interest today. Farther away, Tokyo and Darwin are some 2,000 miles to the northeast and southeast of Manila, and Guam and Singapore lie approximately 1,500 miles to the east and southwest respectively. Closer at hand to the north, Formosa is only 230 miles from the northern tip of Luzon. Covering an area about half the size of the Province of Manitoba, the Philippines has a population recently estimated at over 20 million. The population has more than doubled since the end of the First World War. Fortunately, however, with the development of the natural resources, with which the Philippines are richly endowed, and with the improvement and expansion of cultivation, the country will be able to adequately support an even greater number.

Physical Characteristics

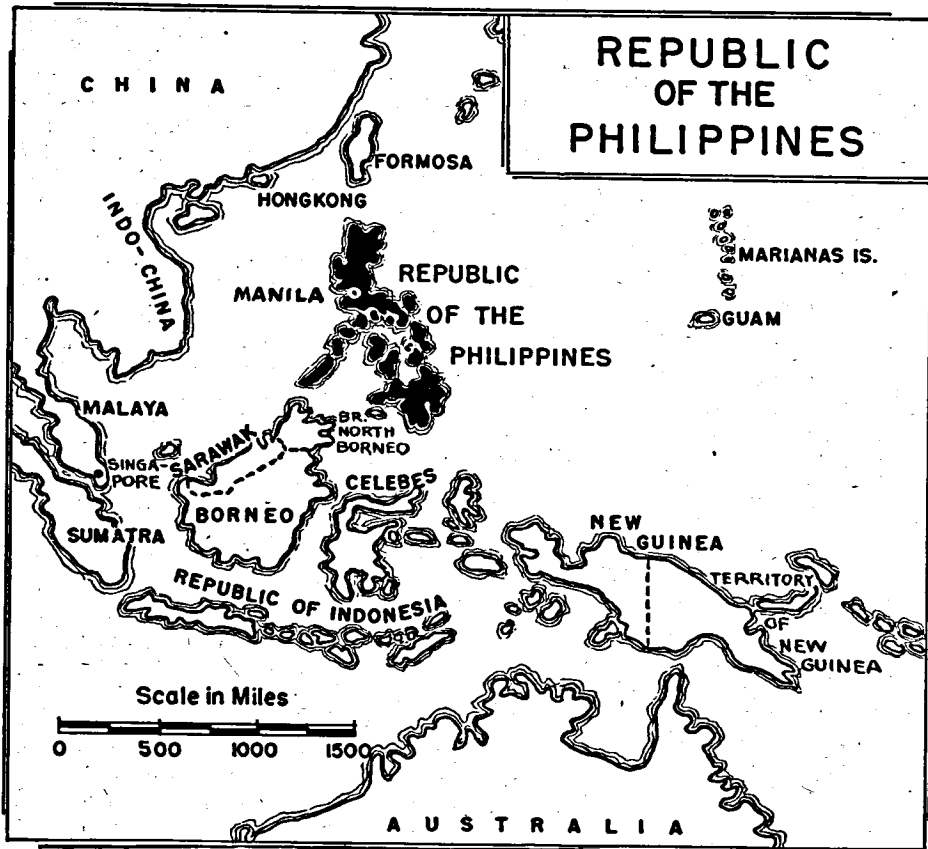
The salient physical characteristics of the archipelago are: the rugged and irregular features of the islands, providing a coastline twice as long as that of continental United States; the mountainous character of the country, with ranges generally following the coast; the fertility of the soil and the absence of any number of great rivers. The heavily forested mountain ranges which alternate with valleys or plains contain a number of

active and dormant volcanoes. In many places the mountains fall off sharply into the sea and great depths are found bordering the archipelago. The greatest known ocean depth in the world, known as the 'Philippine Deep', is located only 45 miles to the east of northern Mindanao. In spite of the fact that the Philippine Islands lie entirely within the tropic zone the climate is only mildly tropical. The average temperature at Manila is 80°F. rarely exceeding a rise or fall of 20° from that average. With this restricted range there are only two pronounced seasons—the wet and the dry. The former, which lasts from June to November, is known for its heavy rains and sometimes destructive floods. In some regions, a rainfall of 250 inches annually has been recorded. The most agreeable period in the Philippines is from December to March while April and May are the hottest months. In the higher mountain altitudes, the air is cool and bracing and, even in the hot season, sunstroke is unknown. Generally speaking, the island climate is more healthy and comfortable than most inhabited tropical areas.

When Magellan discovered the islands he called the land "Saint Lazarus". They were subsequently renamed, however, and they bear their present name in honour of Prince Philip of Asturias who later became King Philip II of Spain.

A Homogeneous People

The Filipino people, who are of Malay origin with widely diffused Chinese and Spanish characteristics, undoubtedly owe their homogeneity in part to their insular position. Religion is obviously another important unifying force since nine-tenths of the population is Christian. Seventy-nine per cent of the inhabitants are members of the Roman Catholic Church while a further ten per cent belong to the Philippine Independent or Aglipayan Church founded in 1902 by Bishop Aglipay. This body whose primary aim is to be a National Church, closely resembles the Roman Catholic Church in ritual. It permits its ministers to marry, however, and holds modern science to be superior to Biblical tradition. In the south there is also a Moslem minority numbering some three-quarters of a million. Over a hundred Can-



adian missionaries of the Roman Catholic Church are engaged in missionary work in the Philippines.

Because of the influence of American trusteeship, particularly in the field of education, the Philippines holds a unique position in the Far East. It is the largest English-speaking nation in the region, of non Anglo-Saxon origin. It is estimated that English is spoken by over seven million Filipinos, giving it a slightly greater currency than the most widely spoken native dialect. As early as 1940, President Quezon approved a law which became effective on Independence Day, (July 4, 1946), making *tagalog* the official national language of the Republic. English, however, is still used as the medium of instruction in all schools but *tagalog* is also taught and Spanish is obligatory in the high schools. Instruction in public schools is free and co-educational on the American pattern. The state-supported University of the Philippines was established in 1909,

and the Dominican University of Santo Tomas dates back to the early Seventeenth Century (1611).

Economic Situation

In a predominantly agricultural economy, the principal heritage of Spanish rule is possibly the landholding system. The pattern of large holdings and a high proportion of rural tenancy is considered as one of the principal challenges facing the nation today. The increase of productive efficiency with an attendant rise in incomes, which must govern the standard of living, depends largely on a satisfactory solution of the land problem. The main pre-war export crops were sugar, copra, abaca (fibre) and tobacco. At that time the first three of these represented 70 per cent of total exports. Metals such as gold, manganese and chrome were also important items.

The export of such products as minerals,

raw materials and food stuffs is typical of the specialized economy of a dependent country, catering to a large single market. Like Canada, the Philippines has made considerable efforts to diversify her economy so as to reduce the degree of dependence on a few principal exports at the mercy of world market prices. As in Canada too, there is a large demand for investment capital to advance industrialization and the development of natural resources.

It was recognized that the achievement of sovereignty, although a necessary prerequisite to political and economic development, must not be considered a panacea for all existing difficulties. Political independence required a sound economic foundation to ensure stability. With this in view, the President of the Philippines requested the appointment of a United States Economic Survey Mission to consider economic and financial problems and to recommend measures necessary to resolve them. The summary of this investigation, referred to as the Bell Report, was presented on October 9, 1950. It outlined the outstanding economic problems and stressed the urgent need for positive remedial measures to place the economy of the country on a sound and equitable foundation.

Findings of Economic Survey

The principal headings under which the survey presented its findings were: agricultural policy, industrial development, taxation and public administration. The fundamental problem was considered to be the need to increase productive efficiency and thereby incomes, and to increase also the diversity of industrial production. Basic programmes in the field of agriculture, upon which more than three-quarters of the population are dependent, also envisaged the opening up of new land for cultivation, a revision of the land registration system and the organization of agricultural banks to advance necessary credit to farmers. The high percentage of crop revenues demanded from the tenant by the land-owner has often resulted in the over-burdening of the farmer with heavy accumulating debts. The existence of such debts and the desire of the Filipino peasant for his own land has provided fertile soil for Communist organizers.

The "Huk" Movement

The Communist-led Hukbalahap (Huk) movement centred in the overcrowded "rice bowl" of central Luzon draws its support from the disaffected peasants. The origin of this armed movement was the organization of the "People's Anti-Japanese Army" during the Second World War. This force, which was later renamed "The People's Liberation Army", challenged government control in many areas. Even drastic military action proved to be ineffective in suppressing all guerrilla activities. Louis Taruc and Dr. Jesus Lava are the movement's two most prominent leaders. It was as Secretary of National Defence that Magsaysay, in his insistence that the Huk situation should be an economic and social problem and not simply a military and security problem, won widespread favour and national recognition. An important feature of this programme involved the opening up of new land for agriculture in Mindanao for the resettlement of both army veterans and surrendered Huks. In June 1952, it was announced that about 9,000 had given themselves up during the past two years and credit was given to the Army programme of providing those who surrendered with 30 acre plots of land.

Tydings-McDuffie Act-1934

It was the Tydings-McDuffie Act of 1934, known as the Philippine Independence Act, which marked the inauguration of the "Commonwealth". It defined economic relations between the United States and the Philippines during this period and provided for a Constitutional Convention which would draft a basic law for the future Republic. Of equal importance, though less spectacular than the political provisions, were the economic arrangements set out in the Act. Free trade was to continue during the first five years, but a quantitative limit was set on the amount of goods enjoying such treatment. Exports of sugar, coconut-oil and cordage in excess of the set quota were to be subject to full parity rates. All United States exports on the other hand were to enter duty free. For the following period products were to be subject to an export tax increasing by 5 per cent each year until complete independence was achieved in July 4, 1946

when full United States tariffs were to be paid.

Philippine Trade Act-1946

After liberation, the Philippines, which had suffered greatly from the devastation of war, faced problems of relief, rehabilitation and reconstruction. Generous American aid was forthcoming but it was linked with the controversial Philippine Trade Act. The most disputed provision was probably the 'Parity or Equal Rights Clause', stating that Americans were to have equal rights with Filipinos in business and in the use of natural resources. While desirous of encouraging capital and industry to their country, representatives, concerned with national sovereignty, felt strongly that basic development and the control of natural resources should remain in the hands of Filipino nationals. It was feared that one of the results of the Act might be to restrict the diversification of Philippine production to conform to United States markets.

This Act provided for reciprocal free trade until July 3, 1954, with subsequent 5 per cent annual increments in duty until January 1953 when full duties on all exports were to be paid. For seven categories of important Philippine exports, (sugar, cordage, rice, cigars, tobacco, coconut-oil and buttons of pearl and shell) entering the United States, however, these preferential arrangements were limited by quotas. An escape clause was also inserted for protection against any article likely to come into substantial competition with a similar American product. It was this Act which also provided for the maintenance of the exchange rate of two pesos to one United States dollar and guaranteed convertibility.

After lengthy debate, the Trade Act was accepted, since there was a strong desire to obtain the maximum amount of immediate benefits through rehabilitation grants and an unwillingness to further delay the date of Philippine independence.

Political Development

In the political sphere the Constitutional Convention set up under the terms of the Tydings-McDuffie Act drafted a basic law which bore a certain resem-

blance to the United States Constitution. It provided, however, for a unicameral rather than a two-chamber legislature and both the President and Vice-President were to serve a 6 year term of office. It was approved by President Roosevelt and ratified by the Philippine electorate in 1935. It was amended five years later to provide for both an upper and lower house and the term of the Chief Executive was reduced to four years. A centralized form of government was adopted to suit the needs of the country in contrast to the federal structure in the United States. Congress was to consist of a Senate composed of 24 members elected at large for a four year term with one-third replaced every two years. The House of Representatives was to contain not more than 120 members elected by districts every four years. At the time of the adoption of the Constitution, suffrage was restricted to literate male citizens of the Philippines who were 21 years of age or over. In a later plebiscite on female suffrage the women enfranchised themselves by an overwhelming majority. Voting is limited to men and women who can read and write.

The political scene was dominated from the time of the first Philippine Assembly in 1907 until the party division in January 1946, by the Nacionalista Party. So strong was their influence under President Quezon that in the 1938 elections the Nacionalistas won in every one of the ninety-eight Assembly constituencies. Again in 1941 President Quezon was re-elected with Osmena as Vice-President and ninety-five out of ninety-eight seats in the lower house and all twenty-four places in the Senate went to the Nacionalistas. The total number of registered voters in 1941 was only 1,700,000. The emphasis on Philippine independence had been responsible for a large part of Nacionalista strength. By 1946, with political independence a reality, increasing concern began to be paid to the economic foundations of the Republic.

The following year, imports which had grown to three and one-half times the pre-war peak value, were twice the size of exports, and eighty-five per cent of them came from the United States. Coconut products and abaca alone accounted for

over ninety per cent of the value of all exports. The unfavourable balance of trade and dependence on a few products was most striking.

Inauguration as a Republic

After the party division of January 1946, President Osmena, who had succeeded to the presidency upon the death in the United States, of Manuel Quezon in August 1944, ran for re-election under the original Nacionalista banner while the newly-formed Liberal party nominated Manuel Roxas for President and Elpidio Quirino as Vice-Presidential candidate. Roxas, who had remained in the Philippines during the occupation, was elected on April 23, 1946 by a margin of some 200,000 votes. The Liberals won a two to one majority in the Lower House and 13 of the 24 places in the Senate. It was the new Roxas Government which was in power on July 4, 1946 when the new Philippine Republic was inaugurated.

The sudden death of Roxas on April 15, 1948 placed Elpidio Quirino in the President's office. In the turbulent election campaign of 1949 the Nacionalista party backed Jose P. Laurel who had acted as President of the Philippines during the Japanese occupation. In a three-cornered election, in which all candidates approved continuing close association with the United States and expressed opposition to Communism, President Quirino won by a narrow margin over Jose Laurel. Opposition protests concerning the legality of the elections in which considerable violence occurred, combined with an armed 'Huk' rebellion, were a serious challenge to the government which, in addition, found itself faced with an economic crisis. An encouraging feature was the frank discussion of all these affairs in the press. The 1953 election, although a complete reversal for the government in power, was notable for the absence of irregularities and disturbances. Ramon Magsaysay's decisive victory may be said in part to have been due to the popularity of his resistance record, his energetic but farsighted humanitarian handling of the disaffected Hukbalahap peasants, and his performance in ensuring free elections in 1951,

even though results were detrimental to his own party.

International Relations

Canadian relations with the Philippines have been of a cordial nature following the establishment of the Independent Republic on July 4, 1946. A Canadian Consulate General was opened in Manila in January 1950 when Mr. Frederick Palmer was appointed Canadian Trade Commissioner, concerned with the promotion of Canadian trade and Canadian Consul General with the responsibility for Canadian residents in the Philippines. In 1950, Canadian exports to the Philippines including such articles as wheat, copper, asbestos and fish, amounted to nearly 11 million dollars. By 1952 the value of Canadian exports had risen to \$16,045,000.

On the international scene, the Philippines position has been characterized by the Republic's continued support of the United Nations. Like Canada, she regards the United Nations, of which she was a founding member, as the cornerstone of her foreign policy. The Philippine Ambassador to the United States, General Romulo, served a distinguished term as President of the fourth General Assembly. The Philippines is a member of all the Specialized Agencies of the United Nations, of the Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East (ECAFE) and has just completed a term on the Economic and Social Council.

Responding to the call of the Security Council in June 1950 for collective action in repulsing Communist aggression in Korea, the Philippines was one of the sixteen nations which contributed an armed contingent to serve with the forces of the United Nations. In line with the concept of collective security, which they have demonstrated by participation in the Korean conflict, they assert that a more positive global approach to the problem of Communist aggression is needed. Philippine leaders, with their successful record against communism at home and their long tradition of nationalism, may be considered well qualified to represent the aspirations of the independent nations of Asia.

Canada and the United Nations

General Assembly

During the past month, most of the work done by the eighth session has been in committee. Occasional plenary meetings have been held to approve or reject resolutions sent forward by the committees. Accounts of the debates on items discussed in committee follow.

Trieste in the Security Council

After the United Kingdom and United States Governments announced on October 8 that they planned to withdraw from Zone A of Trieste and hand its administration over to Italy, the Soviet Union requested the President of the Security Council to call a meeting to discuss "the question of the appointment of a Governor for the Free Territory of Trieste". The Soviet Delegation introduced a resolution to that effect on October 15.

On October 20, the Security Council adopted a Latin American proposal to adjourn consideration of the Trieste question for two weeks in order to allow time for the efforts being made by the United Kingdom, United States and France to bring about a Five-Power Conference on Trieste. On November 2, the adjournment was extended for a further period of three weeks, until November 23, because discussions were still in progress by the parties concerned about the basis for convening a Five-Power Conference.

Tunisia and Morocco

With the failure of the two resolutions sent forward by the First Committee on the Moroccan and Tunisian questions to gain the required two-thirds majority in plenary session, the protracted debate on the problems of Tunisia and Morocco came to an end. The dilemma which lay at the heart of the debate was one which the United Nations has had to face in a number of situations; that is, the apparent conflict between those provisions of the Charter which provide for the protection of human rights, for the prevention of racial discrimination, and for the

development of self-government in dependent territories, and the provision which precludes intervention in the domestic affairs of states.

In the debate on Tunisia and Morocco, the Arab-Asian states based their case on the human rights provision of the Charter, while France and certain other states denied that the United Nations was competent to concern itself in what they held to be a purely domestic matter. The Canadian Delegation again maintained the view that a distinction should be made between "competence to discuss" a given problem and "competence to intervene" in the domestic affairs of a member state. The Delegation stated that, in the absence of a decision by the International Court of Justice, it would use its best judgment in determining whether any resolution on Tunisia and Morocco constituted an intervention prohibited by Article 2(7) of the Charter.

The Canadian Delegation's general position on the Tunisian and Moroccan resolutions was one of abstention. It was considered that the resolutions might generate ill-will, and would not fulfil the requirement of recognizing the necessity of maintaining a proper balance between the commitments of France and the claims of the local populations for a greater measure of self-government, and that they therefore should not receive our support. On the other hand, they were not cast in terms so objectionable as to oblige Canada to vote against them.

In the Canadian view, tension in North Africa can best be eased by direct negotiation, and it was thought that if the United Nations could not bring the parties to the dispute together, it should at least do nothing to aggravate the situation by passing resolutions which would



—United Nations

CANADIAN REPRESENTATIVES TO THE 8th GENERAL ASSEMBLY

Four of the five Canadian representatives to the current United Nations General Assembly are, left to right, Dr. G. F. Davidson, Deputy Minister of Welfare; Mr. L. B. Pearson, Chairman of the Delegation; Mr. Alcide Cote, Postmaster General; and Mr. David M. Johnson, Canadian Permanent Representative to the United Nations.

cause ill-will. With the rejection of this year's resolutions by the full Assembly, the stand of the United Nations with respect to Tunisia and Morocco remains as it was at the close of the seventh session.

Chinese Nationalist Troops in Burma*

On April 23, 1953, the seventh session of the General Assembly unanimously condemned the presence of "foreign forces in Burma", declared that these forces must be disarmed and either agree to internment or evacuation, and requested Burma to report on the situation to the eighth session of the Assembly. As a result of the Assembly's deliberations, on May 25, 1953, representatives of the United States, Thailand, Burma and Nationalist China met in Bangkok to discuss the withdrawal from Burma of the Chi-

nese Nationalist troops under General Li Mi's command. On June 22, 1953, the United States Ambassador to Thailand announced that agreement had been reached on procedures for the evacuation of the Chinese Nationalist troops. However, the "jungle generals" indicated no willingness to implement this agreement. On September 17, these four-power talks broke down, after the Burmese presented the Chinese delegate with a final "ultimatum". Finally, on October 29, the Joint Military Committee in Bangkok issued a press release to the effect that the Republic of China had given assurance that about 2,000 foreign troops together with their dependents would be evacuated from Burma; that any foreign forces refusing to leave Burma under this plan would be disavowed and that China would not help those remaining with any supplies.

* See "External Affairs", May 1953, p. 163.

In accordance with the April 23rd

resolution, on October 31, 1953, the First Committee began discussion of the fourth item on its agenda, that of the Burmese complaint against the presence on its soil of Chinese Nationalist troops. The discussion began with statements from the representatives of Burma and China. The Burmese delegate, Mr. Justice U Myint Thein, said that Burma regarded the evacuation of 2,000 men as a first settlement and that Chiang Kai-shek and General Li Mi were morally bound to remove the whole 12,000 Kuomintang (KMT) troops. The Burmese delegate did not submit any new resolution but called upon the Assembly to implement "the mild resolution which the seventh Assembly in its wisdom adopted". The Chinese representative, Dr. T. F. Tsiang, said that the figure of 2,000 was not intended to be an upper limit and that Nationalist China would not coerce any one unwilling to go to Formosa.

Canadian and U.K. Statement

On November 2, an effective speech was delivered by the United Kingdom delegate, Mr. Selwyn Lloyd, who pointed out that even the stopping of supplies to the KMT forces would not solve the problem as the Nationalist troops have ample funds through the illegal traffic in opium and wolfram. In a statement made on November 4, Mr. Alcide Côté, the Deputy Chairman of the Canadian Delegation, recalled that his Government had last spring expressed its opinion that the Burmese Government was in an "intolerable position" and had shown admirable restraint in waiting so long to bring the matter before the United Nations. He expressed gratification at the proposed evacuation of 2,000 men, but agreed that this did not constitute a complete solution of the problem and that China had "a moral duty at least to disarm the remaining forces". Mr. Côté suggested that the Committee might affirm that the resolution still stood, and expressed the hope that Burma would be able to report "at an early date" that the resolution had been "satisfactorily implemented".

After the Canadian statement, the United States delegate, Mr. Archibald J. Carey, announced on November 4 that the evacuation of the Chinese troops

from Burma was about to get under way. The troops were to be flown to Formosa in non-stop flights from Thailand, and Burmese observers had already left for the airport from which these flights were to commence. Debate on this Burmese item was concluded for the time being on the forenoon of November 5, after statements by India, Burma and China. The Canadian Delegation then formally moved the resolution for an adjournment of any further consideration of this question to a date not earlier than November 23. This postponement would allow time for the United States to implement the resolution of last April by carrying out their present evacuation plans. By a vote of 50 in favour, 3 against (China, Lebanon, Syria), with 6 abstentions (Egypt, Iraq, Saudi Arabia, Turkey, United States, Yemen), the First Committee adopted this joint draft resolution which was co-sponsored by Australia, Brazil, Canada, India, Mexico, New Zealand and the United Kingdom. In explaining his abstention, Mr. James J. Wadsworth (United States) indicated that his Government wanted to remain available for any service it could render to the two countries concerned and did not wish to impair its usefulness to that end. At the time of writing, however, few soldiers have been evacuated.

Bacteriological Warfare

Since May 1951, Soviet bloc countries have vigorously pressed charges that the United Nations forces waged bacteriological warfare in the Korean campaign. Throughout 1952 a virulent propaganda campaign along these lines was maintained. Four efforts were made by the Western powers to initiate impartial investigations, but these efforts were rejected by the governments promoting the charges. At its seventh session the Assembly appointed a five-member Commission to investigate the charges, but the North Korean and Communist Chinese authorities were unwilling to accept the proposed investigation.

At the eighth session, the United States presented texts of sworn statements of United States military personnel repudiating the so-called "confessions" of bacteriological warfare and stating that



—United Nations

SOCIAL, HUMANITARIAN AND CULTURAL COMMITTEE

There are three women on the Third (Social, Humanitarian and Cultural) Committee, Dra. Uldarica Manas (Cuba), left, Madame Lina P. Tsaldaris (Greece), and Mrs. A. L. Caldwell (Canada).

these "confessions" had been extorted under duress. The Soviet Union representative submitted a proposal asking the Assembly to appeal to all states which had not done so to ratify the Geneva Protocol of 1925 on the prohibition of bacteriological warfare. This was obviously aimed at the United States, since that country and Japan are the two major countries which have not ratified this protocol. Mr. Alcide Côté, the Canadian representative in the First Committee, spoke on October 28, 1953. He said it had been hoped that "all the infected fleas, feathers and flies concocted by the imaginations of the Communist psychological warriors would have been allowed to return in peace to the limbo of the tortured brains that bore them". With the return of those whose so-called "confessions" were presented to the Assembly, however, a new side of the picture emerged. It showed the techniques of "brain-washing" followed by those whose purpose is to put the political objectives of an all-powerful state first

and foremost. If there had been any substance to the charges, he added, the Communists would have welcomed an impartial investigation. A resolution was submitted on October 28, 1953, co-sponsored by the United Kingdom, Canada, Colombia, France and New Zealand, under which the draft resolution of the U.S.S.R. would be referred to the Disarmament Commission along with the record of discussions. This resolution was approved in the First Committee by a vote of 47 in favour (including Canada), with none against and 13 abstentions (including the five Communist representatives).

South-West Africa

Debate on the second of three items concerning South Africa passed the committee stage last month with the approval by the Fourth Committee of a resolution on South-West Africa. By the terms of this resolution, which awaits final approval by the General Assembly,

a committee will be set up to continue negotiations with the South African Government with a view to reaching an agreement on a new international instrument defining the status of South-West Africa and the responsibilities of the South African Government with respect to South-West Africa. Canada supported the resolution.

This trust territory was first mandated to the Union of South Africa under the League of Nations in 1920. Since 1950, a committee of the General Assembly has been negotiating with the Government of South Africa with a view to securing an agreement on a new international instrument to replace the old mandate. The basis for this proposed instrument is an advisory opinion of the International Court, which, in the Canadian view, while not legally binding, is nonetheless an authoritative pronouncement of international law which should be accepted.

Pending final agreement on the proposed instrument, the committee established by the Assembly resolution will examine reports and information concerning South-West Africa as well as considering any petitions from the territory that may be referred to it.

Non-Self-Governing Territories

There is no clear definition in the United Nations Charter of what constitutes a "non-self-governing territory" and because of this, a number of difficulties have arisen in the past several years in connection with the obligations which member states administering non-self-governing territories have accepted under Chapter XI of the Charter. These difficulties have come in for attention at the eighth session of the Assembly under the following three agenda items which have been dealt with in the Fourth Committee: Item 32—Information from Non-Self-Governing Territories; Item 33—Report of the Committee on Factors; and Item 34—Cessation of Transmission of Information. In the early days of the United Nations administering states voluntarily put forward lists of territories under their control which they considered came under Chapter XI of the Charter and on which they agreed to transmit information. The stage was

reached some time ago, however, when certain administering states decided to stop transmitting information on the grounds that these territories had ceased to be non-self-governing, at least in regard to the specific fields on which information was to be transmitted (i.e. economic, social and educational conditions). Consideration was given at the eighth session to the decision of the Netherlands to cease transmitting information with respect to the Netherlands Antilles and Surinam, and to the decision of the United States to cease transmitting information on Puerto Rico.

It has always been the Canadian view that it is to be expected that non-self-governing territories will normally advance towards self-government by stages and that, at a given time, they will reach a stage at which administering powers in fact no longer exercise effective practical control over the social, economic and educational matters on which information has been submitted. As Canada indicated during the debate on the question of factors, the obligation of the administering power to submit such information would, at that stage, come to an end. This has been the frame of mind of the Canadian Delegation in examining the documentation submitted by the United States on Puerto Rico and by the Netherlands with regard to the Netherlands Antilles and Surinam. The Canadian Delegation has pointed out that this does not, however, remove the obligation of the administering powers to continue to encourage the progress of a non-self-governing territory towards full self-government in other fields.

Seven Power Resolution

On November 5, 1953, the Fourth Committee adopted, by a vote of 22 in favour to 18 against (including Canada), with 19 abstentions, a seven-power resolution approving the discontinuance of information on Puerto Rico. Canada voted against this resolution largely because of the inclusion of a paragraph recognizing expressly the competence of the Assembly to decide when an administering power should cease transmitting information. In the Canadian view, the administering powers are within

their rights in making the decision as to when they should cease to transmit information about territories under their control. A resolution similar to that on Puerto Rico was passed in the Fourth Committee previously, relating to the decision of the Netherlands to cease transmitting information about the Antilles and Surinam.

Revision of Charter

It is stipulated in Article 109 of the United Nations Charter that a proposal to call a conference to review the Charter will be considered during the course of the tenth session if such a conference has not previously taken place. In view of the possibility that such a conference will be held, a number of member states of the United Nations, including Canada, have felt that some preparatory work is desirable. Several proposals were put forward at the eighth session of the United Nations General Assembly. The Canadian Delegation co-sponsored a resolution, in company with five other delegations, which received the approval of the Sixth (Legal) Committee of the Assembly on November 5, 1953, although it was

reduced somewhat in scope when the final voting took place.

As it stands now, the resolution passed by the Sixth Committee calls upon the Secretary-General of the United Nations to prepare during 1954 or shortly thereafter;

- (a) a systematic compilation of the documents of the United Nations Conference on International Organization not yet published;
- (b) a complete index of the documents of that Conference;
- (c) a repertory of the practice of the United Nations organs, appropriately indexed.

Two paragraphs of the original six-power resolution were eliminated in the final voting in the Sixth Committee, but there is a possibility that these will be restored when the question comes up for final disposition in a plenary session of the Assembly. Under these paragraphs, member states would be invited to submit their preliminary views not later than March 31, 1955, with regard to the possible review of the Charter, and the Secretary-General would be requested to circulate these views to all member states.

St. Lawrence River Joint Board of Engineers

The Department of External Affairs announced on November 12 that the Governments of the United States of America and of Canada have concluded an agreement for the establishment of the St. Lawrence River Joint Board of Engineers.

The purpose of this four-man Board is to review, co-ordinate and approve the detailed plans and specifications of the power works and the programme for their construction in the International Rapids Section of the St. Lawrence River. The Board is also to ensure that the construction of the power project is in accordance with the requirements already approved by both Governments and the International Joint Commission.

The Agreement, which is now in force, is contained in an Exchange of Notes signed at Washington today by General Bedell Smith, Under-Secretary of State, and by the Canadian Ambassador, Mr. A. D. P. Heeney.

In anticipation of this Exchange of Notes, the Canadian Government appointed on November 10 the Minister of Transport, Mr. Lionel Chevrier, and Mr. R. A. C. Henry, Consulting Engineer, to be the representatives of Canada on this Board. On November 4, 1953, President Eisenhower appointed the United States Secretary of the Army and the Chairman of the Federal Power Commission to represent the United States. Members of the Board may be represented by alternates.

External Affairs in Parliament

STATEMENTS OF GOVERNMENT POLICY

The purpose of this section is to provide a selection of statements on external affairs by Ministers of the Crown or by their parliamentary assistants. It is not designed to provide a complete coverage of debates on external affairs taking place during the month.

Speech from the Throne

DELIVERING the Speech from the Throne at the opening of the First Session of the Twenty-Second Parliament on November 12, the Governor General said, in part:

... This is a time when, if peace is maintained, we have every reason to look forward to the continuing development of this prosperous and happy nation.

The coronation of our beloved Queen was an occasion for universal rejoicing. Her devotion to duty, her personal charm and her happy family life have assured Her Majesty of a warm place in the hearts of all her subjects and have strengthened our attachment to the Crown and to the traditions of our constitutional system of government.

Following the legislation enacted during the last Parliament, the changes in the Royal Style and Titles have been proclaimed by Her Majesty.

Much remains to be done before there can be a permanent and durable peace in the world. My Ministers therefore consider it would be unwise for the free nations to slacken our efforts to build up and maintain the necessary strength to deter aggression and they intend to continue to work to that end.

Armistice in Korea

We have every reason for satisfaction that through the use for the first time of collective police action the objective of the United Nations in Korea has been substantially achieved. The aggressors have been driven back, the fighting has ceased and an armistice has been concluded. My Government earnestly hopes that a political conference will ultimately succeed in restoring peace in Korea.

Canada has continued to contribute to those international projects which will promote human welfare and thereby remove some of the causes of unrest and dislocation. You will be asked to approve

further assistance for relief and rehabilitation, for technical assistance and for continued participation in the Colombo Plan.

The alliance of the North Atlantic nations has been effective thus far in preventing aggression in Europe. My Government continues to regard the Treaty as one of the foundation stones of Canada's external policy. The formation of the air division of the Royal Canadian Air Force in Europe is now completed. The Brigade group of the Canadian Army is performing its role effectively in the integrated force. Canadian naval strength is increasing.

Canada's total volume of external trade has reached record levels. But dollar shortages in many countries have persisted and continue to create problems for some of our exporters. Another Commonwealth conference with respect to financial and economic matters is to be held in Australia early in the New Year.

Tariff concessions negotiated at Geneva in 1947, at Annecy in 1949, at Torquay in 1950 and 1951 under the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade have been extended for an additional period.

My Ministers are convinced that nations can best achieve economic strength and security through more liberal trade and overseas investment policies and they are continuing their efforts to bring about the progressive reduction of trade restrictions.

Power Development

... The New York State Power Authority has accepted a licence granted by the Federal Power Commission in the United States for the development of the United



—Capital Press

THE OPENING OF THE 22nd PARLIAMENT

His Excellency the Governor General, the Right Honourable Vincent Massey, leaving Government House on his way to the Parliament Buildings to open the first session of the 22nd Parliament.

States share of power in the International Rapids Section of the St. Lawrence River. It is hoped that litigation in the United States will not have the effect of delaying the construction of the project.

... You will be asked to make provision for all essential services including our national defence and the meeting of our obligations under the United Nations Charter and the North Atlantic Treaty ...

Statement on Gouzenko Interview

On November 25, the Secretary of State for External Affairs, Mr. Pearson, replying to two questions regarding the second request by a sub-committee of the Judicial Committee of the United States Senate for permission to interview Mr. Igor Gouzenko, said:

Naturally the Canadian Government has given careful consideration to the second request, as it did, indeed, to the first one, having regard to the responsibilities that had been assumed and the special arrangements that have been carefully built up over the past several years for the safety of Mr. Gouzenko and leading to the development of a new identity; arrangements which

would obviously not be effective if that new identity became public knowledge.

Mr. Gouzenko, as the House knows, has been given the rights of Canadian citizenship. He is therefore at liberty at any time to discuss any question that he may wish with anyone either in Canada or the United States and either confidentially or otherwise. It is, however, Mr. Gouzenko's own responsibility to determine the effect of any such discussions on the preservation of his new identity, and consequently on his safety. The Royal Canadian Mounted Police have naturally done a great deal to assist Mr. Gouzenko in building up this identity so that the safety of Mr. Gou-

zenko and his wife and family could be assured without the limitations on their physical freedom that constant guarding might involve.

Mr. Gouzenko has certainly earned the right to this special consideration and assistance as well as to our gratitude by his great services to freedom and the risks he has taken on its behalf. While Mr. Gouzenko then is free to determine his own actions without outside influence, the United States request seems to envisage that the Canadian Government itself should make arrangements for an interview or take the responsibility of making Mr. Gouzenko available for questioning by the subcommittee of the United States Senate which I have just mentioned. The Canadian Government, of course, fully appreciate the importance of the closest possible co-operation between the Canadian and United States Governments in exchanging information important to the national security of both countries. It has therefore long been our practice, and remains our practice, that security information should be exchanged on a confidential basis, which should be respected on both sides, between the competent authorities responsible for the internal security of our two neighbouring countries.

In accordance with this principle all information which Mr. Gouzenko has at any time presented to the Canadian Government has been placed at the disposal of the responsible United States authorities as it became available. Moreover, facilities are and always have been extended to these competent United States Government authorities to clarify any point arising out of any of Mr. Gouzenko's evidence or information at any time they may wish to do so.

Access to Information

The Federal Bureau of Investigation in Washington, therefore, has always had access to Mr. Gouzenko's special knowledge as and when requested. We have been glad to have for years a liaison officer of the FBI in Ottawa, just as there has been an RCMP officer in the same capacity in Washington. Mr. Gouzenko has in fact been interviewed

on a number of occasions on behalf of the FBI, the latest occasion being in August, 1950. In the circumstances therefore I think it is true to say that the benefits of Mr. Gouzenko's special experience with and knowledge of Soviet intelligence organizations and their work have always been made as fully available to the competent United States authorities as to the RCMP itself. That has been the situation since 1945 and it remains the situation now.

The material secured in this way by the FBI includes information which was not made public in the Report of the Royal Commission on Espionage because such information dealt with activities by non-Canadians outside Canadian territory. I emphasize this point . . . because the second United States request that the Government make Mr. Gouzenko available for questioning by the United States Senate subcommittee quotes the chairman of that subcommittee, Senator Jenner, as attaching significance to the fact that the Royal Commission Report did not mention evidence by Mr. Gouzenko that he had heard that an unnamed assistant to the United States Secretary of State was a Soviet agent.

Information made Available

But this particular piece of evidence, as all other parts of Mr. Gouzenko's evidence and information was made available to the United States security authorities as it became available to us. Our Royal Commission, it will be recalled, made a very thorough investigation in secret as a result of which prosecutions were launched, and where those prosecuted under the law were found guilty they were punished, and if found not guilty they were released from custody. I think it would not have been proper, however, for the Canadian Royal Commission or the Canadian Government to have made public so serious an allegation against an unnamed official of a friendly Government. It seemed obvious to us that in accordance with our normal practice in these matters such an allegation should first be investigated by those competent to do so. However, the Canadian Gov-

ernment, the Canadian authorities, did pass this testimony confidentially, and I think the House will agree that this was the correct course, to the responsible United States officials.

Now . . . in addition to these full facilities which I have mentioned and which have always been available to the FBI, the United States Government in May, 1949, requested the Canadian Government to arrange for a confidential interview between Mr. Gouzenko and representatives of the Immigration Subcommittee of the United States Senate Committee on the Judiciary for the specific purpose of questioning Mr. Gouzenko in relation to certain stated aspects of immigration procedure.

1949 Interview

The Canadian Government at that time was assured by the United States Government that if this request were granted the evidence taken from Mr. Gouzenko would be kept secret unless the Canadian Government should agree to its release. Under these circumstances, and under these conditions, the Canadian Government then agreed to the United States request, and two members of the staff of the United States Senate subcommittee, to which I have just referred, did come to Ottawa and interviewed Mr. Gouzenko in the presence of a member of the United States Embassy and representatives of the RCMP.

The conditions at that time, 1949—they do not seem to be the same now because of the publicity given to this matter—made it possible without too much difficulty for this inquiry of Mr. Gouzenko to be arranged and carried on without the public attention which might, in its turn, have prejudiced Mr. Gouzenko's safety status in this country. I have looked at the evidence again recently, and the questions at this inquiry were not limited to the specific subjects for which the interview had been requested. Of course, we are making no complaint about that. However, nothing beyond the information which Mr. Gouzenko had already made available to the Canadian authorities, and which we made available also at the

time to the United States authorities, emerged from this 1949 questioning. In other words, this questioning produced no intelligence that had not been already made available to the United States security services.

I wish now . . . to say a word about the sequence of developments in this matter during the last few weeks. The Members of the House will, I think, recall that in October a newspaper which modestly calls itself the world's greatest newspaper, the *Chicago Tribune*—about that there might, of course, be some difference of opinion—reported an interview with Mr. Gouzenko in which the latter stated that, in his opinion, an interview with a United States Congressional committee or members of the United States Congress would be, and the words used were, "worthwhile".

This report was, I think not unnaturally, interpreted by us to mean that Mr. Gouzenko felt he had some further useful information to give. If he had such information or views that were worthwhile, we naturally thought that he would have given them to us before this or would give them to the Canadian authorities at this time. Immediately this report appeared in the press, therefore, the RCMP then interviewed Mr. Gouzenko to ascertain whether the report on this matter was accurate and what new information might be secured. An RCMP officer interviewed Mr. Gouzenko and reported to my colleague, the Minister of Justice (Mr. Garson) that, in the interview of October 27, Mr. Gouzenko had told him he had no information that he had not long since made available to the Canadian authorities; that he had been misquoted by the *Chicago Tribune*; and that he was not, under any circumstances, willing to proceed to the United States to be interviewed by a Congressional committee.

Note from U.S.

The RCMP also notified the Minister of Justice that Mr. Gouzenko denied that he had ever criticized the handling of his case by Canadian authorities or the use which was made of the information and documents which he had given to the Canadian authorities.

Meanwhile, the Canadian Government received the note from the United States Secretary of State transmitting the first request of the Senate subcommittee to interview Mr. Gouzenko, the note of October 29 with which I have already dealt, and the request in this first note was to interview Mr. Gouzenko in Canada.

As the House will recall, because I made a statement at the time in the House, the Canadian Government replied that Mr. Gouzenko had stated to the RCMP that he had been misquoted by the *Chicago Tribune* and had no additional information to give. The United States Government, therefore, was notified that under the circumstances we assumed that the reasons for the request from the Senate subcommittee had disappeared. I think it was a reasonable assumption to make in view of the interview I have just mentioned between Mr. Gouzenko and the RCMP, but it turned out to be otherwise.

On November 21, I think it was, the same newspaper, the *Chicago Tribune*, carried another interview with Mr. Gouzenko in which the latter was purported to have upheld the accuracy of the first interview reported in the newspaper on October 25, and to have again expressed the desire for an interview with the United States officials. This made the situation somewhat confusing, and I should like at this point to reaffirm to the House what I said on November 17 last regarding Mr. Gouzenko's statement to the RCMP. It was, of course, on the basis of this statement that the Canadian Government prepared its reply to the first request transmitted by the State Department. Our reply was delivered on November 4.

This second article to which I have referred in the *Chicago Tribune* cast some doubt on the RCMP report, and indeed had some hard things to say about my own good faith and veracity, which are not important enough to trouble the House with. I would merely say that I accept, myself, the accuracy and reliability of that RCMP report. We have generally found, in this House and in this country, that RCMP reports are both accurate and reliable.

Second Note Received

However, on November 19, the State Department delivered another note, a second note, to our Ambassador in Washington transmitting a second request from the subcommittee, relating to Mr. Gouzenko, which I have already mentioned. Incidentally . . . whereas the original note from the State Department forwarded a request from the subcommittee's counsel to interview Mr. Gouzenko in Canada, the latest note, the second note, forwards a request from the subcommittee chairman this time that Mr. Gouzenko, and I am quoting from it, "be made available for questioning by the subcommittee".

Mr. Gouzenko, as I stated, of course is available in that, like any Canadian, he is free to exercise his own judgment to determine his own movements. He can, of course, as I have said, discuss any subject at any time with anyone whom he chooses, and he is the person to consider the effect of such action on the special measures which have been taken since he came over to us in 1945, in his interests and at his request, to protect him.

Conditions for Interview

The exact purport of the United States note that Mr. Gouzenko be made available for questioning is perhaps not clear, in that it is not explicitly stated where this questioning would take place and under whose responsibility. Presumably, as indeed I have already said, the Canadian Government would be expected to take some responsibility in the matter. While I have said that our security authorities do not believe there is any further information to be obtained, the Government, in view of this second request from a friendly neighbour, is willing to make arrangements for a meeting to be held under Canadian auspices and in conformity with Canadian procedures. If Mr. Gouzenko is willing to attend at such a meeting, and this is in our note which we gave the United States this afternoon, any person designated by the United States Government for this purpose could be present and of course ask questions. It

would, of course . . . have to be understood, and we have made this clear as it was in 1949 at the meeting to which I have already referred, the evidence or information thus secured under the auspices of the Canadian Government could not be made public without the approval of that Government.

The Canadian Government never has attempted and naturally is not now attempting in any way to withhold from competent United States authorities any information that Mr. Gouzenko might

have to give and which could in any way strengthen our joint security, or prevent him stating any views he may have on these matters. But we do take the view that any information from a Canadian source on matters of security should be elicited and transmitted to another government in a proper manner in the way which we have in the past found to be very effective and valuable both to ourselves and to our friends, largely because it was done quietly and confidentially.

Statement on Harry Dexter White Case

Mr. Pearson next answered, in the following words, a question concerning the release by the United States Attorney General of a letter from the Federal Bureau of Investigation alleging that a Canadian Government source had provided information impugning the loyalty of Harry Dexter White, former Assistant Secretary of the United States Treasury:

Members of the House may have read in the press about a letter from the head of the Federal Bureau of Investigation to a member of the staff of the President of the United States, dated February 1, 1946, which was released by the United States Attorney General, somewhat, as we have already said, to our surprise, as it has been clarified and contained references to the Canadian Government, and Canadian sources of information.

According to this letter—and I quote from it—

—“sources high placed in the Canadian Government” passed information regarding Mr. White’s loyalty to his country to the United States authorities.

Source of Information

There has since been considerable public speculation as to who may have passed such information, and what the information was, with a great deal of confusion resulting. The fact . . . is that the only information which Canadian authorities had on which they could possibly warn our American friends about Mr. White’s alleged espionage came from the FBI.

We have never secured any informa-

tion, never been able to secure any information, on this matter from Mr. Gouzenko or any other source. I should explain that following the normal practice governing such cases the Federal Bureau of Investigation, in the winter of 1945-46, informed security authorities in Ottawa that, as a result of information which the FBI had obtained, it appeared that Mr. White might in fact be a Soviet agent. Advance advice in such circumstances would allow Canadian security authorities to be on the alert for any evidence of a corroborative nature which they might find here, and none was found.

Now, the initiative taken from Ottawa in this matter was apparently merely designed to make absolutely certain that the FBI were aware that the White about whom they had been making inquiries—the inquiries referred to a moment ago—was in fact the same person whose name was before the United States Senate for confirmation as the United States Member of the Executive Board of Directors of the International Monetary Fund.

Security Official

The source of this information, this reminder, because that is all it was, and upon which Mr. Hoover appears to have based his letter, was a personal telegram from a security official, not of the Canadian Government, but who was stationed in Ottawa to maintain liaison with the Canadian security authorities on behalf of the security services of a friendly third power.

It would have in fact been somewhat surprising if this information had been sent by a source high in the Canadian Government, because in the report of Mr. Hoover of the FBI, which I have mentioned, he stated that this Canadian source on the one hand stated that Canadian delegates to the International Monetary Fund might nominate and support Mr. White for the office of President—he must have meant Executive Director of the Fund—while on the other hand he said the source had passed on Canadian warnings about White's unfitness on loyalty grounds to hold the post.

While this information, then, did not come from any source in the Canadian Government, this non-Canadian source did tell the FBI that his message concerning this matter had the blessing of one or two RCMP security officials with whom it was discussed.

All Possible Done to Secure Facts

We have done everything possible . . . to secure the facts on this matter, which include sending a request, to which there has been no reply as yet, to Washington, for the identity of the Canadian source referred to. This we hoped would have provided a quick and easy way of solving the problem. To the best of our knowledge this security liaison officer in Ottawa—not a Canadian—is the source referred to in Mr. Hoover's letter as an official high in the service of the Canadian Government. And I should add that this informal message, coming as it did from Ottawa with considerable urgency, might well have been passed on to Mr. Hoover as a Canadian communication, although in fact it was not such.

I should also say for the record that, contrary to statements referred to in Mr. Hoover's letter, at no time did the Canadian Government contemplate instructing the Canadian Government delegation to support, much less nominate, Mr. White for any post in the International Monetary Fund, or in any other organization.

It seems clear that, in the stress and tension of the moment—and it was a tense and difficult time in Ottawa for

security officials, the author of this telegram must have misunderstood the details of information which he had received from some quarter regarding the prospective appointment in the International Monetary Fund. I find it easy to understand and sympathize with that mistake.

The House may remember the circumstances under which such matters were being dealt with at that particular time. Mr. Gouzenko was being examined in secret in Ottawa, and a distinct but equally important case was being investigated in equal secrecy in Washington, with telegrams and messages about both cases being exchanged between those responsible for security.

It seems clear that the errors in Mr. Hoover's letter concerning the alleged attitude of the Canadian Government toward the appointment of Mr. White to a high office in the International Monetary Fund or the International Bank were based upon mistakes originally made in Ottawa in this message from an allied security officer. I must also make it quite clear that this was not a communication in any sense from one government to another. During the war the closest personal working relations developed between the officials of allied countries and it was quite common for responsible persons to communicate informally with each other within their general terms of reference.

The message sent from Ottawa was such a communication, a perfectly proper one, even though inaccurate in one policy point.

Record Set Straight

Setting the record straight in such detail on this matter has seemed to be necessary to correct the misleading impression caused by uninformed speculations about some alleged high Canadian governmental source apparently being in a position at that time to warn the United States Government, on the basis of Canadian intelligence, against some supposed intention of his own government regarding Mr. White.

This statement . . . and the action which we have now been called to take,

(Continued on page 368)

VISIT OF PRESIDENT EISENHOWER TO OTTAWA

Mr. Eisenhower delivered an address to Members of the Senate and of the House of Commons and general public in the House of Commons Chamber on the second day of his visit, November 14. He was welcomed by the Prime Minister, Mr. St. Laurent:

MR. ST. LAURENT

We are greatly honoured by the presence here today of the President of the United States of America. I am sure that I speak not only for those who are seated in this Chamber but for all of our fellow Canadians, Mr. President, when I say to you how pleased we are that you have been able to pay another visit to our capital city, this time as the first citizen of your great country . . .

Your visit, sir, marks the third time that the Chief of State of the United States has paid a visit to the capital city of Canada. Just ten years ago your great wartime President honoured us by coming to Ottawa after the first of those historic conferences in Quebec. Mr. Roosevelt set a precedent which I hope will continue to be followed in the future. There can surely be no more tangible evidence of the friendly relationship which exists between our two peoples than friendly visits of this kind between representatives of our two nations.

Leadership Appreciated

When I had the privilege of being your guest in Washington earlier this year . . . I found evidence among all those whom I was privileged to meet of a warm and friendly feeling for the people of Canada. That is only one reason why I hope—and all Canadians both in this Chamber and outside will share that hope—that you will return to Washington with an increased consciousness of our high regard for the American people and for yourself. We would also like you to know that we are grateful for the leadership your nation is providing in the common effort of free men and women to make our world a safer and better place for future generations.

This leadership given by the United States is moreover untainted by any desire for national self-aggrandizement. By positive and unselfish actions, which are unique in history, the American people have recognized that threats to the safety and well-being of liberty-loving peoples anywhere are threats to all peoples everywhere who believe in the dignity and freedom of the individual. Your nation's contributions to the restoration of war-devastated lands have been generous to an extent unprecedented in international relations. Your example, as a member of the United Nations, of vigorous and immediate resistance to wanton aggression has revived the hopes of anxious peoples that, through collective action, international peace may be secured and maintained.

The characteristically energetic manner in which the United States has fulfilled the responsibilities it has voluntarily assumed has been interpreted by a few detractors as an indication that your country is seeking to

impose its policies on or dominate the life of other free nations.

We Canadians are in the best position to know how false are such suspicions. Although your population, and your economic and military strength, are many times greater than ours, we have no fear that this strength will be used to threaten or overawe us. We are the more secure because you are a good as well as a strong neighbour. No guns have been fired in anger across our borders for almost a century and a half. The only invasions from the south are of the annual friendly variety when millions of your compatriots travel north to share in the enjoyment of our great natural recreational facilities and perhaps to feel the pulse of our growth. Canadians in their turn retaliate by moving in large numbers to experience the entertainment and cultural advantages of your great cities and to bask in the sun of your semi-tropical southlands.

Of course, there are many strong American influences on Canadian life, but these have not prevented the growth of a distinct Canadian feeling and culture, which flourishes and will continue to develop alongside the influences of your dynamic society. This is as it should be, for our own history teaches us that co-operation can be closer when differences are recognized. Likewise, the co-operation between our two countries is deep and close because it is free and desired, not something imposed upon a reluctant people by a powerful neighbour.

We in Canada also feel, Mr. President, that the powerful influence which your nation exerts in the world community is, in action as well as in aim, an influence for good and we welcome it.

Work in Harmony

Together, the United States and Canada prove to the world that a great power and a lesser power can work in harmony without the smaller being submerged by his bigger neighbour. We Canadians know that in the interests of our mutual defence we can wisely and safely pool many of our military resources with yours in a security system which is genuinely collective. We know, too, that through the instruments of diplomacy and through direct negotiation we can solve amicably and justly the many problems which arise along our lengthy common border. Sometimes we may wish they could be solved more rapidly, but we know they can be solved in the end. And we also know that when the Canadian view on any matter is different from the American view, our opinions will be listened to with patience and respect.

That our two nations get along so well is due in no small part to the leaders whom the American people, in their wisdom, have

chosen. It is particularly gratifying to Canadians to see in you, Mr. President, the Supreme Commander of the Second World War, under whose inspiring leadership the fighting men and women of Canada made their contribution to victory, and to see in you also the first Supreme Commander in Europe of the North Atlantic alliance. In that capacity you received into your command the Canadian Brigade Group in Germany and laid the plans for the Canadian air division which is now in Europe.

As a Supreme Commander in war and in peace, and as the political head of your nation, you have justly earned a reputation for fair-mindedness and friendliness, sincerity and integrity. Those are noble qualities. They no doubt are the qualities which inspired the editorial writer of one of our leading newspapers on learning of your visit to this country to say:

The President of the United States will be welcome to Canada, welcome not only as head of a great world power but as a man we have already met and liked, admired and respected . . .

Je tiens aussi, monsieur le président, en ce pays et en cette enceinte où deux langues sont officielles, à vous dire dans la langue de mes ancêtres français que tous mes concitoyens de la même descendance que la mienne sont aussi heureux que ceux de langue anglaise de vous exprimer à vous et à madame Eisenhower la plus cordiale bienvenue et de vous donner l'assurance de notre très haute considération.

PRESIDENT EISENHOWER

Mr. Speaker of the Senate, Mr. Speaker of the House, Mr. Prime Minister, Members of the Canadian Houses of Parliament, distinguished guests and friends:

Mes salutations s'adressent également à mes amis canadiens qui parlent français. Je sais que je fais preuve d'une grande témérité en essayant de m'exprimer, si peu soit-il, dans cette langue. Aussi, fais-je appel à votre indulgence pour toutes les erreurs que je peux commettre en vous faisant part personnellement et directement de mes sentiments d'amitié et de haute estime.

Je vous salue également pour la part importante que vous avez prise, de concert avec vos frères de langue anglaise, au développement de ce grand pays.

... Since World War II, I have now been privileged three times to visit this great country and this beautiful city.

On my first visit, more than seven years ago, I came to express to the Canadian people a field commander's appreciation of their memorable contribution in the liberation of the Mediterranean and European lands. On my second, I came to discuss with your governmental leaders your country's role in the building of Atlantic security. Both visits, in the warmth and spirit of a great people's welcome, were days that I shall remember all my life.

This day I again salute the men and women

of Canada.

As I stand before you, my thoughts go back to the days of global war. In that conflict, and then through the more recent savage and grievous Korean battles, the Canadian people have been valorous champions of freedom for mankind. Within the framework of NATO, in the construction of new patterns of international security, in the lengthy and often toilsome exploration of a regional alliance, they have been patient and wise devisers of a stout defence for the Western world. Canada, rich in natural gifts, far richer in human character and genius, has earned the gratitude and the affectionate respect of all who cherish freedom and seek peace.

Partnership the Hallmark

I am highly honoured by the invitation of the Parliament of Canada that I address it. For your invitation is rooted in the friendship and sense of partnership that for generations have been the hallmark of relations between Canada and the United States. Your country, my country—each is a better and stronger and more influential nation because each can rely upon every resource of the other in days of crisis. Beyond this each can work and grow and prosper with the other through years of quiet peace.

We of our country have long respected and admired Canada as a bulwark of the British Commonwealth and a leader among nations. As no Soviet wile or lure can divide the Commonwealth, nothing will corrupt the Canadian-American partnership.

We have a dramatic symbol of that partnership in the favoured topic of every speaker addressing an audience made up of both our peoples—our unfortified frontier. But though this subject has become shopworn and well-nigh exhausted as a feature of after-dinner oratory, it is still a fact that our common frontier grows stronger every year, defended only by friendship. Its strength wells from indestructible and enduring sources—identical ideals of family and school and church, and traditions which come to us from a common past.

Out of this partnership has evolved a progressive prosperity and a general well-being, mutually beneficial, that is without parallel on earth. In the years ahead, the pace of our mutual growth will surely be no less.

To strive, even dimly, to foresee the wonders of Canada's next generation, is to summon the utmost powers of the imagination. This land is a mighty reservoir of resources. Across it, at this moment, there moves an extraordinary drama of enterprise and endeavour—Canadians, rapidly building basic industries, converting waters, into hydro-electric energy, scrutinizing your soil for new wealth, pushing into the barrens of the North for minerals and oil. You of Canada are building a magnificent record of achievement, and my country rejoices in it.

More than friendship and partnership is signified in the relations between our countries. These relations that today enrich our

peoples justify the faith of our fathers that men, given self-government, can dwell at peace among themselves, progressive in the development of their material wealth, quick to join in the defence of their spiritual community, ready to arbitrate differences that may rise to divide them. This Parliament is an illustrious symbol of a human craving, a human search, a human right of self-government.

All the free legislatures of the world speak for the free peoples of the world. In their deliberations and enactments they mirror the ideas, the traditions, the fundamental philosophies of their respective nations.

On the other hand, every free nation, secure in its own economic and political stability, reflects the responsible leadership and the wise comprehension which its legislature has brought to the management of public affairs.

This continent uniquely has been a laboratory of self-government, in which free legislatures have been an indispensable force. What is the result? It is a mighty unity built of values essentially spiritual.

This continent, of course, is a single physical and geographical entity. But physical unity, however broken by territorial lines, fortress chains and trade barriers, is a characteristic of every continent. Here, however, independent and sovereign peoples have built a stage on which all the world can see:

First, each country's patriotic dedication to its own enlightened self-interest, free from vicious nationalistic exploitation of grudge or ancient wrong.

Second, a joint recognition that neighbours, among nations as among individuals, prosper best in neighbourly co-operation, factually exemplified in daily life.

Third, an international will to cast out the bomb and the gun as arbiters and to exalt joint search for truth and justice.

Example to Other Nations

Here on this continent we present an example that other nations some day surely will recognize and apply in their relationships among themselves. My friends, may that day be close because the only alternative—the bankruptcy of armament races and the suicide of nuclear war—cannot for long, must not for long, be tolerated by the human race. Great has been our mutual progress. It foreshadows what we together can accomplish for our mutual good.

Before us of Canada and the United States lies an immense panorama of opportunity in every field of human endeavour. A host of jobs to be done together confront us. Many of them cry for immediate attention. As we examine them together in the work days ahead, we must never allow the practical difficulties that impede progress to blind our eyes to the objectives established by principle and logic.

With respect to some aspects of our future development I hope I may, without presumption, make three observations.

Necessity for International Trade

The first is: The free world must come to recognize that trade barriers, although intended to protect a country's economy, often in fact shackle its prosperity. In the United States there is a growing recognition that free nations cannot expand their productivity and economic strength without a high level of international trade.

In our case, our two economies are enmeshed intricately with the world economy. Obviously we cannot risk sudden dislocation in industry and agriculture and widespread unemployment and distress, by hasty decisions to accomplish suddenly what inevitably will come in an orderly economic evolution. "Make haste slowly" is a homely maxim with international validity.

Moreover every common undertaking, however worth while it may be, must be understood in its origins, its application, its effects by the peoples of our two countries. Without this understanding it will have negligible chance of success. Canadians and citizens of the United States do not accept government by edict or decree. Informed and intelligent co-operation is, for us, the only source of enduring accomplishment.

To study further the whole subject of United States foreign economic policy, we have at home appointed a special commission with wide representation, including members of the Congress as well as spokesmen for the general public. From the commission's studies will come, we hope, a policy which can command the support of the American people and which will be in the best interests of the United States and the free world.

Toward the strengthening of commercial ties between Canada and the United States, officials of our two governments have for some months been considering the establishment of a Joint Economic and Trade Committee. This Committee, now approved, will consist of cabinet officers of both countries. They will meet periodically to discuss in broad terms economic and trade problems and the means for their equitable solution. I confidently believe that out of this process the best interests of both our countries will be more easily harmonized and advanced.

St. Lawrence Waterway

The second observation is this. Joint development and use of the St. Lawrence-Great Lakes waterway is inevitable, is sure and certain. With you, I consider this measure a vital addition to our economic and national security. Of course, no proposal yet made is entirely free from faults of some sort. But every one of them can be corrected, given patience and co-operation.

In the United States my principal security advisers, comprising the National Security Council, favour the undertaking for national defence reasons. The Cabinet favours it on both security and economic grounds. A committee of the United States Senate has approved a measure authorizing it.

This measure provides for United States participation in a joint development by both countries. The proposal now awaits action by the United States Senate which, I am confident, will act favourably on it or some similar measure. The ways and means for assuring American co-operation in this great project will, I hope, be authorized and approved during the coming session of the Congress.

I have noted with satisfaction the New York Power Authority's acceptance of the Federal Power Commission's license. With this act the stage is set for a start on the St. Lawrence Power Project which will add materially to the economic strength of both countries.

Defence Against Attack

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

The basic threat of Communist purpose still exists. Indeed the latest Soviet communication to the Western world is truculent, if not arrogant, in tone. In any event our security plans must now take into account Soviet ability to employ atomic attack on North America as well as on countries, friendly to us, lying closer to the borders of the U.S.S.R. Their atomic stockpile will, of course, increase in size, and means of delivery will improve as time goes on.

Each of our two nations seeks a secure home for realization of its destiny. Defence of our soil presents a challenge to both our peoples. It is a common task. Defensively, as well as geographically, we are joined beyond any possibility of separation. This element in our security problem is an accepted guide of service leaders, government officials and legislatures on both sides of the border.

In our approach to the problem, we both realize that purest patriotism demands and promotes effective partnership. Thus we evolve joint agreements on all those measures we must jointly undertake to improve the effectiveness of our defences, but every arrangement rests squarely on the sovereign nature of each of our two peoples.

Canada and the United States are equal partners and neither dares to waste time. There is a time to be alert and a time to rest. These days demand ceaseless vigilance. We must be ready and prepared. The threat is present. The measures of defence have been thoroughly studied by official bodies of both countries. The Permanent Joint Board on Defence has worked assiduously and effectively on mutual problems. Now is the time for action on all agreed measures.

Steps to defend our continent are of course but one part of the world-wide security programme. The North Atlantic Treaty Organization, for example, is an essential defence for Ottawa, for Washington, and for our

neighbours to the south, as well as for communities thousands of miles to the eastward. Implicit in the consultations and detailed studies which must continue and in the defences which we have already mounted is the need for world-wide vigilance and strength. But the purpose is defence. We have no other aim.

In common with others of the free world, the United States does not rely on military strength alone to win the peace. Our primary reliance is a unity among us forged of common adherence to moral principles. This reliance binds together in fellowship all those who believe in the spiritual nature of man, as the child of God.

Moreover, our country assuredly claims no monopoly on wisdom. We are willing, nay, anxious, to discuss with friends and with any others all possible paths to peace. We will use every means, from the normal diplomatic exchange to the forum of the United Nations, to further this search. We welcome ideas, expressions of honest difference, new proposals and new interpretations of old ones—anything and everything honestly offered for the advancement of man's oldest aspiration.

No Insoluble Problems

There are no insoluble problems. Differences can be resolved; tensions can be relieved. The free world, I deeply believe, holds firmly to this faith, striving earnestly toward what is just and equitable.

My friends, allow me to interpolate here an expression of my own personal faith. I call upon all of you who were in responsible positions, either in civil government or in the military world, in the dark days of 1940, 1941 and 1942. There seemed no place from which to start to conquer the enemy that bid fair to enslave us all. Already he had put most of Europe under his heel. I stop to think of the bewilderment of our people, the fears of our people in those days, and then of how in a few short years we were coming home to celebrate that great victory that we thought could at last mark the end of all wars. We see how fast human outlook can change from one of despondency, almost of despair in many quarters, to one of exultation. Today, as we fail to understand the intransigence that we feel marks others, as we try to colour every proposal we make with what we believe to be reason, understanding, even sympathy, as we are nonplussed as to why these offers are never taken up, let us never despair that faith will win through.

The world that God has given us is of course material, intellectual and spiritual in its values. We have to hand over to those who come after us this balance of values, and particularly the certainty that they can enjoy the same kind of opportunity in this spiritual, intellectual and material world that we, who will then be their ancestors, enjoyed before them. That, it seems to me, is the real problem that Canada and the United States today face together. It is one reason I get such

a thrill every time I come to this country, because here I sense in the very atmosphere your determination to work in that direction, not acknowledging defeat, certain that we can win, because there are values that man treasures above all things else in the world.

The free world believes that practical problems should be solved practically, that they should be solved by orderly procedure, step by step, so that the foundation for peace, which we are building in concert with other nations, will be solid and unshakeable. I deem it a high privilege to salute, through this

their Parliament, the Canadian people for the strength they have added to this faith and for the contribution they are making toward its realization.

Beyond the shadow of the atomic cloud, the horizon is bright with promise. No shadow can halt our advance together. For we, Canada and the United States, shall use carefully and wisely the God-given graces of faith and reason as we march together toward the horizon of a world where each man, each family, each nation lives at peace in a climate of freedom.

CO-OPERATION AND UNITY IN THE ENGLISH-SPEAKING WORLD

A speech delivered by the Secretary of State for External Affairs, M. L. B. Pearson, at the Annual Dinner of the English-Speaking Union of the United States, at the Waldorf-Astoria Hotel, New York City, November 23, 1953.

It is difficult, on an occasion like this, to speak of the virtues of English-speaking unity without using, and at times abusing, those somewhat thread-bare words and platitudes which are the defences of the diplomat against indiscretions, and, at times, his substitute for thought. I do not want to exchange a cliché for a cutlass, but I could wish that I were able to say something arresting and stimulating on a subject which is as important as any we are likely to face in the dangerous days ahead; the necessity of English-speaking co-operation and understanding; of unity.

A Dual Role

A Canadian, moreover, is in a somewhat special position, both of difficulty and of opportunity, in speaking on this subject.

We are a North American nation, but we are also proud to be a member of a Commonwealth of Nations which includes all the other non-American English speaking countries—and some others, including three in Asia. In this dual role, Canadians are supposed to have special qualifications, and a special incentive, for assisting the lion and the eagle to live peacefully together — an achievement which is neither biologically nor politically easy. Our value in this respect may be over-stressed, but there is, I think, something to it. More than once, I know from experience, a Canadian has been able to advocate a British position in Washington without dire consequences because he did it in an American accent, while his support in London of an American position has been listened to more attentively because the advocate may have had his trans-Atlantic words softened by an Oxford education, and, in any event, is a subject of the Queen. Someone, indeed, has cynically observed that we Canadians are so busy being British in Washington and American in London that we often forget to be Can-

adians. It is a danger, I admit, but I do not think we have succumbed to it. If we were tempted to, the facts of our history, and the pattern of our population, would come to the rescue. Our national existence is based on two founding races, only one of which is British, and the other isn't American! Furthermore, we are developing into a strong awareness of our own separate identity, as we stand confidently now on our own feet, moving toward a great national destiny but anxious, in the process, to keep in step with our friends.

For Canada, with the United States as a neighbour and the United Kingdom as a mother country, it is a first axiom of policy to do what it can to maintain the greatest possible English speaking unity, for national as well as for even more important international reasons. But to a Canadian, especially to one speaking French, English-speaking unity is not enough. Indeed, it would be not inappropriate if I spoke to you about English-speaking unity in Canada's other official language, French. Indeed, I had conceived that somewhat whimsical idea of beginning my talk on English-speaking unity in French, and was restrained only out of respect for that beautiful language.

Language alone is not, in truth, a sufficient bond between peoples; indeed, it is not at times a bond at all, though I would not go as far as Bernard Shaw when he said that Great Britain and the United States were two countries divided by a common language. I cannot refrain from adding that if Bernard Shaw were alive today and could read an account of a baseball game in a New York tabloid, followed by a cricket or golf report in *The Manchester Guardian* or the London Times, by Neville Cardus or Bernard Darwin, he might not worry so much about the common language!

The bond of language, as a matter of fact, is occasionally reduced to the ability we

share to criticize and argue in words that cannot be softened by translation. At times it seems to assist us in learning more easily the wrong things rather than the right ones about each other. I must confess that I could wish that one or two American newspapers and magazines were published in Tamil and that one or two radio or television commentators carried on in Swahili. And I'm sure the feeling is the same here about the use of the English language by certain speakers and writers in Canada and the United Kingdom.

Common Language Dilemma

A Canadian, Bruce Hutchison, writing in an American publication a few weeks ago, quoted a wise old Cambridge don on this common language dilemma, as follows:

"Most of our troubles with the Americans stem from the awful barrier of a common language. Since they speak the same language, the British and Americans expect each other to be the same sort of people. When they turn out to be utterly different both are disappointed and angered, as if the other fellows had somehow let them down. An Englishman isn't disturbed when a Frenchman eats snails or keeps a mistress. That is the French way. But when the American chews gum, dresses oddly, uses a queer accent or starts a fight in a pub, we find it inexcusable because it isn't British. And the Americans feel the same way about us."

Nevertheless, to continue on a less cynical note, while unity among *all* free peoples is essential for peace and progress, there is a special reason for and importance to unity among those peoples whose common use of the English language, whatever disadvantages it may occasionally have, does symbolize the important truth that we derive so much of our culture, institutions, ideas and customs from a common ancestry. We are very close together, in an ever shrinking world, and though propinquity does not make necessarily for peace, as any honest married man or woman in this audience will testify, it does impose on those who are together a special necessity and a special responsibility for staying together, with a minimum of friction and a maximum of understanding and good will.

Well, *are* we staying together? You might be pardoned for some pessimism if you read or listen to certain shrill and noisy persons on both sides of the ocean. Their irritable and sometimes violent words, however, should not, I suggest, be mistaken for the voice of the people. There is no reason to believe that we are not at one in our determination to work closely together to preserve the peace against aggression and for other good purposes. Nevertheless, there are, in this difficult and trying period of political trench warfare, many stresses and strains on the great free world coalition, of which the English-speaking countries form the core.

Inevitable Differences

It is, of course, inevitable that we should have our differences and that we should express them. Such right of expression is the price we pay for freedom. But we are foolish and worse when, by rash, ill-tempered or irresponsible utterances, we make that price any higher than it need be. When we do so, we give comfort only to those whose aggressive and subversive policies threaten us and who fear our free world unity even more than they fear our strength.

One danger to our close co-operation is the tendency here and there in English-speaking non-American countries to express, occasionally in irritating terms, anxiety at the power which the United States has acquired and criticism of the way that power is being used. This has gone so far in certain quarters as to evoke a feeling of nostalgia over the good old days when the United States was isolationist and the British could always send a cruiser.

It is customary these days, and very wise, to plead, for patience in the face of the difficulties that stem from the Cold War, for a minimum of provocation and a maximum of steadiness and understanding. I suggest that one way of strengthening English-speaking unity is for the rest of us to show some of that patience—and understanding—of American leadership and American policy. We should also not hesitate to speak out in public recognition of the generosity, the constructive energy and imagination of the American people as they carry the Atlantean burden of world leadership and power; something which they never sought but which they are bearing in a way which may already have meant our salvation from those aggressive, expansionist forces eager to destroy our freedom and erase our future.

We Canadians claim the special privilege, as a close neighbour and a candid friend, of grouching about our big, our overwhelming partner, and of complaining at some of the less attractive manifestations of her way of life. It makes our own junior status seem relatively superior and helps us forget some of our own problems and mistakes. But we Canadians also know, from our own experiences and from our relationship with the United States, which is closer than that of any other country, that the sound and fury of contemporary clamour, while it may at times mar and even conceal, cannot destroy the noble qualities and the deep strength of this land on whom there now rests (for there is no other strong foundation) the hopes of all peoples, not merely English-speaking peoples, for free existence.

The ceaseless roar of Broadway is only a small part of the American scene and behind the pushing and shoving of the Manhattan crowds are millions of good and godly people, in quiet New England towns, on the rich soil of the Midwest, or in thousands of other places where Americans are working hard and unselfishly to build up a good

society in a decent world. We other English-speaking peoples do not hear enough about them. They are rarely on the screen, before the television camera or microphone; hardly ever make the gossip columns or the news digests.

Need for Tolerance

One way, then, of strengthening our unity is to resist vigorously the temptation, which occasionally presents itself, to indulge in the somewhat novel but dangerous pastime of plucking the eagle's feathers. May the eagle in its turn learn, as the lion learned long ago when having its tail twisted, that this kind of attention is (in one sense) merely a recognition of its primacy among the birds and animals; even among the Canada geese and beavers!

A penalty, of course, of this primacy and power and great riches is often an adequate appreciation by others of the purposes behind the power and the uses to which the riches are put. A leader must expect this; must also realize that it is inevitable that the rest of us should be intensely preoccupied and even anxious over everything that is said and done by the dominant partner.

How could it be otherwise when these actions may determine, not only the destiny of her own citizens who have at least direct responsibility for them, but also that of friends and allies who cannot escape the consequences for good or ill of a governmental decision in Washington, or even of a Congressional blast!

The British in their greatest Imperial days, and they were far easier days than those of the mid-twentieth century, learned that power did not normally inspire affection. They learned also that when power is used rightly, and rule is based on justice, they could win respect. Possibly this is a better result to achieve. As the editor of the *New Yorker* once said, "Don't try to make your neighbour love you. It will only make him uncomfortable. Try to gain his respect".

There is another aspect of contemporary national and international life which has a bearing on English-speaking and, indeed, free world co-operation—our attitude to the Communist conspiracy which, harnessed to the might of Soviet Russia, is by far the greatest single menace in the world today.

An unawareness of this danger, and slackness or softness in regard to the necessary measures to meet it—and I emphasize *necessary*—will undoubtedly be a source of friction and division between friends. Surely it is possible for allies whose security depends on each other far more than their insecurity can ever result from the domestic machinations of communists and fellow-travellers, and who, though they may express it in different ways,

loathe and abhor communism and all its works, surely it is possible for such to accept each other's assurances of sincerity and good faith in dealing with these questions of security and subversion.

The occasional traitor in any of our countries can do much harm to all of us. We know that from hard experience. But I venture to say he cannot do nearly as much harm to our security as suspicion and lack of mutual trust can do to the co-operation and unity of the coalition on which our security must largely rest.

While slackness in these matters is bound to lead to recriminations, a fundamental difference of approach to them, of emphasis and of method, can also cause differences and difficulties inside nations and between nations, though they are trying to reach the same basic objectives.

We will, I think, keep these differences to a minimum if, on the one hand, we remain alert and realistic about the serious and present nature of the Communist menace, and if, on the other hand, we refuse to get panicky or be stampeded into the wrong way of doing things; if we stick to those tried and tested principles of justice and law; of scrupulous regard for the rights and liberties of the individual on which alone can national strength be permanently established.

Common Sense Approach

This is not being soft to communism, or any other "ism". It is showing sanity and common sense, and an understanding of the really enduring sources of strength and greatness.

These are days that test one's patience and endurance as we strive at home to keep our countries free and secure, and, internationally, each to play its proper part in building up a coalition that will prevent aggression and maintain peace; or rather establish a peace which is more than the absence of war.

There are, I confess, times when one gets discouraged and anxious for the future as we suffer frustrations and disappointments at the United Nations; delays in fulfilling the hopes of NATO; and as we try to destroy the Communist conspiracy without descending to Communist tactics and procedures.

Out of these anxieties and perplexities and discouragements come the arguments and the differences between friends and allies, even those as close as the English-speaking countries.

Let us do our best to avoid these, but let us not become too alarmed and excited when they occur.

Let us keep, in short, a sense of proportion, of perspective, and even a sense of humour.

APPOINTMENTS AND TRANSFERS IN THE CANADIAN DIPLOMATIC SERVICE

- Mr. C. P. Hebert, Ambassador, proceeded to Ottawa on temporary duty effective October 3, 1953.
- Mr. Jules Leger, Ambassador, proceeded from Ottawa to the Canadian Embassy, Mexico City, effective October 9, 1953.
- Mr. M. Shenstone was posted from Ottawa to the Office of the High Commissioner for Canada, London, effective October 4, 1953.
- Mr. H. R. Horne retired from the diplomatic service, Office of the High Commissioner for Canada, London, effective October 6, 1953.
- Miss A. M. Ireland was posted from Ottawa to the Office of the High Commissioner for Canada, New Delhi, effective October 8, 1953.
- Mr. P. Dumas was posted from home leave (Paris) to Ottawa effective October 8, 1953.
- Mr. R. M. Lithgow was posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Embassy, Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, effective October 9, 1953.
- Mr. G. A. H. Pearson was posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Embassy, Paris, effective October 15, 1953.
- Mr. M. N. Bow was posted from home leave (Consulate—New York) to Ottawa effective October 19, 1953.
- Mr. A. F. Hart was posted from home leave (Warsaw) to Ottawa effective October 19, 1953.
- Mr. R. E. Collins was posted from Ottawa to the Office of the High Commissioner for Canada, London, effective October 29, 1953.
- Mr. H. J. M. Allard was posted from Ottawa to the Permanent Delegation of Canada to the European Office of the United Nations, Geneva, effective November 8, 1953.
- Mr. J. A. McCordick was posted from the Office of the High Commissioner for Canada, London, to the Canadian Embassy, Madrid, effective November 12, 1953.
- Mr. G. P. de T. Glazebrook was posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Embassy, Washington, effective November 13, 1953.
- Mr. B. M. Williams was posted from the Permanent Delegation of Canada to the European Office of the United Nations, Geneva, to the Office of the High Commissioner for Canada, New Delhi, effective November 30, 1953.
- Miss S. Barriere was appointed to the Department effective November 5, 1953.
- Messrs. R. Murray and J. G. E. Blais joined the Department as Foreign Service Officers on November 17 and November 18, 1953 respectively.

STATEMENTS AND SPEECHES

(Obtainable from the Information Division, Department of External Affairs, Ottawa, Canada)

The following serial numbers are available in Canada and abroad:

- No. 53/38 — *Asia and the Free World*, an address by Mr. Nik Cavell, of the International Economic and Technical Cooperation Division, Department of Trade and Commerce, to the Canadian Exporters' Association, Toronto, September 24, 1953.
- No. 53/40 — *An Assessment of the United Nations*, an address by the Minister of National Health and Welfare, Mr. Paul Martin, to the Toronto Branch of the United Nations Association in Canada, Toronto, October 23, 1953.
- No. 53/41 — *United Nations Day*, a statement by the Secretary of State for External Affairs, Mr. L. B. Pearson, used on the United Nations Day CBC Television Programme, October 24, 1953.
- No. 53/43 — *Canada's Air Policy*, an address by the Prime Minister, Mr. St. Laurent, made at the annual meeting of the Air Industries and Transport Association of Canada, at Ottawa, October 28, 1953.
- No. 53/45 — *Fourth Technical Assistance Conference*, the text of a statement given on November 12, 1953, by the Canadian Representative at the Fourth Technical Assistance Conference, Senator S. S. McKeen, held at the United Nations Headquarters, New York.

No. 53/47 — *Co-operation and Unity in the English-Speaking World*, a speech delivered by the Secretary of State for External Affairs, Mr. L. B. Pearson, at

the annual dinner of the English-Speaking Union of the United States, at the Waldorf-Astoria Hotel, New York, November 23, 1953.

The following serial numbers are available abroad only:

No. 53/39 — *Canadian Transportation and Economic Development*, an address by the Minister of Transport, Mr. Lionel Chevrier, to the American Association of Port Authorities, Toronto, September 25, 1953.

No. 53/44 — *The Status and Development of Forestry in Canada*, an address by the Minister of Resources and Development, Mr. Jean Lesage, made at the Fourth American Forestry Congress, Washington, D.C., October 29, 1953.

No. 53/42 — *The McKee Trophy* (The Development of Aviation in Canada), text of a statement made by the Minister of National Defence, Mr. Brooke Claxton, at the presentation ceremony at the Chateau Laurier, Ottawa, October 27, 1953.

No. 53/46 — *Canada's Newest Cancer Weapon*, an address by the Minister of National Health and Welfare, Mr. Paul Martin, delivered November 6, 1953, at the official opening of the Ontario Cancer Treatment and Research Foundation's Cobalt 60 Beam Therapy Clinic, Toronto.

CURRENT UNITED NATIONS DOCUMENTS *

A SELECTED LIST

(a) Printed Documents:

United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East. Accounts for the financial year ended 30 June 1953 and Report of the Board of Auditors. New York, 1953. Document A/2497. Pp. 22. 25 cents. General Assembly Official Records: Eighth Session, Supplement No. 6B.

Report of the Agent General of the United Nations Korean Reconstruction Agency for the period 15 September 1952 to 30 September 1953. New York, 1953. Document A/2543. Pp. 29. 30 cents. General Assembly Official Records: Eighth Session, Supplement No. 14.

Full Employment — The Adequacy of Monetary Reserves (referred to as ECOSOC E/2454) International Monetary Fund "Staff Papers", Vol. III, No. 2, October 1953. Pp. 181 - 227.

Laws and Practices concerning the Conclusion of Treaties. New York, 1953. Document ST/LEG/SER.B/3 (December 1952). Pp. 189. \$3.00. Sales No.: 1952.V.4.

Sixth World Health Assembly (Geneva, 5 to 22 May 1953). Resolutions and Decisions, Plenary Meetings, Committees, Interna-

tional Sanitary Regulations, Annexes. Geneva, October 1953. Official Records No. 48. Pp. 453. \$2.50.

WHO — Handbook of Basic Documents (Sixth Edition) including Amendments approved by the Sixth World Health Assembly, May 1953. Geneva, 1953. Pp. 212. \$1.00.

World Against Want — An account of the U.N. Technical Assistance Programme. Geneva, 1953. Pp. 80. 50 cents. Sales No.: 1953.I.27. (Department of Public Information).

UNESCO

Mental hygiene in the nursery school — Report of a joint WHO-UNESCO Expert Meeting held in Paris, 17-22 September 1951 (Problems in Education-IX). Paris 1953. Pp. 33. 20 cents.

History, Geography and Social Studies — A summary of school programmes in fifty-three countries. Paris, 1953. Pp. 115. \$1.25.

(b) Mimeographed Documents:

Report of the Secretary-General on Personnel Policy. 2 November 1953. Document A/2533. Pp. 41 and Annexes I-IV.

*Printed documents may be procured from the Canadian sales agents for United Nations publications, The Ryerson Press, 299 Queen Street West, Toronto, and Periodica Inc., 4234 de la Roche, Montreal, or from their sub-agents: Book Room Limited, Chronicle Building, Halifax, McGill University Book Store, Montreal; University of Toronto Press and Book Store, Toronto; Winnipeg Book Store, 493 Portage Avenue, Winnipeg; University of British Columbia Book Store, Vancouver; University of Montreal Book Store, Montreal; and Les Presses Universitaires, Laval, Quebec. Certain mimeographed document series are available by annual subscription. Further information can be obtained from Sales and Circulation Section, United Nations, New York. UNESCO publications can be obtained from their sales agents: University of Toronto Press, Toronto and Periodica Inc., 4234 de la Roche, Montreal. All publications and documents may be consulted at certain designated libraries listed in "External Affairs", January 1953, page 36.

CANADIAN REPRESENTATIVES ABROAD

| Country | Designation | Address |
|-------------------------|--|---|
| Argentina..... | Ambassador..... | Buenos Aires (Bartolome Mitre, 478) |
| Australia..... | High Commissioner..... | Canberra (State Circle) |
| "..... | Commercial Secretary..... | Melbourne (83 William St.) |
| "..... | Commercial Counsellor..... | Sydney (City Mutual Life Bldg.) |
| Austria..... | Minister (Absent)..... | Vienna 1 (Strauchgasse 1) |
| | Chargé d'Affaires a.i. | |
| Belgian Congo..... | Trade Commissioner..... | Leopoldville (Forescom Bldg.) |
| Belgium..... | Ambassador..... | Brussels (35, rue de la Science) |
| Brazil..... | Ambassador..... | Rio de Janeiro (Avenida Presidente Wilson, 165) |
| "..... | Consul and Trade Commissioner..... | Sao Paulo (Edificio Alois, Rua 7 de Abril, 252) |
| Ceylon..... | High Commissioner..... | Colombo (6 Gregory's Rd., Cinnamon Garden) |
| Chile..... | Ambassador..... | Santiago (Avenida General Bulnes 129) |
| Colombia..... | Ambassador..... | Bogotá (Calle 19, No. 6-39 fifth floor) |
| Cuba..... | Ambassador..... | Havana (No 16 Avenida de Menocal) |
| Czechoslovakia..... | Chargé d'Affaires..... | Prague 2 (Karkowska 22) |
| Denmark..... | Minister..... | Copenhagen (Trondhjems Plads No. 4) |
| Dominican Republic..... | Trade Commissioner..... | Ciudad Trujillo (Edificio Copello 410 Calle El Conde) |
| Egypt..... | Trade Commissioner..... | Cairo (Osiris Building, Sharia Walda, Kasr-el-Doubara) |
| Finland..... | Minister (Absent)..... | Helsinki (Borgmästarbrinken 3-C. 32) |
| | Chargé d'Affaires a.i. | |
| France..... | Ambassador..... | Paris xvi (72 Avenue Foch) |
| Germany..... | Ambassador..... | Bonn (Zittelmann Strasse, 22) |
| "..... | Head of Military Mission..... | Berlin (Pertshire Block, Headquarters (British Sector) B.A.O.R.2) |
| Greece..... | Ambassador..... | Athens (31 Queen Sofia Blvd.) |
| Guatemala..... | Trade Commissioner..... | Guatemala City (28, 5a Avenida Sud) |
| Hong Kong..... | Trade Commissioner..... | Hong Kong (Hong Kong and Shanghai Banking Corporation Bldg.) |
| Iceland..... | Minister..... | Oslo (Fridtjof Nansens Plass 5) |
| India..... | High Commissioner..... | New Delhi (4 Aurangzeb Road) |
| "..... | Trade Commissioner..... | Bombay (Gresham Assurance House) |
| Indonesia..... | Ambassador..... | Djakarta (Tanah Abang Timur No. 2) |
| Ireland..... | Ambassador..... | Dublin (92 Merrion Square West) |
| Italy..... | Ambassador..... | Rome (Via Saverio Mercadante 15) |
| Jamaica..... | Trade Commissioner..... | Kingston (Canadian Bank of Commerce Bldg.) |
| Japan..... | Ambassador..... | Tokyo (16 Omote-Machi, 3 Chome, Minato-Ku) |
| Lebanon..... | Trade Commissioner..... | Beirut (P.O. Box 2300) |
| Luxembourg..... | Minister..... | Brussels (c/o Canadian Embassy) |
| Mexico..... | Ambassador..... | Mexico (Paseo de la Reforma No. 1) |
| Netherlands..... | Ambassador..... | The Hague (Sophialaan 1A) |
| New Zealand..... | High Commissioner..... | Wellington (Government Life Insurance Bldg.) |
| Norway..... | Minister..... | Oslo (Fridtjof Nansens Plass 5) |
| Pakistan..... | High Commissioner..... | Karachi (Hotel Metropole) |
| Peru..... | Ambassador..... | Lima (Edificio Boza, Plaza San Martin) |
| Philippines..... | Consul General and Trade Commissioner..... | Manila (Ayala Bldg., Juan Luna St.) |
| Poland..... | Chargé d'Affaires..... | Warsaw (31 Ulica Katowika, Saska Kępa) |

| | | |
|--|------------------------------------|--|
| Portugal..... | Minister (Absent)..... | Lisbon (Avenida da Praia da Vitoria) |
| | Chargé d'Affaires a.i. | |
| Singapore..... | Trade Commissioner..... | Singapore (Room D-5, Union Building) |
| Spain..... | Ambassador..... | Madrid (Edificio Espana, Avenida de José Antonio 88) |
| Sweden..... | Minister..... | Stockholm (Strandvägen 7-C) |
| Switzerland..... | Ambassador..... | Berne (88 Kirchenfeldstrasse) |
| Trinidad..... | Trade Commissioner..... | Port of Spain (Colonial Bldg.) |
| Turkey..... | Ambassador..... | Ankara (Müdafaaı Millıye Caddesi, No. 19, Cankaya) |
| Union of South Africa..... | High Commissioner..... | Pretoria (24 Barclay's Bank Bldg.) |
| " " | Trade Commissioner..... | Cape Town (Grand Parade Centre Building, Adderley St.) |
| " " | Trade Commissioner..... | Johannesburg (Mutual Building) |
| Union of Soviet Socialist Republics..... | Ambassador..... | Moscow (23 Starokonyushny Pereulok) |
| | Chargé d'Affaires, a.i. | |
| United Kingdom..... | High Commissioner..... | London (Canada House) |
| " " | Trade Commissioner..... | Liverpool (Martins Bank Bldg.) |
| " " | Trade Commissioner..... | Belfast (36 Victoria Square) |
| United States of America..... | Ambassador..... | Washington (1746 Massachusetts Avenue) |
| " " | Consul General..... | Boston (532 Little Bldg.) |
| " " | Consul General..... | Chicago (Daily News Bldg.) |
| " " | Consul and Trade Commissioner..... | Detroit (1035 Penobscot Bldg.) |
| " " | Consul General..... | Los Angeles (510 W. Sixth St.) |
| " " | Consul and Trade Commissioner..... | New Orleans (215 International Trade Mart) |
| " " | Consul General..... | New York (620 Fifth Ave.) |
| " " | Honorary Vice-Consul..... | Portland, Maine (443 Congress Street) |
| " " | Consul General..... | San Francisco (400 Montgomery St.) |
| " " | Consul General..... | Seattle (Tower Bldg., Seventh Avenue at Olive Way) |
| Uruguay..... | Ambassador..... | Montevideo (Casilla Postal 852) |
| Venezuela..... | Ambassador..... | Caracas (2° Piso Edificio Pan-American, Puente Urapal, Candelaria) |
| Yugoslavia..... | Ambassador..... | Belgrade (Proleterskih Brigada 69) |
| North Atlantic Council..... | Permanent Representative..... | Paris xvi (Canadian Embassy) |
| •OEEC..... | Permanent Representative..... | Paris xvi (c/o Canadian Embassy) |
| United Nations..... | Permanent Representative..... | New York (Room 504, 620 Fifth Avenue) |
| " " | Permanent Delegate..... | Geneva (La Pelouse, Palais des Nations) |
| | Deputy Permanent Delegate | |

•Organization for European Economic Co-operation.

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EXTERNAL AFFAIRS IN PARLIAMENT

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will I hope help to dispose of these two
 matters in a way which recognizes both
 our responsibility to our own country,
 our responsibility to co-operate fully
 with others in our own as well as col-
 lective interests, in the effort to defeat
 and destroy the international Commu-
 nist conspiracy, which is very real and
 menacing and, finally, our responsibility
 to do what we can, always, and sincere-
 ly, to maintain good relations with our
 friend and neighbour the United States,
 the leader and great buttress of the free

world. These relations . . . involve be-
 tween our two countries many problems
 of growing complexity. We accept that,
 but we take I think on both sides of
 the border deep and abiding satisfac-
 tion in the fact that we are able to solve
 them on the solid basis of mutual re-
 spect. And I know that, with a few in-
 consequential exceptions, all Canadians
 and all Americans, including all Hon.
 Members of this House, are anxious to
 keep it that way.

Ottawa, Edmond Cloutier, C.M.G., O.A., D.S.P., Printer to the Queen's
 Most Excellent Majesty, Controller of Stationery, 1953.