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PROSPECTS FOR PEACE KEEPING

The following address by Mr. Paul Martin, Secretary of State for External Affairs, was given in the Dag Hammarskjold Memorial Lecture series at Radcliffe College, Cambridge, Massachusetts, on November 17:

...Since we tend to think of a great many activities of the United Nations as being devoted to peace, it might avoid misunderstanding if I defined as carefully as possible what these activities are. The United Nations has a number of means available to it to maintain or achieve international peace and security. I am not here concerned with enforcement action against an aggressor — the Korea type of operation. Only the Security Council is likely to be able to carry out such action. I am not concerned either with procedures for peaceful settlement of disputes before they reach the stage of conflict. These procedures of conciliation, arbitration, mediation — what we now call peace building — do overlap with peace-keeping operations, but they do not, by themselves, lead at present to any serious disagreement within the United Nations.

Between conciliation and enforcement there is peace keeping. I am referring to the United Nations Emergency Force in the Middle East and to the United Nations' operations of varying kinds (with the most complicated titles) in the Congo, Cyprus, Kashmir, Lebanon and in other locations, which have either been terminated or are still under way. In such projects the essential aim of the United Nations is to interpose its presence in situations of conflict or potential conflict until longer term solutions can be worked out at the political level. These

operations have not been mandatory and were not meant to be coercive. The forces, groups or individuals manifesting the United Nations presence have entered the territory of the state concerned only with the consent of the authorities there. They have carried out diverse functions — observation in areas of conflict, patrolling cease-fire lines and frontiers or assisting in the preservation of order.

DISAGREEMENT ON UN ROLE

It is with this peace-keeping sector of the United Nations' wide range of responsibilities that I am concerned. The dimensions of the problem we now face in this field are very great. Although there are developments from time to time which give hope of a solution, there is a continuing and fundamental disagreement about the role of the United Nations in the domain of international peace and security. The frustration and paralysis in General Assembly activities in the past couple of years and the possibility of a major confrontation over voting rights show how serious the problem has been.

At the present time, the United Nations has an accumulated debt somewhat under \$100 million, resulting chiefly from the refusal of some members or the disinclination or avowed inability of others to pay their share of the costs of peace keeping. This debt presents serious problems for the United Nations, but not because the amount is too great for the members as a whole to bear. So far as the money itself is concerned, we should remember that the Secretary-General calculated last year that the total expenses of the organization in 1964 — including

peace-keeping costs – amounted to about a quarter of one per cent of the defence budgets of the leading military powers alone. The real problem is that two great powers, the Soviet Union and France, both permanent members of the Security Council, insist, from somewhat differing standpoints, that contributions requested from them for peace-keeping costs are either illegal or optional. There is disagreement about the principles which should determine an equitable sharing of the financial burden of peace keeping and, as a result, this burden is, in our opinion, unfairly distributed.

PERIPHERAL AREAS CHIEFLY AFFECTED

In commenting on the differing viewpoints and on continuing need for peace keeping, I should like to emphasize one essential point. The United Nations can only with difficulty undertake important initiatives in areas of direct or major great-power interest. In terms of such interests, peace-keeping operations are most likely to be in peripheral areas. There are, however, degrees of remoteness. How remote, for example, is Kashmir from great-power preoccupations? If we are considering the nations allied in NATO and the Warsaw Pact, it is possible to say that in this area there is a balance of military power, a recognition of respective positions on certain matters, such as German reunification or Berlin, with which the Security Council as such is not likely to deal. But Cyprus is of direct and continuing concern to members of the NATO alliance.

Outside the NATO-Warsaw Pact area, there are the complicated and changing great-power relations involving Communist China. There are areas where the entry of new nations into the world scene, the recurrence of old animosities, conflicts of race and religion or economic and social instability could lead to threats to the peace of the world as a whole. These threats to regional peace could involve, with varying degrees of intensity, the great-power clash of interest. Whether we like it or not, our world has achieved a degree of common involvement in political and economic affairs which requires an attempt at common management. The Prime Minister of Tanzania, Julius Nyerere, who can speak for a continent well aware of this fact, made the point vividly, when he said that “all nations border on each other – no sea, no range of mountains constitutes a barrier to events outside”....

ROLE OF REGIONAL AGENCIES

It has never been assumed, of course, that immediate action by the United Nations would be desirable or possible in all areas where peace was threatened. There is not only the limitation already mentioned arising from great-power involvement. The Charter anticipates the possibility of action by regional agencies consistent with the purpose and principles of the United Nations. The United Nations and regional agencies have complementary roles to play and there is no doubt that these agencies can contribute effectively to peace both in conciliation and in peace keeping. The United Nations must, however, retain ultimate responsibility for all developments

affecting peace and security. It might have to supplement regional action and it alone would be responsible for enforcement. The United Nations must be able to respond to all these needs...

The difficulties of obtaining great-power agreement, the complexities of the local situations requiring peace-keeping action, and the doubts of some members that they stood to benefit directly may have affected the views of some governments which have not contributed much on the financial side. There are, however, important reasons of national interest which in the long run, support peace keeping.

STAKE OF UNALIGNED IN UN

Dag Hammarskjold pointed out, quite rightly, that it was the unaligned nations, those nations not protected by membership in some relatively stable power system, which would derive the greatest benefit and sense of security from a vigorous United Nations. We talk now of making a world safe for diversity, of having differing political systems, various regional alliances and a multiplicity of sovereign states exist together without the threat of annihilation, disastrous conflict or continual friction. This objective has evident appeal for newer nations, which are anxious both to preserve newly-found sovereignty against any rude intervention by force and to get on with economic development. The United Nations cannot give them any categorical assurances as to such conditions, but it is one institution to which they can turn for help of all kinds without commitment to blocs or political systems....

We come...to another fundamental question about peace keeping, that concerning its actual effectiveness on the spot. Here I should like to remind you of the very considerable differences between various types of peace-keeping action. The disputes over the financing of major operations involving the movement of armed forces into the Middle East in 1956 and the Congo in 1960 have tended to focus attention on action of this type. We are, therefore, inclined to forget what has been done by groups of unarmed military observers or by other missions manifesting the United Nations presence under conditions of great tension. Peace keeping in Lebanon in 1958, for example, involved the very effective use of observers. The conception, execution and termination of the task showed how decisively the world community could manifest its presence in helping to achieve stability. Other observation and truce-supervision missions in the Middle East and Kashmir have rendered important assistance in ending hostilities.

UN MULTI-NATIONAL FORCES

Peace keeping involving the use of armed forces has presented special problems. There is now not much doubt, however, that multi-national forces under United Nations control can be mounted and despatched and can commence and carry through their specific functions with considerable efficiency. Hammarskjold referred correctly to “possibilities for international organization which, once proven, cannot in future be disregarded”. The critics of

CHINESE REPRESENTATION AT THE UNITED NATIONS

The following statement was issued by Mr. Paul Martin, Secretary of State for External Affairs, on November 17:

The General Assembly has again considered the issue of Chinese representation. Once again it has voted not to seat representatives of the Government of Communist China in the United Nations at the price of expelling the representatives of the Government of the Republic of China. Canada would have welcomed the opportunity to see Communist China take a seat in the world organization had Peking made this possible. If that has not yet happened, it is because Peking itself has set a price on participation which is unacceptable. In the view of the Canadian Government, it is not for the United Nations to accommodate itself to the views of a single nation, however powerful or populous. It is for Communist China to make that accommodation. Much to the regret of the Canadian Government there is no present evidence that she is ready to do so.

BACKGROUND TO VOTE

This year's vote was taken against a background of growing disquiet over the purposes and policies of the Government of Communist China. There is concern in many countries of Africa and Asia about the circumstances in which Communist China forced the postponement of an Afro-Asian Conference, which it concluded it could not dominate. There is concern over the attitude of Communist China towards the recent unsettling events in Indonesia. There is concern over the declared opposition of the Government of Communist China to any kind of negotiated solution of the situation in Vietnam. And there is also concern over the doctrine of armed revolution which has only recently been reaffirmed by the Government of Communist China and from which no government, whatever its status, is apparently immune.

These actions and attitudes on the part of Communist China have led some countries to conclude that it does not meet the qualifications of membership in the United Nations. The opposition of these countries has been reinforced by the attitude of the Government of Communist China itself, which has attacked and sought to discredit the United Nations to the point of urging the creation of a rival world organization. Other countries, however, feel that the course of recent developments in the policies of the Peking Government makes it all the more necessary to bring representatives of that Government into some form of relation with the international community as represented by the United Nations and its organs....

Canada has endorsed the view of the Secretary-General that it is in the interests of the international community to have Communist China exposed to the currents and cross-currents of international opinion. We also believe that there are problems in the realm of international peace and security which require the co-operation of Communist China for their solution. We have made it clear that we regard disarmament as one such problem and have supported Communist Chinese participation in any world disarmament conference.

REASONS FOR NEGATIVE VOTE

It is in this spirit that Canada approached the problem of Chinese representation at the current session of the General Assembly. Nevertheless, after very careful consideration, the Canadian Government decided that it could not, in present circumstances, do other than vote against the resolution which was before the Assembly. In voting as it did the Canadian Government was guided by the following considerations:

First, in a press conference on September 29, the Communist Chinese Foreign Minister, Marshal Chen Yi, posed a number of new conditions which would have to be satisfied if Communist China was to agree to take its seat in the United Nations. As part of these conditions the United Nations was being asked to rescind its resolution condemning Communist China as an aggressor in Korea, where Canadians fought and died to defeat aggression. It was being asked to review and revise its Charter. And it was being asked to admit to membership all so-called independent countries and to eject from membership all those which Peking chooses to regard as "imperialist puppet states". It seemed to the Canadian Government that these new conditions raised the fundamental question whether Peking itself still desires to participate in the United Nations.

Second, there is another condition of long standing from which Communist China has never departed. This is that the population of Formosa must be denied any form of representation in the United Nations. The Canadian Government cannot be mindful of the fact that the Government of the Republic of China is a founding member of the United Nations and one which exercises control over a population of some 12 million people. It cannot disregard the claim of the population of Formosa to be allowed to play their full and honourable part in the life of the international community. Canada, for one, could not agree that it would be in accordance with the principles of the United Nations to support an arrangement which would result in a denial of that claim.

Third, whether we like it or not, this is an important issue which, in one way or another, could affect the balance of forces in the world. It is not an issue which can be considered in isolation. It must be part of any independent policy judgment that Canada assess the total impact of the seating of Communist China on its other relations and on the United Nations itself in the present circumstances.

HOPE FOR MODIFICATION OF CHINESE STAND

It remains the hope of the Canadian Government that Communist China will itself come to recognize that it must be prepared to take a seat in the United Nations and negotiate its differences as other states have done and are bound to do under the United Nations Charter. We also hope that some means may be found by which further clarification could be obtained as to the intentions of the Government of the People's Republic of China regarding membership in the United Nations before this issue is dealt with again in the General Assembly. In the meantime

it will continue to be the policy of the Canadian Government to do what it can to encourage the establishment of mutually beneficial contacts between Canada and Communist China and between Communist China and the rest of the international community.

FIRST AMBASSADOR TO ETHIOPIA

Mr. Paul Martin, the Secretary of State for External Affairs, recently announced the appointment of Mr. Michel Gauvin as Canada's first Ambassador to Ethiopia.

Mr. Gauvin, who was born in Quebec City in 1919, joined the Department of External Affairs in March 1947. He was on loan to the Office of the Prime Minister until 1950. He served abroad in Ankara and Lisbon and as adviser to the Canadian Commissioners International Control Commission in Indochina. In January 1958 he was appointed First Secretary in Caracas and, in October 1960, Counsellor in Buenos Aires. In February 1961 Mr. Gauvin was appointed acting Consul General in Leopoldville and Chargé d'Affaires a.i. in June 1962. In 1963-64 he attended the National Defence College, Kingston, Ontario. Mr. Gauvin was sent on special missions, to the Congo in November 1964, in connection with the release of Canadian hostages held in Stanleyville and, in May-June 1965, to the Dominican Republic.

POPULATION FIGURES

According to age estimates of the population released by the Dominion Bureau of Statistics, children under working age (i.e. under 15) in Canada on June 1 numbered 6,513,800. This was a third of the estimated 19,571,000 total population of Canada on that date. Three-fifths, 59.1 per cent or 11,562,000, were in the working ages 15 to 64, and 7.6 per cent, or 1,494,600, were in the retirement ages, 65 and over.

While the total population had increased 7.3 per cent since the 1961 census, the population under 15 increased by only 5.2 per cent, the working-age population by 8.5 per cent and the retirement-age group by 7.4 per cent. Some of the five-year age groups showed greater variations. The 0 to 4-group increased by only 0.1 per cent as a result of decreasing births during the last few years. The 5 to 9 and 10 to 14-groups increased by 6.5 per cent and 9.9 per cent, respectively. The 15 to 19 age group recorded the greatest rate of increase at 24.2 per cent, or 346,500. The young-adult age group 20 to 24 increased by 193,700 or 16.4 per cent - this increase is being reflected in an increase in marriages to 138,135 in 1964 from 128,475 in 1961. The low birth rates of the 30s are now affecting the age groups 25 to 29 and 30 to 34. Both these groups showed decreases, 2.0 per cent and 4.0 per cent, respectively. The age group 35 to 39 increased by only 0.5 per cent. In the older age groups increases ranged from 5.7 per cent for the 65 to 69 group to 13.5 per cent for the 55 to 59 age group.

PROVINCES

Among the provinces, Newfoundland had the highest proportion of children under working age at 40.4 per cent, and the lowest proportion (53.9 per cent) of population in the working ages and (5.7 per cent) in the retirement ages. British Columbia had the lowest proportion under 15 years of age at 30.8 per cent. However, its proportion in the working ages, at 59.6 per cent, was just below the highest proportions shown by Quebec at 60.0 per cent and Ontario at 59.9 per cent. Prince Edward Island had the highest proportion of persons over 65 years of age with 10.5 per cent, and British Columbia was second with 9.6 per cent.

OBSERVERS AT CONFERENCE

Mr. Paul Martin, the Secretary of State for External Affairs, announced recently that Canada was participating as an observer in the Second Special Inter-American Conference. The conference, which is considering "matters of fundamental importance in strengthening the inter-American system", opened in Rio de Janeiro on November 17 and is expected to last two to three weeks. The Canadian delegation is headed by Mr. A.D. Ross, the Chargé d'Affaires in Rio de Janeiro, assisted by Mr. C.M. Forsyth-Smith, Counsellor in Rio de Janeiro, and Mr. G.C. Langille, Counsellor in Washington.

The Second Special Inter-American Conference was originally planned for May 20 but was postponed to August 4 because of the Dominican crisis, and then to November 17. The Second Special Conference, in effect, replaces the Eleventh Inter-American Conference in which Canada had agreed to participate. This meeting was scheduled to take place in Quito in 1959 but has been postponed ever since.

INTERNATIONAL FISHING CONFERENCE

All phases of deep-sea fishing in the northwest Atlantic will be discussed at a three-day meeting in Montreal next February when naval architects from Canada, the United States and Europe, shipbuilders, government officials and operators of large fishing vessels, take part in the Canadian Atlantic Offshore Fishing Vessel Conference. This meeting, sponsored by the Federal-Provincial Atlantic Fisheries Committee, will take place from February 7 to 9. The Committee is made up of deputy ministers of fisheries of the Federal Government and the governments of the five provinces having Atlantic coasts.

Since Canada's Atlantic deep-sea fishing fleet is expanding rapidly, there is an obvious need for vessel designs suited to the specific requirements of the offshore fisheries. This fact, along with a need for improving living and working conditions for fishermen in the light of the progress being made by land-based industries, has inspired the conference. It will be the first opportunity for representatives of all groups interested in offshore fishing to discuss the problems of deep-sea operations in the northwest Atlantic.

PROSPECTS FOR PEACE KEEPING

(Continued from P. 2)

operations administered by the Secretary-General have probably been alarmed by the very speed and good order with which action can be taken. Even in the Congo, where conditions developed in a very dangerous way, rapidly getting beyond the point at which one might envisage effective peace keeping, the discipline and imaginative diplomacy exhibited by those acting for the United Nations was truly remarkable....

DISPUTE OVER PEACE-KEEPING COSTS

...The dispute over the powers of the General Assembly in initiating, controlling and assessing the sharing of the costs of peace keeping has its roots deep in the history of the United Nations. It is not possible to review that history now. We can merely note that the United Nations has reached a very difficult point in its history; it has an accumulated debt, a patchwork of payment arrangements for operations under way and a constitutional crisis over responsibility for peace keeping....

The Soviet Union believes that only the Security Council can take decisions on questions relating to the establishment, financing and use of United Nations forces. It is using all the arguments it can muster from the Charter and all its power and influence to make its point of view prevail.

The Soviet Union can impose a kind of financial veto and is doing so. It has, of course, made a very general commitment to contribute voluntarily to a fund to overcome the debts, in recognition of the fact that the majority of nations did not finally force the issue over the loss of voting power....If the Soviet Union makes this contribution, however, it will undoubtedly extract as much benefit as possible from this act in trying to ensure that its views prevail in the future. If they do, then the Assembly would have little significant power in the peace-keeping field and the Secretary-General and the Secretariat, on whose prompt and impartial action so much depends, would be hampered seriously in their tasks.

Complete control of peace-keeping operations by the Security Council would not, of course, end all such operations or prevent any firm recommendations on world crises. The Council took a vigorous stand on the India-Pakistan conflict in September and the observation and truce supervision role of the United Nations in that area has been extended. Already, however, the Soviet Union is objecting to the follow-up actions taken by the Secretary-General to help arrange a cease-fire....

The attempt of some permanent members of the Council to return to the assumptions of 1945 meets, of course, with the stubborn opposition of other permanent members and of many other nations. A great deal has happened in 20 years. The General Assembly, which now has a great many more members, has shown that it can act effectively and responsibly. It is most unlikely to override great-power interests. For one thing, the realities of economic and military power put important limitations on too ambitious

schemes for United Nations action. But the diffusion of political power means that there are many areas in which middle and smaller powers should and do take a lead in international action....

CANADA'S POSITION

What I should like to do in this concluding section is to outline the essential points in the Canadian position. I may say that, on the important issues currently under discussion, we find ourselves very close to the United States positions. I might also take this occasion to pay tribute to the way in which the United States, with all its other preoccupations as a great power, has given unstinting political support to United Nations peace keeping. Canada has taken part in most peace-keeping operations and can appreciate that without the logistical and financial support of the United States they could not have been established and maintained.

The Canadian Government has stressed that the first priority is to restore the United Nations to financial solvency. We have pledged a voluntary contribution ourselves and hope that as many nations as possible will respond to the need. These voluntary contributions do not require commitment to particular theories about responsibility for peace keeping in the past or in the future. Overcoming the accumulated debt would be one important step towards creating confidence and defining an area of common interest from which we could try to reach a new understanding about peace keeping.

The Canadian Government has also proposed that the United Nations improve its capacity for prompt action in the peace-keeping field by preparing in advance for emergencies. Last November, a conference was convened in Ottawa with representatives of 23 countries which had shown special interest in peace keeping in order to discuss some of the technical and military aspects of these operations. The exchange of views and experience was helpful and of benefit to the United Nations....

On the central issue under debate, Canada has given full recognition to the primary responsibility of the Security Council and in particular to the responsibilities of the permanent members for the authorization of peace-keeping operations. We have insisted, however, that the General Assembly should retain its residual rights in this general field of international peace and security, in case the Council cannot act effectively. We are convinced that there is a common interest which can be found by serious negotiation and defined for the guidance of the organization in the future.

BROADLY-BASED FINANCIAL RESPONSIBILITY URGED

We have also laid particular stress on the necessity of a broadly-shared responsibility for financing. If it becomes the rule, voluntary financing by limited numbers of member states will undermine the moral authority of the United Nations. To achieve the greatest possible political effect, a United Nations mission, observer group or force should represent the moral commitment of as nearly universal a group

of nations as possible. We recognize the special problems of the less wealthy members and admit the difficulty of compelling a sense of universal obligation, but if the final effect of compromise is that comparatively few nations make the real effort, financial and otherwise, to meet the need for United Nations action, then the success of the action will be prejudiced from the start.

Finally, I should point out that we not only recognize the primary role of the Security Council in international peace and security but hope that the Soviet Union would do something to bring the United Nations back to the real hopes of its founders in 1945. It would be an indication of a significant desire for co-existence if that nation tried to give meaning to the ideas of 1945 in the context of the realities of 1965, even in limited areas of the world. If the Soviet Union really wants to look again at the Charter arrangements for assembling forces under the Military Staff Committee of the Security Council, (an organ which has never functioned), then we and others would be glad to consider how such arrangements could be made. If the Soviet Union really looks forward to an international force protecting a disarmed world, then I cannot think of a project which governments - or people - would view more joyfully.

There is a condition, however, to our support. The condition is that discussion of such projects should not be used to confuse, impede or delay urgent peace-keeping action or the achievement of a firm understanding now as to legitimate Assembly powers. Let us eliminate the debt, find equitable continuing financial arrangements, and define some powers. There will then be ample further opportunities for co-operation....

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AVIATION POLICY

The following statement was made recently by Mr. J.W. Pickersgill, the Minister of Transport:

The international aviation policy which was announced on June 1, 1965, indicated that negotiations were being undertaken with the governments of several countries designed to achieve a number of international route extensions and improvements for both Air Canada and Canadian Pacific Airlines.

Considerable progress has been made since that time. Announcement has already been made that Air Canada will initiate service from Halifax to Bermuda, connecting at that point with Air Canada's service onward to the Caribbean. Air Canada's plans have now been completed to start this service before the end of the year.

Arrangements have also been made with the British authorities for the addition of a stop at Freeport on Grand Bahama on the Air Canada service to Nassau, and this service will be initiated in early December. Rights are available to a British airline to fly from Freeport to Canada.

PRAIRIES TO BRITAIN NON-STOP

Discussions with British authorities are being carried on, looking, among other things, to an arrangement between Canada and the United Kingdom to make possible a non-stop service by Air Canada from terminal points in the most westerly provinces direct to Prestwick and London. It is hoped that these discussions will be carried to conclusion without undue delay.

The excellent co-operation that has been received from the British authorities in all these matters is certainly a result, in part at least, of the effective pooling arrangement between Air Canada and BOAC in regard to air services across the North Atlantic.

Arrangements have been made with the German authorities for a transfer of the Air Canada terminal in Germany from Dusseldorf to Frankfurt, to become effective sometime in 1966. It is expected that this will make possible an improved service to Germany and a better connecting point in that country.

Arrangements have been completed with the Netherlands authorities for the designation of Canadian Pacific Airlines to operate a route from Eastern Canada to Amsterdam, and service on the route from Montreal to Amsterdam has now been initiated.

Discussions on a revised bilateral air agreement with the United States, to provide improved services and routes between Canada and the U.S. for both Canadian and U.S. carriers are continuing, with a view to substantial route expansions in the interest of the travelling public. It is hoped that a successful conclusion will be reached shortly.

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