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CHINESE REPRESENTATION AT THE UN

The following is a partial text of an address by the Secretary of State for External Affairs, Mr. Paul Martin, at the twenty-first session of the United Nations General Assembly, on November 23, 1966:

The issue of Chinese representation in the UN is again before us. It has been before us in one form or another for 16 years. In spite of all our best efforts, the UN has not yet been able to discover a way out of the impasse in which it finds itself today.

One reason why better progress has not been made is that the options we have had before us do not reflect the real nature of the problem. The real nature of the problem is that the China of today is not the China of 1945.

UNACCEPTABLE ALTERNATIVES

One of the options which has been before us would have us ignore changes that have taken place altogether. It would have us act as if the People's Republic of China did not exist. It would have us continue to exclude from our deliberations and from the whole framework of internal co-operation a government which has the capacity to influence the shape of world affairs for good or for ill.

The other option also asks us to close our eyes to a part of the reality of the Chinese situation. It would have us do so by extinguishing, for all practical purposes, the international personality of a government which controls the destiny of some 12 million people, a greater population than that of three-fifths of the member states of this organization. That is why these options have not carried us forward. They do not take account of fundamental

changes which have occurred in China since the UN was established. They do not point to a rational solution of the problem. They do not point to a solution which is in accord with that common interest which should be the basis of a world organization.

I do not think we shall ever be able to resolve this question on a reasonable basis so long as we proceed from the narrow concept of a contest of votes. If we are to proceed in the spirit of the Charter, any solution should be sought in terms not of contest but of consensus.

Only by agreement among ourselves on a way out of the dilemma, followed by negotiated acceptance of a reasonable solution by the parties concerned, can we hope to reach any just and satisfactory outcome. I do not suggest that this can be an easy process or that what we in Canada have been proposing in our consultations is a short-cut to a solution. There are no short-cuts which do not violate both common sense and the spirit of the Charter. What I do suggest is that, unless we are to throw up our hands and turn away from our responsibilities, a start must be made in an effort to find a consensus on this issue.

SEARCH FOR CONSTRUCTIVE OPTION

What we have to decide at this point in time is this: are we content once more to choose — or refuse to choose — between a set of unsatisfactory options, or should we devote our full efforts and energies to a search for a constructive alternative?

We cannot afford to shelve this issue for very much longer if the realities of a diverse world are to find effective expression in the UN. I also want to make it clear that the Canadian Government, for its

part, is not prepared to stand by and see this situation perpetuated indefinitely without doing our part to solve the representation issue at the UN. My colleagues and I have devoted much time in the last few months in an effort to open the way for a forward move on the question of Chinese representation at the UN....

We also have before us once again the proposal of the Albanian Delegation and other co-sponsors. The intent of this proposal is to seat the representatives of the People's Republic of China in the UN. With this we are in full accord, but the resolution embodying this proposal goes on to stipulate that this be done by expelling the representatives of the Republic of China. The Canadian position on this resolution has been that two wrongs do not make a right. We can see neither sense nor justice in the UNGA denying to the Government of the Republic of China the right and responsibilities of UN membership or in withholding from its people the benefits of international co-operation. If we are to seek a rational and realistic answer to this problem before us I cannot see that such an answer is to be found in terms of the Albanian Resolution.

I wish now to turn to the third proposal which we have before us. I refer to the proposal tabled by the Delegations of Belgium, Bolivia, Brazil, Chile, Italy and Trinidad and Tobago. I do not think I am revealing any secret if I say Canada took an active part in initiating consultations which resulted in the tabling of this proposal. The countries with which we consulted are countries whose views of what must now be done appeared to us to be in general harmony with our own....

It is a matter of great regret to Canada that the proposal which has emerged as a result of our joint deliberations is not one which in our view goes far enough in charting the course which this UNGA should now take in the interest of the UN and that of the larger world community.

The proposal before us provides for the establishment of a committee to explore and study the whole situation pertaining to Chinese representation and to make appropriate recommendations to the next session of the UNGA. This proposal represents very little forward movement over a similar proposal which Canada initiated at the fifth general session of the UNGA in 1950. I should have hoped that, with the experience of the intervening years, this twenty-first session of the UNGA might see its way clear to laying down a much more specific mandate by which the proposed committee would be guided in exploring the elements of an equitable solution of this question. In the absence of such a directive, I fear that much valuable time may be lost by any committee which this Assembly will establish.

ACTION, NOT STUDY NEEDED

I should like to say that I have been disturbed by some of the statements which have been made concerning the tasks of the proposed committee. I want to make it clear that what is now required, in my view, is not a matter of study or research. What we look to the committee to do is to act on behalf of this

Assembly in mapping out a viable solution and paving the way for forward movement on this issue. This, surely, is the basis on which the committee must pursue its endeavours if it is to make the sort of recommendations which we have the right to expect it to put before us at our next session.

It has been suggested that one question which should be put to the Government of the People's Republic of China is whether it is willing to be seated in the UN. I am quite ready to acknowledge that statements which have come from Peking have been such as to implant real doubts in our minds about the general attitude of the Government of the People's Republic of China towards the workings of the UN. On the other hand, countries friendly to the Government of the People's Republic of China have, in successive years, tabled proposals aimed at the seating of that Government in the UN. We must assume, I think, that this would not have been done without Peking's consent.

It has also been suggested that the Government of the People's Republic of China be asked whether it is willing to adhere to the obligations of the Charter of the UN. Now it is obviously of greatest importance that all member governments respect and observe the obligations of the Charter. The question is properly put in accordance with Article 4 of the Charter to any state which is applying for membership in the UN. But China is a member state of the UN. The issue before us is not one of admitting China to membership. It is rather how China, as a member state, can be represented in our midst in such a way as to reflect the realities of the present political situation.

But I can see a further drawback to this whole procedure of asking questions at this stage. I would submit that the real responsibility of any committee we appoint is to devise a basis on which this Assembly would consider it reasonable for the people of China to be represented in our midst. The time for asking questions is after, not before, such a basis has been devised. The real responsibility which is ours, is to formulate proposals which can be put to the parties in full confidence that they represent a reasonable approach to this issue. We can commend our proposals to the parties but we cannot compel their acceptance. At the very least, however, we would have absolved ourselves of the responsibility for perpetuating a situation which lacks the elements of common sense.

In providing guide-lines to an appropriate solution the proposal before us refers to "the existing situation and political realities of the area".

TWO GOVERNMENTS

What are these realities? Among the most important are the fundamental changes which have taken place since the founding of the UN. When the Government of the Republic of China signed the UN Charter, the island of Taiwan was under the control of the Government of Japan. By 1949, a revolutionary upheaval on the mainland of China resulted in the removal of the nationalist Chinese Government to Taipei and the establishment of a Government of the People's Republic of China in Peking. The real situation since

FOOD FOR INDIA

Prime Minister Pearson has announced that the Government will ask Parliament to provide, in the current fiscal year, a supplementary vote of \$22.5 million for food-aid to India.

When India suffered from a severe crop failure in 1965-66, the Government of India had to import about 10 million tons of food grains to avert famine, and depleted its stocks below working levels. The situation is serious again this year. Shortages will be particularly acute for about 25 per cent of India's population in a few states where the monsoon rains failed. "In the light of this critical food situation in India, which would result in widespread starvation, Canada must do at least as much this year as we did last," the Prime Minister said.

The Indian Government, by its own efforts, has taken steps in recent months to overcome the difficult economic problems it faces. Top priority has been given to agricultural production - new and better strains of seeds are being developed and the manufacture of fertilizers is being emphasized. Canada will continue to assist India by providing such fertilizer and fertilizer components, pesticides, irrigation facilities, etc., and by lending Canadian experts to India (for example, in food technology).

URGENT NEED

The need of India for imported food is immediate and urgent, Mr. Pearson said. After examining the Canadian supply and transportation situation, officials have advised the Government, on the basis of the evidence, that up to \$21-million worth of the required food-stuffs - mainly wheat and some flour - could be moved in the next few months.

In the fiscal year 1967-68, Parliament will be asked to vote \$75 million for food-aid. This will permit Canada to maintain the food-aid programme for India at the exceptionally high level of the current year and also to make an appropriate response to Pakistan's requests for Canadian assistance.

CANADA COUNCIL AWARDS

Four Canadians have been awarded the Canada Council Medal, one of the nation's highest tokens of recognition in the arts, humanities and social sciences. The recipients are novelist Morley Callaghan, W.A. Mackintosh, economist and former vice-chancellor of Queen's University, film-maker Norman McLaren and painter Jean-Paul Riopelle, who received their awards and a cash prize of \$2,500 each from Canada Council vice-chairman J.F. Leddy at a special dinner given in their honour recently in Ottawa.

The Canada Council Medal is not awarded for any specific work, but is granted as a salute to a career of extraordinary merit and service to Canada.

The citations accompanying the awards were delivered by Canada Council director Jean Boucher and associate director Peter M. Dwyer.

THE NOVELIST

Of Morley Callaghan, Mr. Boucher said that his novels and stories create "a peculiar sense of

involvement in the reader". He added that Morley Callaghan has been called "both philosopher and theologian, and yet while you are reading his work you see only that part of life which is as simple and direct as the talk around the kitchen table, made beautiful in his short stories as Vermeer made it beautiful in his painting".

THE SCHOLAR

W.A. Mackintosh was honoured for his outstanding achievements as a scholar, a government official and policy-maker, and a university administrator. Singled out by Mr. Boucher from among Dr. Mackintosh's several scholarly works as *The Economic Background of Dominion-Provincial Relations*, a study written for a Royal Commission in 1938. Commentators have called it "one of the few successful efforts of a scholar to write the history of his own time".

THE FILM-MAKER

Of the Scottish-born film-maker, Norman McLaren, Mr. Dwyer said, "he has produced works of art which have excited the senses and troubled the conscience of the world". After referring to McLaren's sensitive and significant use of colour and form and to his technical innovations, Mr. Dwyer said in conclusion: "So it is with some sense of being a little dazzled and most deeply moved that we offer tonight to our best film-maker the best we have to give".

THE PAINTER

Mr. Dwyer called painter Jean-Paul Riopelle "one of the uncontested masters of contemporary painting". After talking of Riopelle's world-wide stature and success, Mr. Dwyer added that the Montreal-born, Paris-based artist "will permit us to recognize the shifting and luminous colours of the new world, reflected in his work as in the prism of sky and water".

MUSEUM FOR CENTENNIAL

A part of Montreal's historic Le Vieux Quartier once under the threat of the wrecker's hammer, will be preserved as an industrial centennial project.

Canadian Industries Limited has announced that it will redecorate a building on Place Jacques Cartier, which was originally built in 1723 and later rebuilt in 1804, after a fire, as the home of a wealthy widow.

The company plans to use the building to exhibit its collection of early Canadian firearms and ammunition.

To conform to the general plan of the Jacques Viger commission, the restoration may include a *boutique*. Upper floors will be redesigned and used as apartments and offices.

HISTORICAL SITE

The location of the old two-and-a-half-storey building once formed part of the garden of a palatial chateau started in 1723 by Philippe de Rigaud, Marquis de Vaudreuil, governor of Montreal and later governor of New France.

Some of its guests included the Marquis de Montcalm, the Chevalier de Lévis and the Marquis de la Jonquière. The chateau was serving in 1804 as the College of Montreal when it was destroyed by fire. A large section of the land was subsequently donated to the city as a market-place.

The lot, on the corner of Place Jacques Cartier and St. Paul Street, was sold to Dame Angélique Blondeau, widow of Gabriel Côté, a wealthy fur-trader. The old stone house was rebuilt and later occupied by a tavern-keeper. During its 150-year history, the house has served at various times as an inn, a saddlery, a printing shop, tailor shop, cigar factory and restaurant.

ACCIDENT MORTALITY

According to a report from the Dominion Bureau of Statistics, Canada's age-adjusted accident death rate in each 100,000 of the population rose among Canadian males, from 78.1 in 1950 to 79.3 in 1964, while the corresponding female death rate declined from 32.1 in 1950 to 30.2 in 1964. This means that, if the age distribution of the Canadian population had been the same throughout the period as it was in 1965, the death rate for males would have gone up by 1.2 and the female rate would have gone down by 1.9.

Accidents accounted for 7.2 per cent of all deaths in Canada in 1964 compared to 6.1 per cent in 1950.

PROVINCES

From 1950 to 1964, the male age-adjusted accident death rate increased in Newfoundland, Prince Edward Island and Saskatchewan and decreased in Ontario, Alberta and British Columbia; the female age-adjusted accident death rate declined in Ontario, Alberta and British Columbia.

AGE GROUPS

The Canadian age-group death rate declined for males in the age-groups 1-4, 5-9, 10-14, 50-54 and in all age-groups from 60-64 upwards; the rate for age-group 20-24 showed a strong increase. Among the females, the age-group death rate declined in the age-groups under 1, 1-4, 5-9, 70-74, 75-79 and 80+ and increased in all age-groups between 15-19 and 35-39 and between 45-49 and 55-59.

CAUSES

Among males, motor vehicle accidents accounted for 47.2 per cent, drownings, 12.3 per cent and falls 10.9 per cent and among females, motor vehicle accidents accounted for 43.0 per cent and falls for 26.2 per cent of all accidental deaths in 1964.

A comparison of mortality rates with those prevailing in a selected group of 19 other countries for the year 1962 shows that Canada's male accident death rate was fifth highest, where the female accident death rate ranked twelfth. However, the Canadian accident death rates for male and female infants alike were considerably higher than the corresponding rates for any of the countries.

CZECH MINISTER TO VISIT

The Secretary of State for External Affairs, Mr. Paul Martin, has announced the acceptance by the Czechoslovak Foreign Minister, Mr. Vaclav David, of an invitation to visit Canada from December 6 to 11. Mr. Martin said the visit would provide an opportunity for talks on international questions of interest to Canada and Czechoslovakia, as well as on matters of special interest to the two countries.

Following his discussions with Mr. Martin, Mr. David is expected to make calls on the Prime Minister, the Speakers of the House of Commons and the Senate and the Minister of Trade and Commerce. Before returning to Prague, Mr. David will also visit Toronto and Montreal, where he will inspect progress on Czechoslovakia's pavilion at the site of Expo '67.

REVISED STAMP PROGRAMME

Postmaster General Jean-Pierre Côté recently announced that the Canada Post Office would release a special stamp to commemorate a centennial year visit to Canada by Queen Elizabeth II, the Duke of Edinburgh and other members of the Royal Family.

Mr. Côté also said that, the date of issue for the Expo '67 stamp had been revised. Originally scheduled for April 26, 1967, the date has been changed to April 28 to coincide with the opening of the World Fair in Montreal.

The Royal Visit stamp, of the 5-cent denomination, scheduled for June 30, 1967, will increase to eight the number of commemorative designs to be produced during centennial year. The revised programme for 1967 consists of: centennial stamp, January 11; Expo '67, April 28; fiftieth anniversary of women's franchise, May 24; Royal Visit, June 30; Pan-American Games, July 19; fiftieth anniversary of Canadian Press, August 31; centennial of Toronto as capital of Ontario, September 20; Christmas stamps (5 cents and 3 cents), October 11.

The current announcements do not affect the special centennial year souvenir box being made available as part of the Post Office centennial year celebration. A complete set of the newly-designed regular issues ranging from 1 cent to \$1 are to be embedded in the box lid. Face value of the stamps will be the only cost to the purchaser. February 8 is scheduled as the date of release for the 12 new regular issue designs.

CANADA-TURKEY DEAL

Mr. Robert Winters Minister of Trade and Commerce, announced recently that an agreement in principle had been reached between Canada and Turkey for the financing by the Canadian Government of the sale of telecommunications equipment, valued at \$24.5 million, by Northern Electric Company Limited of Montreal to the Turkish Directorate General, Post Telegraph and Telephone (PTT). The

project is to modernize Turkey's internal communications system.

Northern Electric has been engaged in a drive to establish itself in export markets in which competitors from other countries have long been entrenched. The company believes this order, which includes 202,400 lines of switching equipment, 190,000 telephone sets and network cables, will enhance Canada's position as a major world supplier of advanced communications equipment. It has already obtained important orders in Greece, Nigeria, Antigua, Kenya, Costa Rica and the United States. The Turkish contract, however, is by far the most significant export to date. This sale further demonstrates the increasing competitiveness of the Canadian telecommunications industry in world markets. The contribution envisaged for the Export Credits Insurance Corporation in the financing arrangements for this project will bring to nearly \$50 million the value of telecommunications exports financed under Section 21A of the Export Credits Insurance Act.

INDIAN HOUSING SCHEME

Mr. Arthur Laing, Minister of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, said recently that money had been advanced for the start of a new housing scheme on the Oneida-of-the-Thames Indian Reserve near London, Ontario. This is the first project under a new housing policy whereby the administration of the project will be handled entirely by the Indian people. The total contribution by the Government over the next five years will be in excess of \$340,000. The first cheque was presented to the Chief, Mrs. Virginia Summers, on November 22, by Mr. D.M. Hett, Superintendent of the Caradoc Indian Agency.

MORE INDIAN PARTICIPATION

In making the announcement, Mr. Laing explained that this was another step for the Indian people to participate to a greater extent in the social and economic life of the country, through the management of their own affairs. The new policy allows Indian band councils to administer housing schemes when certain conditions are met. When a band council approves a resolution to assume full responsibility for the administration of a programme, a grant is made to them by the Indian Affairs Branch. All houses must be constructed to meet specifications of the National Building Code. Once the conditions are met, money is advanced to put the programme into motion.

Mr. Laing said he was pleased to see that the Band Council of the Oneidas had taken important responsibilities in this programme. He believed that the Indian people themselves are in a better position to know their requirements and to recognize priorities. In addition, the new procedure will encourage them to assume most of the responsibility usually taken on by the Branch, and serve to instill a larger degree of self-determination.

The Minister pointed out that a number of other Indian bands had indicated an interest in taking over the administration of their own housing programmes.

TEACHER CERTIFICATION IN B.C.

To speed the entry of qualified teachers from other provinces and countries into the British Columbia school system, teaching certificates valid for one year may now be issued on the recommendation of district superintendents of schools.

Previously, a teacher from outside the province could not be issued with a certificate unless his credentials had been evaluated and approved by the registrar of the Department of Education. Under new regulations, the district superintendent in the field may make a preliminary evaluation and, if he is satisfied, issue a certificate valid in his own superintendency. During the year of its validity, the Department will complete the normal evaluation of the teacher's credentials.

The new procedures are designed to enable teachers from outside B.C. to obtain a teaching appointment with the minimum of delay.

British Columbia had 16,130 full-time teachers in the last school-year, of whom 26 per cent had experience in other Canadian provinces.

CHINESE REPRESENTATION AT THE UN

(Continued from P. 2)

then has been, and continues to be that we have two governments exercising control over two areas of territory, each claiming to be the government entitled to the Chinese seat in the UN.

One of these is the Government of the Republic of China, with which Canada has had long and close diplomatic relations. This government has been a member in good standing of this Assembly and its subsidiary bodies ever since the founding of the UN. It controls a territory whose economic development can serve as a blueprint for progress in other developing countries. Its representatives have played an important part in the economic and social organs of the UN and in programmes which are designed to raise the standards of living throughout the developing world.

The other government, the Government of the People's Republic of China, which controls a far greater area and a far greater population, is not represented here and never has been. This is a situation we deplore both because we firmly believe in the principle of universality and because we believe that lasting solutions to certain important problems facing the world community today cannot be found without the participation of the Government of Peking.

The Canadian Government, for its part, has consistently both by its statements and by its actions done whatever it could to encourage mutually advantageous contacts between Canada and continental China and, for that matter, between it and the rest of the international community. This position should not of course be considered by anyone to involve any endorsement of the policies or ideology of the Peking régime.

FULL PARTICIPATION DESIRABLE

I do not believe that this Assembly has the right to pronounce judgment on conflicting territorial claims of these two Governments. I think that the decisions or actions of this Assembly on the Chinese representation issue should be without prejudice to the eventual settlement of that dispute or to the view strongly held by both Governments that China is a single sovereign entity. But if we have no rights in that regard we do have a moral obligation under our Charter to see that pending a final settlement of this dispute we make the sort of arrangements in this Assembly which will allow maximum participation of the people of China in the work of the UN without depriving those who already belong of the voice to which they have as much a right as anyone else in this Assembly.

How do we do this in practice? The essence of the position which we have been advocating is that the representatives of both Governments should be seated in this Assembly. This could be done as an interim solution pending settlement of the jurisdictional dispute between the two Governments. We believe that such an interim solution should be reflected in all organs of the UN and the Specialized Agencies.

I would also go one step further than this and suggest that, if the study committee is to make a realistic appraisal of the problem, it should include in its recommendations some reference to the Security Council. I realize full well that the Assembly cannot impose its views on the Security Council. I do not think, however, that any credible proposal for a solution of this issue can afford to ignore the problem of the disposition of the Chinese seat in the Security Council.

GUIDE-LINES

It was with these practical requirements in mind that the Canadian Delegation in the course of the con-

sultations we have held suggested the following guide-lines as the basis for a reasonable interim solution: First - the participation of the Republic of China in the UN General Assembly as a member representing the territory over which it exercises effective jurisdiction; Second - the participation of the People's Republic of China in the UNGA as a member representing the territory over which it exercises effective jurisdiction; Third - the participation of the People's Republic of China in the Security Council as a permanent member.

I want to make it clear at this point that the solution we envisage is in no way intended to imply the existence of two Chinas. Both the Government of the People's Republic of China and the Government of the Republic of China firmly adhere to the conception of one China and it is not for the UN to propound conceptions which are at variance with the hopes and aspirations of the people of a member state. This is an internal matter which is for the Chinese people to resolve and from which the UN, in accordance with clear dispositions of the Charter, is bound to stand aside....

By way of conclusion, let me say this. Canada believes that we must stop marking time on this issue. We must try to end the stalemate which has attended our discussions for a full 16 years. We think the proposal to set up a committee falls short of what is required at this time in the way of specific directives. Nevertheless, the committee does afford us an opportunity of moving forward if we are prepared to seize that opportunity and provided the committee is so constituted as to enable forward movement to be made.

We think that what is at issue here is the capacity of the UN to live up to the purposes of the Charter to represent the world as it is and to bring the great weight of its influence to bear on the issues of peace and security. Although in the nature of things we can only move forward on the basis of resolutions, I think I have made it clear that in our view this issue is not amenable to solution on that basis alone. It will require the exercise of diplomacy, goodwill and accommodation on all sides both within our organization and without. If that is the spirit in which the solution of this issue is approached then I am not unhopeful that we may be able to unblock the road to progress towards making the UN a more effective, a more representative and a more credible forum of international deliberation and action.

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