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SELECT COMMITTEE

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REPORT

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

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HOUSE OF COMMONS

MEMBERS OF COMMITTEE

SELECT STANDING COMMITTEE

ON

INDUSTRIAL AND INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

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REPORT, Proceedings and Evidence of the Select Standing Committee on Industrial and International Relations upon the proposed motion of Miss Macphail, viz.: The establishing of chairs and scholarships in Canadian Universities for the purpose of promoting a better understanding of the International problems of the World.

FOURTH SESSION OF THE SIXTEENTH PARLIAMENT OF CANADA

PRINTED BY ORDER OF PARLIAMENT



OTTAWA
F. A. ACLAND
PRINTER TO THE KING'S MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY
1930

SELECT STANDING COMMITTEE
ON
INDUSTRIAL AND INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS
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FOURTH SESSION OF THE SIXTEENTH PARLIAMENT
OF CANADA

PRINTED BY ORDER OF PARLIAMENT



OTTAWA,
PRINTED BY THE KING'S PRINTING OFFICE
1930

MEMBERS OF COMMITTEE

McINTOSH, C. R. (*Chairman*)

Messieurs

Bell (St. John-Albert)
Bissett
Black (Halifax)
Bourassa
Chevrier
Church
Cowan
Deslauriers
Ferland
Gervais
Grimmer
Hall
Heenan
Howard
Jenkins
Johnston
(Cape Breton North-Victoria)

Messieurs

Letellier
Miss Macphail
Macdougall
McGibbon
McMillan
Morin (St. Hyacinthe-Rouville)
Murphy
Neill
Perley (Sir George)
Prevost
Stinson
St. Père
Thorson
Veniot
White (Mount Royal)
Woodsworth
Young (Toronto Northeast)—35

(Quorum 10)

Attest

WALTER HILL,
Clerk of Committee.



FINAL REPORT

Your Committee has had before it the proposed motion of Miss Macphail, viz: The establishing of chairs and scholarships in Canadian Universities for the purpose of promoting a better understanding of the International problems of the World, and which was referred to it by the House on March 7th, 1930.

Your Committee have considered the proposed Motion, and have heard and examined the following witnesses in relation thereto:

Dr. O. D. Skelton, Under Secretary, Department of External Affairs;
Mr. Graham Spry, National Secretary of the Associated Canadian Clubs;
Dr. Norman A. Mackenzie, LL.M., of Toronto University;
Professor P. E. Corbett, Dean of the Faculty of Law, McGill University.

Also a submission on the proposed Motion by Dr. H. M. Tory, President of the League of Nations Society of Canada, and have also obtained by correspondence the opinions of Dr. Murray, University of Saskatchewan, Professor R. A. MacKay, Dalhousie University, Dr. Robert C. Wallace, University of Alberta, and other gentlemen of high standing in the field of higher education. Your Committee begs leave to make the following recommendations:

1. That the facilities that now exist in the Department of External Affairs should be extended and increased, especially in regard to the spreading of information on the International Relations of Canada with other countries in the commonwealth of British Nations, and also with other nations of the World. Your Committee are of the opinion that this Department is doing excellent work along these lines and recommend for your consideration the establishment of a central Research Library on Interimperial and International matters in connection with the Department.

2. That the whole subject be given further consideration by a committee of the House at the next session of Parliament.

3. Your Committee further recommend that (500) copies in English, and (200) copies in French, of this report together with the evidence, and such papers and documents on which it is based be printed in Blue Book form, and that Standing Order No. 64 be suspended in relation thereto.

All of which is respectfully submitted.

C. R. McINTOSH,
Chairman.

MINUTES OF PROCEEDINGS

THURSDAY, March 20, 1930.

The Select Standing Committee on Industrial and International Relations met this day at 11 a.m., Mr. McIntosh (Chairman), presiding.

Present: Messieurs Bell (St. John-Albert), Gervais, Grimmer, Hall, Howard, Letellier, McIntosh, McMillan, Murphy, Woodsworth and Miss Macphail—12.

The Chairman read the Order of Reference, viz., the proposed motion of Miss Macphail that in the opinion of this House, for every one hundred dollars spent for war one dollar should be spent to promote peace by setting up a chair of International Relationship, and by instituting international scholarships in each Canadian university.

On motion of Miss Macphail,—

Resolved that Dr. O. D. Skelton, Under-Secretary of State for External Affairs be requested to attend the next sitting of the Committee.

On motion of Mr. Letellier,—

Resolved that a sub-committee consisting of Mr. McIntosh, Mr. Hall and Miss Macphail be appointed to prepare and submit to the committee the names of witnesses to be heard on the subject of reference.

On motion of Mr. Howard,—

Resolved that in the event of Dr. Skelton being unable to attend the next sitting of this committee, Mr. Graham Spry, General Secretary of the Association of Canadian Clubs, and member of the General Executive of the League of Nations Society in Canada be heard.

On motion of Mr. McMillan,—

Resolved that the Committee do report and recommend that 500 copies in English and 200 copies in French of the evidence to be taken and of papers and records to be incorporated with such evidence be printed and that standing order No. 64 be suspended in relation thereto.

The above Report was presented to the House on Friday, March 21, and motion for concurrence agreed to on that date (See Votes and Proceedings of Friday, March 21, 1930).

The Committee adjourned until Tuesday, March 25, at 11 a.m.

TUESDAY, March 25, 1930.

Pursuant to adjournment and notice, the Select Standing Committee on International and Industrial Relations, met this day at 11 a.m.

Mr. McIntosh (Chairman) presiding.

Present: Messieurs Bissett, Chevrier, Ferland, Grimmer, Hall, Howard, Jenkins, Letellier, McIntosh, McMillan, Murphy, Neill, Stinson, St-Père, Thorson, White (Mount Royal), Woodsworth, and Miss Macphail.

The Chairman at the request of the Committee read the proposed motion of Miss Macphail contained in the Order of Reference.

Minutes of March 20th read and concurred in.

Dr. O. D. Skelton (Under-Secretary of State for External Affairs) called, sworn and examined.

Witness retired.

On motion of Mr. McMillan,—

Resolved that a vote of thanks be tendered by this Committee to Dr. Skelton for the masterly and valuable information he had given to them on the subject matter contained in the Order of Reference and the workings of the Department of External Affairs of Canada.

The Chairman conveyed to Dr. Skelton the vote of thanks of the Committee.

Ordered that Mr. Graham Spry, who was in attendance be the witness to be heard at the next sitting of the Committee.

The Committee then adjourned until Thursday, the 27th day of March, 1930, at 11 a.m.

THURSDAY, March 27, 1930.

Pursuant to adjournment and notice, the Select Standing Committee on Industrial and International Relations met this day at 11 a.m.

Mr. McINTOSH (Chairman), presiding.

Present: Messieurs Bourassa, Ferland, Grimmer, Hall, Jenkins, Johnstone (Cape Breton-North Victoria), Letellier, McIntosh, McMillan, Murphy, Stinson, White (Mount Royal), Woodsworth, and Miss Macphail—14.

The Chairman reported that the sub-committee had met and recommended,—

That the following gentlemen be the next three witnesses,—

Professor Norman A. Mackenzie, M.A., of the Toronto University on Tuesday next, April 1st;

Dean P. E. Corbett, of the Faculty of Law, McGill University, Montreal, and,

Dr. Tory, President of the League of Nations Society in Canada, on dates suitable to the Committee.

Mr. Graham Spry, National Secretary of Associated Canadian Clubs was then called, sworn and examined.

The Chairman informed the members that he desired to attend another committee of the House, which was then in session, and on motion of Mr. Johnstone (Cape Breton-North Victoria): That Mr. Jenkins do take the chair for this sitting, the motion was agreed to and Mr. Jenkins assumed the chair.

At the conclusion of Mr. Graham Spry's evidence a vote of thanks was moved by Mr. Johnstone on behalf of the Committee, and extended by the acting chairman Mr. Jenkins to Mr. Spry.

The Committee then adjourned until Tuesday next, April 1st, at 11 a.m.

TUESDAY, April 1, 1930.

Pursuant to adjournment and notice, the Select Standing Committee on Industrial and International Relations met this day at 11 a.m.

Mr. McIntosh (Chairman), presiding.

Present: Messieurs Bell (St. John-Albert), Cayley, Ferland, Howard, Jenkins, Johnstone (Cape Breton-North Victoria), McIntosh, McMillan, Murphy, Sir George Perley, Stinson, St-Père, Woodsworth, and Miss Macphail.

Minutes of March 27, read and adopted.

Professor Norman A. MacKenzie, LL.M., Toronto University, called, sworn and examined. Witness retired.

Ordered that the Clerk request Dr. Tory, President of the League of Nations in Canada, to attend the next sitting of the Committee.

The Clerk advised the Committee that Dr. Tory was leaving for Nova Scotia to-night, and could not be present to give evidence for two weeks.

Ordered that Dean P. E. Corbett, of McGill University, Montreal, be called for Friday, April 4.

The Committee then adjourned until Friday, April 4, at 11 a.m.

FRIDAY, April 4, 1930.

Pursuant to adjournment and notice, the Select Standing Committee on Industrial and International Relations met this day at 11 a.m.

Mr. McIntosh (Chairman), presiding.

Minutes of April 1st, read and adopted.

Present: Messieurs Bell (St. John-Albert), Bourassa, Deslaurier, Ferland, Hall, Grimmer, Jenkins, Letellier, McIntosh, Murphy, Sir George Perley, Stinson, St. Père, Woodsworth and Miss Macphail—15.

Professor P. E. Corbett, Dean of the Faculty of Law, at University of McGill, Montreal, called, sworn and examined. Witness retired.

The Chairman thanked the Dean for the information he had given the Committee on the matter before it.

Ordered that the Clerk do write to Professor Shotwell, at the University of Columbia, U.S.A., and invite him to be present at its next sitting or on a date that would be convenient to him after the Easter adjournment.

The Committee then adjourned to the call of the Chair.

TUESDAY, May 13, 1930.

Pursuant to adjournment and notice, the Select Standing Committee on Industrial and International Relations met this day at 11 a.m.,

Mr. McIntosh (*Chairman*), presiding.

Present: Messieurs Bell (*St. Johns-Albert*), Chevrier, Ferland, Grimmer, Hall, Howard, McGibbon, McIntosh, Neill, Sir George Perley, Stinson, White (*Mount Royal*), Woodsworth and Miss Macphail—13.

Minutes of April 4th read and adopted.

The Committee proceeded to consider a draft report presented by Mr. McIntosh (*the Chairman*) on the proposed motion of Miss Macphail, which was referred to them by the House on March 7th, 1930.

And on motion of Sir George Perley, it was Resolved that the following be the report of the Committee:—

SECOND REPORT

Your Committee has had before it the proposed motion of Miss Macphail, viz: The establishing of chairs and scholarships in Canadian Universities for the purpose of promoting a better understanding of the International problems of the World, and which was referred to it by the House on March 7th, 1930.

Your Committee have considered the proposed Motion, and have heard and examined the following witnesses in relation thereto:

Dr. O. D. Skelton, Under Secretary, Department of External Affairs;
Mr. Graham Spry, National Secretary of the Associated Canadian Clubs;
Dr. Norman A. Mackenzie, LL.M., of Toronto University;
Professor P. E. Corbett, Dean of the Faculty of Law, McGill University.

Also a submission on the proposed Motion by Dr. H. M. Tory, President of the League of Nations Society of Canada, and have also obtained by correspondence the opinions of Dr. Murray, University of Saskatchewan, Professor R. A. MacKay, Dalhousie University, Dr. Robert C. Wallace, University of Alberta, and other gentlemen of high standing in the field of higher education. Your Committee begs leave to make the following recommendations:

1. That the facilities that now exist in the Department of External Affairs should be extended and increased, especially in regard to the spreading of information on the International Relations of Canada with other countries in the commonwealth of British Nations, and also with other nations of the World. Your Committee are of the opinion that this Department is doing excellent work along these lines and recommend for your consideration the establishment of a central Research Library on Interimperial and International matters in connection with the Department.

2. That the whole subject be given further consideration by a committee of the House at the next session of Parliament.

3. Your Committee further recommend that (500) copies in English, and (200) copies in French, of this report together with the evidence, and such papers and documents on which it is based be printed in Blue Book form, and that Standing Order No. 64 be suspended in relation thereto.

All of which is respectfully submitted.

Chairman.

Ordered, that the clerk print the submission of Dr. H. M. Tory, Chairman of the League of Nations Society in Canada, and also the letters received from the universities of Alberta, Saskatchewan and Dalhousie.

The Committee then adjourned to the call of the Chair.

MINUTES OF EVIDENCE

COMMITTEE ROOM 425,

HOUSE OF COMMONS,

TUESDAY, March 25, 1930.

The Select Standing Committee on Industrial and International Relations met at 11 o'clock a.m., the Chairman, Mr. C. R. McIntosh, presiding.

The CHAIRMAN: I think you understand why we are gathered here this morning, and for what purpose. On Thursday, March 6, Miss Macphail's resolution on industrial and international peace was considered in the House of Commons, and as a result was sent to this Committee to be analyzed and reported upon. The Committee met last Thursday and decided to have Doctor Skelton give evidence. Dr. Skelton is the Under Secretary of State for External Affairs and, I understand, is well informed in matters of this nature. We thought it would be well to have his evidence at the beginning of our work. I think it would be well if the doctor would just give us his story, based on this resolution, and then the members of the Committee could have the opportunity of asking him questions either at the end of his remarks, or during his statement.

Mr. NEILL: Would you mind reading the reference?

The CHAIRMAN: I will. The resolution is dated March 7, and is as follows:

That in the opinion of this House, for every \$100 spent for war \$1 should be spent to promote peace by setting up a chair of international relationship, and by instituting international scholarships in our Canadian Universities.

Mr. NEILL: What was the reference?

The CHAIRMAN: It is referred to the Committee on Industrial and International Relations simply for consideration, with power to report to the House.

Miss MACPHAIL: Before Doctor Skelton begins his evidence, may I say that I think the order of reference is broader than outlined by the resolution, because of the speech made by the Prime Minister.

The CHAIRMAN: We can go into that phase as we go along. I will ask the Clerk to read the minutes of the last meeting.

Minutes read and concurred in.

Dr. OSCAR DOUGLAS SKELTON called and sworn.

The CHAIRMAN: I think Doctor Skelton has a pretty good idea what to say, and we will ask him to unfold his story, which the Committee will be pleased to hear.

The WITNESS: Mr. Chairman and members of the Committee, I have learned of this resolution and of the intention to have Committee hearings upon it with much interest. The resolution introduced into the House, and the aspects which it assumed in the discussion there, cover a very wide range, but fortunately I do not think it will be necessary for me to cover so much ground

as might otherwise have been desirable in view of the fact that the debate in the House of Commons resulted in a review of the situation from very many angles. In reading the report of that debate I was, in fact, struck by the large proportion of members of the House who indicated such a vital interest in the subject of international affairs, and who evinced such a wide range of knowledge and such distinct and independent opinions, and all this in spite of the fact that I do not think one of them had ever been exposed to a professor of international relations or held a scholarship of international travel. However, I suppose there is nothing good that cannot be made better.

As I understand it, the main purpose of the resolution has been to secure a sort of general stock-taking of our present equipment for dealing with international affairs. That is supplemented by a special suggestion that the most effective way for increasing our ability to deal with international affairs would be to establish chairs of international relations and international scholarships in our universities.

I think we will all agree as to the increasing importance of international affairs to-day, and as to the need of making more adequate preparation for dealing with them. It is a commonplace that the chief development of the past generation has been the way in which the nations are being brought together, the way in which barriers are being broken down. Isolation is becoming a thing of the past; the whole world is shrinking. We are being brought into ever closer and more intimate and vital touch with other peoples who, a generation or two ago, were merely names on a map to us.

It is only a few years since we had a war in which practically the whole world was involved. To-day practically every country in the world is taking part in one or other movement in the attempt to build up a common peace. The whole world is becoming a single market. Rain down in the Argentine will send wheat prices tumbling in Winnipeg; a good crop in a little island half way around the world sets people moving resolutions on butter imports in the Canadian House of Commons. The stock market crash in New York is echoed in Buenos Aires and Melbourne. The world is becoming one, and international affairs are coming home to the ordinary man; they are becoming part of our national and individual lives in a way that was not dreamed of a single generation ago.

At the same time that we are thus being pitch-forked into the international arena, the complexity of the problem and the delicacy of the factors with which we have to deal are increasing. A generation or two ago, as those who were familiar with diplomatic records will recall, there were only four or five countries that counted in the international arena, and in each of these countries the number of people who dealt with international affairs was a mere handful. To-day we have over fifty countries sufficiently distinct to be members of the League of Nations. Continents that were almost outside the map some few years ago are now very much factors in international affairs. Hundreds of millions of electors have been added to the rolls and have the power and responsibility of dealing with affairs which some years ago were handled, as I said, by only a few semi-professional statesmen and students. Not only so, but a whole new sex has been added to the political equation.

Every nation is immensely more self-conscious, more sensitive, more nationalistic in its ambitions and prejudices than was the case before. So, taking these factors into account, the growing intimacy of the relationship between the several countries, and the factors which make it more difficult to deal with the problems arising from this contact, I think we must all agree that the question of how we are to prepare ourselves for this task is one of very grave importance and consequence.

This is probably more true in Canada than in most other countries. Our position in the international affairs is a unique one. We are, in the first place, a member of the British Commonwealth of nations, the most significant experiment in political organization which the world has witnessed in modern times. We are situated in North America, next door to the country which has been developing more rapidly than any other among the greater powers, and half way between the Europe which dominated the last century and the Asia which will share the dominance in the next. In every direction our interests in foreign countries have expanded. It is almost incredible, I doubt if it has come into our consciousness yet, so rapidly has international trade developed, that we to-day find ourselves the fifth country in all the world in the extent of our international trade. Only Great Britain, the United States, France and Germany surpass us. That is a wonderful indication of the extent to which we have taken advantage of our opportunities. At the same time it shows in how many different baskets our eggs are contained, and how many hostages we have given to international fortune. When you consider, too, how much of this development has occurred in the last thirty years, the last fifteen years, that also brings home the suddenness with which we have been thrown into this international arena. It is therefore quite conceivable that we have not been fully prepared for the place that we were to take, though I think the really surprising feature of the development has been the way in which Canadians individually in organized effort and through their governments have risen to the challenge and tried to meet the new conditions.

The very range and complexity of our international relations emphasizes the fact that there is no one possible approach to the solution of this problem of how to train ourselves for our part in international affairs. It is a task in which there is need for a good deal of division of labour. There is a part for the individual; there is a part for organized voluntary effort, and there is a part for governments. It is not merely a question of some persons acquiring a certain amount of specialized knowledge which they will be able to use in certain ways, but it is a question of whole peoples adjusting themselves to this new situation of world contact and world responsibilities.

The debate in the House, which covered a wider range than the resolution, seemed to bring up three main points. The first was the question of how public opinion could be developed to deal with this big task that has been thrust upon us, and what part, if any, the Federal government should bear in shaping public opinion. Then, in the second place, how were we to train those persons who were to have special duties to perform in connection with the conduct of international relations; and what part, again, should the government take in that trend? The third point seemed to be what agencies parliament and the government should promote and develop for carrying on their own immediate and direct tasks of conducting relations with foreign and inter-imperial governments.

Dealing with those points, and first the question of public opinion, I suppose we should all begin with the assumption that the primary agency in its formation is the school, whether elementary, secondary or college. The school gives us the background of information on international affairs, gives us the bias with which we approach the study of a question, gives us our habits of thinking and our ways of thought. We should not look to the school to give us ready-formed opinions; all we should ask the school and the college to do for us is to give us an attitude of mind, to give us a background and a habit of cool analysis that will prevent us being stampeded by propaganda or prejudice. I think all would agree that education should be rooted in strong national feeling. I have little confidence in the development of sound international relations unless in each country the schools and other agencies have

developed a distinctive national feeling and character, to enable it to make a distinctive contribution to the world task. I think international relations will be more sound if rooted in national interests, just as national interests will be more adequately developed if we keep in mind our international obligations.

The responsibility for education in this country, so far as it is not a matter of individual or church organization, falls to the provinces rather than to the federal government. Sometimes that turns out to be a rather inconvenient arrangement, but we are all familiar with the fact that there would be no Canada at all to-day, if in the making of confederation it had not been agreed that matters such as education should be assigned to the provinces, because in such questions the people are intimately interested and the requirements vary with the economic needs and the social background and way of life. That is something we must bear in mind when we feel that in some special connection it would have helped the development of the cause in which we are interested had control over education fallen to the federal government.

I will not go into the question what the province can do to develop the schools and colleges so as to enable them to contribute to sound and well-formed public opinion. Something might be done in the way of giving our teachers in secondary schools and, for that matter, elementary schools as well as colleges, greater opportunity to travel abroad, more opportunity for exchanging posts or taking a sabbatical year. As to what might be done to widen, broaden and humanize the curriculum and adapt it to changing needs is a question that concerns us as citizens of our municipalities and provinces rather than as citizens of the Dominion.

It is, however, not only the formal agencies of education, the schools and colleges, that are coping with the task of our international education. There are many other agencies, and from certain angles agencies of more importance, for example, the press. It is the press on which we depend for our knowledge of the facts of current international happenings, and on the press we depend, to a varying extent, for guidance through the editorial columns on international affairs. A review of the Canadian press in comparison with any other press with which I am familiar is not at all a disheartening one. I think that our Canadian papers, while giving less space to international matters than those of Great Britain, will compare very favourably with those in most other countries in this respect, and the information on foreign affairs that they give, comparing papers of equal size in cities of equal magnitude, is not only as adequate but probably less biased and more objective than you will find in the press of a great many other countries. The fact that within the last two or three years there have been established press bureaus in London, Washington and Paris indicates that the Canadian newspapers are rising to their tasks of international education.

Then we have such newer agencies as the movie and the radio, but here the difficulty will be not so much to give an international content but to prevent their being too international, to make sure that these agencies are sufficiently national in their outlook. There is also the agency of foreign travel. In the Department of External Affairs we issue each year thirty thousand new passports to Canadians going overseas besides renewals and old passports still in force. If the number of Canadians going to the United States without passports were included the total would be many times as great. There is tremendous educative value in travel through widening our information and stimulating and broadening our view. There is also sometimes a danger, partly I suppose because what we bring back from a foreign trip depends upon what we took away, and partly from hastily scampering across a country about which we have not time to observe any more than the irritating differences. I might refer to the converse of travel abroad, and that is the opportunity we have in a

country like Canada of learning some of the ways and thought of people of different races by studying the stranger within our gates, the many newcomers to this country who bring with them the life and ways of thought of the older countries across the seas. We have through our contact with those groups the double opportunity of learning how other people look on international affairs and their general attitude towards life, and of helping them adjust themselves more readily to Canadian conditions.

Mention should be made of the various organized agencies which are trying to develop an informed opinion on international affairs. Take for example the Associated Canadian Clubs, particularly since their recent reorganization with more centralized control, and assistance and the wider interpretation that they now give of their duty. They are doing a great deal in bringing strangers, prominent men from abroad as well as people from different parts of the country itself, to speak to the thinking people in each community. Or take the Canadian Institute of International Affairs, established a year or two ago under the presidency of Sir Robert Borden, in affiliation with the Royal Institute of International Affairs, of Great Britain, and with the Institute of Pacific Relations. This society has established branches in a dozen cities in Canada, which are endeavouring in small groups to study international affairs. Incidentally I have sometimes thought it would be helpful in connection with the recently established Ottawa group, if some provision could be made for any member of parliament interested and who could find time, to attend and take part in such discussion without necessarily becoming full-fledged members. I may refer also to the Canadian Problems Society and many more or less organized groups in rural and urban centres which are dealing with questions of international affairs. Perhaps above all, so far as its widespread influence in this particular field goes, we have the League of Nations Society. It is a very efficient and far-reaching organization which does its best both to reach the children in the schools and the adult citizens, endeavouring not only to inform them but to arouse their active interest in League affairs.

I may also refer to various economic organizations which are developing international contacts. It is consoling to remember that if our contacts abroad are creating problems for us, they are at the same time helping to solve them by training the men to work out those problems and by creating the interest which insists upon probing it. We have only to think of the Canadian banking and insurance and public utility institutions with their branches in Latin America and in some parts of Europe; the transportation companies of Canada carrying the Canadian flag to the ports of Japan and South Africa; our manufacturers trying to sell their products all over the globe; the farmers' co-operative organizations bringing about a closer affiliation with their fellow producers and organized consumers, and organized labour with its international outlook and international contacts. Those economic organizations can do more in dealing with the problem of international affairs than the individual. They are more and more taking a part, and training people to take a part in international relationships, and thus giving international content to our thinking. Sometimes, approaching this problem at a special angle, there may be bias, but on the other hand through these direct and real and responsible activities a greater educational value is realized than from an approach that is merely academic.

I have made this hasty review of the different agencies that may be said to be doing something to develop public opinion on international affairs in order to emphasize both the complexity of the problem, and the wide variety of the agencies that are at present dealing with it and must continue to deal with it. So far as the federal government and parliament are concerned, as to what they can do towards the formation of public opinion, it may be said

that much can be and is being done. Their part in forming opinion on international affairs is taken largely through discussion of the questions which come before them for decision. Every speech in parliament on the tariff, or on the optional clause, every discussion by a public man at an international conference, all these utterances are moulded by public opinion, and in turn they do much to mould public opinion in this country. I do not think many of us would sympathize with the idea of the federal government endeavouring to mould public opinion by organized propaganda along any particular line. Personally, I am sufficiently an old-fashioned individualist to believe that a democracy cannot work adequately unless it is free, and that the experience of various countries abroad where the governments have been endeavouring to train their people in a single mould by a rigid education is something we would want to steer clear of.

But there are perhaps some activities within this field that would come within the proper range of parliament and government interest. Two or three have been suggested. One for example, is government aid to the League of Nations Society. At present parliament makes a small grant, I think it is \$3,000 a year. It is not very large and the work of the society is great; there is no question of its need and its opportunity. At the same time I for one would be a little doubtful whether it would be wise for a government to undertake the main part of the burden of financing such an organization. I think the whole value of its activity is its being rooted in public opinion, not an organization of the government but something coming from the people to influence the government and to express the wish of the people. It might well be that some additional grant be made, and, speaking personally, I think it ought to be conditional on an increase in the voluntary help which the society secures through annual contributions and endowments. Possibly something more might be done. It is a matter for parliament.

Then, the suggestion has been made that a facsimile of the Briand-Kellogg pact might be placed in the schools of the country. I believe that suggestion was made to the Prime Minister in a recent tour, and taken up by him. The proposal, as I understand it, would be to place a facsimile of that pact in the schools of any province which desired it. That pact, of course, represents a great step forward in international organization and the development of an international conscience; that solemn covenant in which the nations of the world renounced war as an instrument of national policy. It is, of course, only a promise; it has not been carried into actuality; but it sets out an ideal that the nations can never go back on and a pledge that more and more may be carried into reality. A number, in fact the majority of the provincial departments of education have voluntarily written in to say that they would be pleased to co-operate in placing these facsimiles in the school. It would be quite easy, if it were so desired, and if an adequate appropriation were made for the purpose, to have this done quickly and without much trouble.

Another way in which perhaps something could be done through government sources in the way of helping in the formation of an informed public opinion, is by supplying material regarding international affairs to schools and colleges. A good deal is being done in this way already, and more could be done. I mean, of course, facts and documents, objective studies, not expressions of opinion.

On the whole, however, I am inclined to think that the task of developing public opinion is one that is primarily for individual and organized voluntary effort, and, that insofar as it is a matter for formal government action through education, it is mainly a matter for the provinces. Every member of parliament, however, and every member of government has a share in developing public opinion in the ways I have mentioned, and in the two or three suggestions

I referred to a moment ago—aid to the League of Nations Society, distribution of the Briand-Kellogg pact and supply of material—perhaps something direct could be done by federal agencies.

Now, to come to the second point that was raised in the discussion—that is, the question of training the people who are to take a particularly active and responsible part in International affairs—how are you going to develop in this comparatively new country people of adequate experience and adequate grasp of international relationships to hold their own in contact with representatives of other countries and to help in developing public opinion in their own country. It is in connection with this phase of the subject that the specific suggestions of the resolution are brought forward—the suggestion that steps should be taken to provide for the setting up of a chair of international relationships and establish international scholarships in each Canadian university.

I think there is no doubt that on the universities of Canada, there rests a great responsibility for developing an international outlook, and for equipping those who are to take an active part in the control of international affairs. A great deal is being done in that respect; courses are given in all the more progressive institutions in the government of foreign countries, in the history of recent international relations, in the study of international economic movements, and in the study of international law. Not as much is being done as might be done. Funds are not always available. Curricula tend to become hard and fast, and it is not easy for new subjects to elbow their way into an old established curriculum. But there is a very marked development in that direction. Perhaps sometimes the point of view that is developed in that teaching might not suit all of us; but I do not know any system that would guarantee that everyone would be satisfied.

Now, the question arises whether in Canadian universities, as they are at present organized, it would be advisable, leaving aside the question of who should do it, to establish chairs of international relations. I think there are some cases where it would be advisable, a few cases where there is a sufficiently specialized development of the various social sciences for a chair or department trying to draw together all the different strands of the complex inter-relations of modern life in the international field, would have a useful part to play. In most cases, however, I would be inclined to say that it would be more useful at this stage, to try to develop the international content of the teaching of all the social sciences than to establish a single chair whose duty it would be to monopolize the international outlook. I would like to see historians, students of political economy and international lawyers, all feeling that they should be informed of international affairs and of the international aspects of their subjects, and taking an interest in passing on what they have gathered. The study of international affairs must be rooted in the knowledge of national and domestic policies. International policy is simply the projection beyond our border of certain national interests, and we cannot separate the study of the two things.

Now, there might be some cases, if I had a hundred thousand dollars to give away to a Canadian university, where I would give it for a chair of international relations, but I think in most cases I would rather use it to try to widen and deepen and broaden the teaching of the various social sciences to which I have referred. It is not easy to pitch-fork a chair or a subject into an established university curriculum, and not easy to find twenty men or ten men who could adequately fill such posts. Of course, if Parliament is ready to vote the money it is against the principles of almost any university to refuse to take money, and it will absorb it in some way; but it is not easy to say that one single way of spending money would be adapted to the conditions of the twenty or so universities in Canada. I am inclined to think that the

establishment of such chairs is not a field in which the Dominion parliament, or the Dominion government may very effectively intervene. It is very hard for the Dominion government to discriminate. I think any review of the situation would show that there are perhaps a half a dozen, at the most, institutions in which such a chair would be a wise development, but you can imagine the howl that would be set up if two such chairs were set up in one province and none at all in another province. It is one of those matters which, so far as my opinion goes, had better be left to individual and provincial initiative.

Passing next to the question of international scholarships, I think that comes nearer the kernel of the matter. I can think of no expenditure of money at the present time more useful than the establishment of international scholarships which would send Canadians abroad to study and would bring people from other countries to Canada to study. There has been a great development in modern times in the way of international migration of students. There are at the present time in the United States, in both graduate and under-graduate schools, over ten thousand students from abroad, that is, in institutions of college and university standard only, leaving aside altogether secondary schools. There are over twelve hundred students from China alone at the present moment in United States colleges and universities, and there are over five hundred from Great Britain. There is not a country in the world that has not a considerable proportion of students there.

Let us look at France. France has, to some extent, taken the place that Germany held before the war, as the centre of interest for students going abroad, although, of course, Germany will in time take a greater place again. In France, one of the most interesting developments that has occurred has been the establishment of the University City in the southern part of Paris, which some of you, no doubt, have visited. Here an attempt is being made to provide adequate living conditions for the thousands of foreign students who are visiting Paris. Through the generosity of men in many countries a number of students' homes are already established. Eventually there will be 20 or 30 residences housing the citizens of each separate country, and then there will be the central dining halls and common recreation halls, places where the students may all be gathered together, so that they will not only be comfortably and safely housed, but will be given an opportunity under most favourable conditions, of establishing contact with the people of other lands. The Canadian minister in Paris, Mr. Roy, is mainly responsible for arousing the interest of a number of Canadian individual benefactors and public institutions, leading to the establishment of the Canadian Maison des Etudiants there. It was the second house established, next to that of France itself, the second in a group that has now reached the number of nearly a dozen, and is rapidly increasing. There are some forty Canadian students in this house, to which the province of Quebec grants \$5,000 a year for maintenance, and the province of Ontario \$1,000. Similarly, in Great Britain, though not to so great an extent, there has been a continuous and steadily increasing flow of students from abroad—not only from the British Empire and from the United States—but from continental countries, for graduate and special studies.

In assisting this remarkable migration, a great number of fellowships and scholarships have been established. I have here two booklets which will give some information to those who are interested, issued by the Institute of International Education in the United States. One is a list of fellowships and scholarships open to United States students who desire to study in foreign countries, the other is a list of fellowships and scholarships open to foreign students who wish to study in the United States. It is astounding when we look over them, to see the extent of the provision that has been made in this respect. There is a great expenditure in the United States every year by

individual universities out of their own resources and gifts from friends, in establishing such scholarships. There is also a system of exchange fellowships, operated under the control of the Institute of International Education in New York which, I believe, is aided by the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace—a system of exchange fellowships operated whereby about 125 United States students a year are sent to European colleges, which undertake to look after their tuition, board and lodging, and whereby a similar number of European students are sent to the United States to colleges which, in turn, undertake to look after them. The Commonwealth Foundation, established by United States citizens, provides for some 30 British students a year coming to United States colleges for study on a very liberal arrangement. The Guggenheim Memorial Foundation provides for the sending of 50 United States students a year to study abroad. The Albert Kahn Foundation, established by a Paris banker, provides on a very generous scale, for sending a large number of students, particularly of mature years, around the world to study particular problems. It is remarkable the extent to which the generosity of well-to-do men is being directed to this end.

Now, Canadian students are sharing to a very considerable extent in this migration abroad. There are at the present time 200 students from Canada attending British universities. There are probably nearly 200 students from Canada in the higher schools of France. It is safe to say that there are 1,000 Canadians studying in the undergraduate and graduate schools and colleges of the United States.

What assistance, may I ask, is afforded them in the way of fellowships and scholarships? Well, not as much as should be, but perhaps more than we sometimes realize. There are, in the first place, foundations like the Rhodes Trust and the Massey Foundation, which provide for sending students to Great Britain, they are on a very generous scale and provide, each year, for a certain number. I have forgotten the number. Do you remember, Mr. Spry?

MR. SPRY: It is ten now, sir.

THE WITNESS: Ten or a dozen students go each year, under this arrangement.

MR. McMILLAN: Is that from Canada?

THE WITNESS: Yes; about ten under the Rhodes Trust, and two, I think, under the Massey Foundation. Then, individual universities have done something—Toronto, McGill, Queens, and possibly some other of the English speaking universities have travelling fellowships. The Canadian Federation of University Women have a \$1,200 fellowship which is awarded to a woman graduate every year. The Daughters of the Empire have two or three scholarships that are given every year. Queens University Alumnae are raising at the present moment a memorial scholarship for Dr. Marty, and would I am sure be glad to receive contributions. The National Council of Education is doing a good deal in the way of providing for an exchange of teachers, and, particularly, for secondary school teachers.

The French government alone—not quite alone—but certainly with very few imitators among national governments—has done a good deal in the way of establishing fellowships and scholarships for foreign students to go to France. At the present time the French government very generously awards 8 fellowships annually to students from Canada—I think each carries 10,000 francs a year for maintenance and travelling expenses—and it has certainly proved of very great value. Then the provinces of Canada are doing a good deal. A number of the provinces have established fellowships for foreign travel, including Ontario and Saskatchewan. None of them, however, is in the same class as Quebec, which has shown the way to all the rest of Canada in this respect. Beginning in 1920, I think it was, the Quebec government established a system

of provincial scholarships. Fifteen are awarded every year, and while they are granted for a year only, they are usually extended to three years. I think the stipend is \$1,200 a year. There are abroad at present 45 Quebec students, selected by the Provincial Government on the nomination of the different universities and higher schools. They are allowed to go anywhere abroad they please, to France, Great Britain, the United States—the great majority of them go to France—and they study in many different fields, Law, Medicine, International Affairs, Art and various crafts.

A great deal has thus been done but a great deal more needs to be done, particularly in the way of bringing foreign students to Canada. Leaving aside altogether the question of the ideal value of international friendships, there is a great advantage from a purely monetary point of view, in having foreign students come to Canada, learning our ways, forming business connections, and becoming familiar with our industrial methods, our machinery and processes. We have been decidedly backward in realizing that side of international development.

Whether the Dominion government should intervene in this work is another question. They could, it is true, establish scholarships without incurring the discrimination involved in selecting this institution or that institution for the grant of funds for a chair of international relations. There is further, a certain precedent in the aid given by the Dominion government to the National Research Council which uses a large part of its federal grant in establishing bursaries and scholarships to students in the natural sciences, though these are practically all used for graduate work in Canada itself. I am inclined to think, however, that so much has already been done by other agencies, by individual and organized volunteer effort and by the provinces, that the way is clearly indicated for continued action by the same agencies in that direction, and that the Dominion might reserve its efforts* for other fields, with the possible exception of one matter which I shall mention in a moment.

Let us pass, then, from the question of what can be done in the matter of training students for a specially active part in public affairs to the final aspect of the problem, namely, as to how the Dominion is to carry on what after all is its primary and immediate task of conducting the international affairs of the country. This is the fundamental problem of the Dominion parliament and the government. It is a big job, and my personal opinion would be that it is big enough to require the attention, time and interest of parliament and government, and that it is wisest to concentrate in this field which is the definite function and duty of the Federal authorities rather than to scatter our efforts and perhaps discourage the activities of other agencies.

As we are all aware, it is only very recently that the Canadian government has found it necessary or desirable to develop special agencies for carrying on its international affairs. Our international contacts were formerly brief and scattered. Our relationship to the rest of the British Empire was of such a nature that our dealings with foreign countries were for the most part carried on through the Mother Country and its diplomatic staff, rather than through our own. Within the last twenty years particularly, however, a great deal has been done in developing the instrumentalities of international action within the Federal field.

This development has taken place in three directions. The first of these is in the establishment of the Department of External Affairs, which corresponds to the Foreign Office and Dominion Office of Great Britain. The Department of External Affairs was founded in 1909. It has made rapid development, in view of the increase in international duties, during and since the war. It is growing, not as fast as those connected with it would like to see it grow, but its equip-

ment for its tasks is being increased, so far as staff and organization is concerned. In the last three years, for example, in addition to the Assistant Under-Secretary, the Counsellor and Chief Clerk, we have added a Legal Advisor, a First Secretary, a Second Secretary and a Third Secretary to deal with the Ottawa angle of international affairs. I should say, in explanation of those terms, that we have adopted the system of organization and terminology of the British Foreign Office, which is parallel to that of most other Foreign Offices. A young man enters the Department or a Legation as Third Secretary, after passing the Civil Service examination; he is then eligible for promotion to the office of Second Secretary, then to that of First Secretary and then Counsellor. The work in the Department, so far as our limited staff will permit, is divided partly by subjects and partly by countries. For example, one officer looks after passports; another looks after consular relations; another, the legal aspect of affairs, and we also attempt to divide according to countries. One must specialize in British Empire relations; another must be familiar with the League of Nations, and continental affairs; another is familiar with conditions in the United States, and so on. Our staff is not large enough to permit as great a degree of specialization as we would like, but we hope that it will gradually be made more adequate.

By Mr. McMillan:

Q. Do you think this is the most effective way of getting the best men possible, through the medium of the Civil Service Commission?—A. I think it is desirable to have the opportunity to go outside from time to time. The government has the power, by Order in Council, to appoint men other than those selected by examination. I must say, however, we have found some extremely good men through the Civil Service examination system. They have co-operated with us very well, and to an increasing measure weight is being given to the personal factor as ascertained through oral interviews, and they do not merely depend on the man's capacity to write an examination. It was necessary, particularly in the establishment of the first legations when we had not time to train our men, to take men who had acquired experience elsewhere. For example, one member of our Washington staff was an Assistant Professor in the University of Toronto, another was the Editor of an important paper in Quebec, and another was a business man who had had experience in Canadian affairs at Washington for some years. We took men who had already obtained some training and experience in allied fields.

The second federal agency for dealing with international affairs consists in the permanent offices abroad. We have long had two such agencies, namely the High Commissioner's office at London, established in 1880, and the Paris agency, the Canadian Commissioner in France, established in 1882. Recently the Dominion has expanded in the normal direction taken by other countries, in setting up diplomatic establishments. The office in Paris has been converted into a Legation, and Legations have been established at Washington and Tokyo. In addition we have a Canadian Advisory Officer at Geneva who acts on behalf of External Affairs and Labour, assisting in dealing with League of Nations matters. In those five permanent agencies we have the nucleus of a diplomatic staff, such as every country of importance has found it necessary to establish in order to deal with the constant round of business with foreign countries that requires government intervention or assistance.

Then, in addition to the Department of External Affairs and the permanent agencies abroad, there are various conferences held from time to time. Mr. Lloyd George has said that the chief political development of the post-war era has been the utilization of conferences. Well, the conference is not invariably a successful method of dealing with a subject. A good deal depends on the

men who comprise the conference. We know that a good many conferences are held to deal with futile subjects and have been conducted in a futile manner. There has, however, been a marked development in the getting together of governments to deal with international problems by conference, and there can be little doubt that it is a helpful and in fact indispensable procedure. First and foremost in our case in the discussion of inter-Imperial relations provided by the Imperial Conference. These meetings are held every three or four years, and in addition to them we have various subsidiary conferences. Then we have what may be called a permanent conference at the League of Nations, operating through the Assembly, the Council, the Secretariat, and the various committees and special organizations which provide a meeting place for nearly all the nations of the world. In addition, there are special conferences held from time to time to deal with such subjects as air navigation, shipping, the pollution of water by oil, drawing up a Red Cross convention, and a score of different activities. We have in the Department at Ottawa a central agency whose duty it is to provide a permanent storehouse of information and a central directing force for the work in the legations abroad, and to facilitate participation in the Imperial Conferences, the League of Nations and the special conferences from time to time. Other departments are of course interested in their special phases of this international work.

Canada has been taking a rapidly increasing part, a big part, in the development of its international relations. In view of the improvisation of many of the agencies used in this development, it is a part which no one who reviews Canada's share in international affairs from the framing of the Treaty of Versailles and the establishment of the League of Nations down to the present time, will say is wholly inadequate. Development has been rapid, but it has not progressed far enough yet. I do not think either, that anyone who has looked into the facts will say that it has involved undue burden upon the country. I anticipated Miss Macphail's calculations a year or so ago by doing a little mathematics, and after summing up the total cost of the Department of External Affairs, the contribution to the maintenance of the League of Nations, the upkeep of the High Commissioner's Office, the three legations and the Geneva office abroad, it worked out to a little more than one-half of one per cent of what the country is still spending every year as a result of our share in the last war. The total cost of carrying on our international relations is well under one per cent of the money we spend every year as interest on war debt, pensions and soldier settlements. So that I do not think anybody would say that an extravagant proportion of the nation's revenue is being directed to this activity. Whether the policies carried out by these agencies are always sound or not is a matter of course of individual opinion.

There is one angle in that connection upon which I wish to say a word, and that is the question of recruiting men for these various services, particularly so far as direct government service is concerned. May I quote from a reference made by the mover of the resolution? (Reading):

We have representatives—I may not be using the correct terms—in Geneva, Paris and London, and the work that is carried on in all of those places requires, and as time goes on will to a greater extent require, the services of young men and women who are well fitted to take their place there. Those young men and women can be well fitted to do so only if they have a knowledge of international affairs. They must be definitely trained to serve in our offices abroad, whether we call them legations or the offices of representatives. It would seem to me it would be wise that as large a number as possible of these young men and women who go to serve abroad should first have had experience in the

Department of External Affairs at home. They need to know the conditions that we have to meet right here in Canada; they need to know something about the personalities they must work with in the home office when they go abroad.

I think that is thoroughly sound. No office is of any use unless you can get adequately trained people to work it, and as regards the special suggestion as to preliminary experience in the Department of External Affairs before going abroad to legation posts. I may say that that is our policy so far as it can possibly be worked out, though our small numbers have made it impossible to carry this feature out so far as we would have liked. For example, of the two secretaries who went to Tokyo to assist Mr. Marler, one had been in the Department of External Affairs for one year and the other had been there for about six months. If the size of our staff permitted, we should like to develop that further and not merely have members trained in the Department of External Affairs for the purpose of going abroad, but bring them back after they have been abroad, to give us the advantage of the points of view they have developed in their absence.

Miss Macphail continues, however, somewhat more pessimistically, and I do not agree with her quite as fully. In the last part of her statement she says. (Reading):

I should like to ask the government and, indeed, all of us: What provision have any of us tried to make for young people that they may fit themselves for service abroad? I wonder whether there is any other country as badly equipped to fit their young men and women to serve us well when they go to represent us in other parts of the world.

I do not think we are really in such bad shape as that.

Miss MACPHAIL: You will notice that I said, "I wonder".

The WITNESS: Yes, I must say you have safeguarded yourself quite well. There is one advantage Canada has in this matter of training that perhaps is not generally realized, and that is our bilingual character, though so far as our English-speaking people are concerned, we do not always take full advantage of the opportunity of acquiring the two languages which are so useful when abroad. Then, I think I would be safe in saying that if we took the last half dozen men appointed to the Department of External Affairs and the Legations abroad, is would be found that they have had much more international training than the last half dozen appointed in Great Britain, the United States or France. That may seem a paradox, but it is very simple when you consider it. Great Britain and the United States and France are so big and so self contained that they have institutions at home where young people entering international affairs can be completely trained, they may go abroad for language study, but for the most part their studying is done at home. Canada, a much smaller country and in an earlier stage of development, has not yet developed fully the graduate institutions that the older countries have, and a large portion of our students preparing for this work must therefore go abroad. Take, for example, some of the men recently appointed, all of whom had graduated from Canadian universities, and most of whom had additional study abroad. One was a Rhodes scholar; another was the holder of a Quebec government scholarship and had studied in Paris; another had been awarded a scholarship in a United States university and had taken a graduate course there. It may be that we have had exceedingly good luck in our representatives, and we perhaps should not expect it to continue. I hope that increased provision will be made for scholarships, which will incidentally assist in training the men who are to be used in carrying on Canada's international affairs.

The only suggestion I can make as to what the Dominion government should do in this respect would be that incidental to our task of administration, it might be possible, if funds were available, to take three or four of the young people who had written on the Civil Service examination for Third Secretaryship after passing through a Canadian university; it might be possible to take three or four of them and send them abroad at a moderate stipend. They might be attached to the High Commissioner's office in London or the Canadian Advisory Officer's office in Geneva or to the legations in Washington or Paris or Tokyo for the period of a year. Let them spend part of the time in the office where they would towards the end of their time be worth their board, perhaps, and spend part of their time studying in advanced institutions in the cities in which they were located. At the end of the time let them come back to Canada. We would not promise them government posts, and I do not think it is desirable that they all should have them. But by such procedure we might be able to assist, without going outside of the field of federal activity, and without any great cost, in helping to give each year an increasing number of young Canadians some knowledge of international relations as they are actually carried on.

By Mr. Thorson:

Q. You would confine that to people on the eligible list?—A. I think that would be the simplest way to select them; they would presumably be people who had passed the examination. Not necessarily, perhaps, the ones at the top, because the ones ranking higher and with more experience might be available immediately for appointment to a post, but possible younger people of promise.

On the whole, I think that the main work that the Dominion parliament and government can do in the way of the development of international relations is to be done through their own legislation, their own administration, that is their own task. Anything that this committee or that this house can do to develop the Department of External Affairs, which I humbly suggest is one of the most necessary means of building up what we would all want, is one way to succeed in this effort. I have talked longer than I expected but if there is any question I will be pleased to answer if I can.

By Mr. Neill:

Q. The specific recommendation in the reference I understand is that we should endow a chair in each university and also scholarships. Can Dr. Skelton state how many universities there are in Canada and what would be the capital cost of a chair in each case; also, roughly, the capital cost of establishing one scholarship for each university?—A. It is a little difficult to say how many universities, as there are some marginal institutions not always termed universities. I think eighteen or twenty; say twenty, because it is easier to multiply by that number than by eighteen. Then a chair should bring an income of \$4,000 for a professor.

Mr. HOWARD: Say \$5,000, and make it easy.

The WITNESS: That would mean practically \$100,000 for each chair.

By Mr. Neill:

Q. Does that cover the total cost of a chair; is there not the cost of subordinates?—A. Yes; institutions grow, the professor after he was there a year or two would want an assistant to do the work, but we will leave that out of count. Say two million dollars as the capital cost of a chair for international relations in each Canadian university. Then the scholarships. Those given by the Quebec government and by the university of the Women's Federation are of an annual value of about \$1,200; each Rhodes scholarship is \$2,000.

On the basis of say \$1,500 it would require a capital value of \$30,000 for each, and with twenty institutions the total would be \$600,000. That, of course, provides only for the one-way purpose of sending Canadians abroad; you would double that if you brought in an equal number of foreign students to Canada or in other words the total capital cost would be at least \$3,200,000.

By the Chairman:

Q. Roughly \$4,000,000?—A. Yes.

By Mr. Howard:

Q. Do you not consider that Canadians by reason of birth, environment and versatility, with proper training would become as good, if not better, diplomatic agents than those of any other country in the world?—A. I think we have no reason to be ashamed of the men who have carried on our international affairs from the time of Sir John Macdonald down to the present day.

Miss MACPHAIL: I think the question unnecessary; I do not think anyone wishes to throw any doubt on our representatives abroad.

Mr. HOWARD: My question was quite serious and my contention was proved during the Great War. We sent over green troops and in many cases they did better than many who had spent their lifetime in army training.

Mr. WOODSWORTH: Dr. Skelton has given a masterly and careful review of the situation, but perhaps he was inclined to say as we came to each department, that Canada might well devote itself to other fields and to suggest, or to question somewhat the constitutionality or propriety at least, of entering upon a general educational campaign such as might be suggested by the reference. One or two questions occurred to me; Canada is entrusted clearly with the questions of peace and war. We are spending twenty million dollars a year in active preparation for war. Has Dr. Skelton no constructive suggestion to offer how we could spend a little more on the preparation for peace? It seems to me that part is rather destroyed. He has outlined some further expenditure by his own department but not with regard to the general program for the promotion of peace. I ask him is there no possible way that more could be spent for peace, without infringing upon any other private field.

The WITNESS: I think there is a great deal to be done but one must remember the specialization of function that is established under our federal system. Provinces and municipalities have nothing to do with the conduct of war, and therefore you find the whole burden of the preparation for war in the federal budget, which may make it look somewhat out of proportion in so far as direct expenditures for the development of peace are concerned. You must consider in this question the situation as a whole; look at it from the national standpoint, what Canada, as a whole, is doing in preparing for adequate participation in international affairs. You must look at the whole educational system to see what the provinces and the municipalities are spending in their appropriate way, to come to any conclusion. Further, I think that the government can most effectively encourage peace by continuing to follow along the path that has been taken for the last twenty-five or thirty years, that is, taking an increasingly active interest in all international affairs of concern to this Dominion, an active interest in world movements for peace through the League of Nations, through the Assembly and the Council, in which we have been represented for nearly three years, and to take part in every promising movement such as the Briand-Kellogg pact; to push forward as has recently been done, the peaceful settlement of international disputes, by signing the optional clauses. In other words, I think the main contribution of the Dominion parliament, and the federal government, must be through their direct activities in carrying on their

own job of contact with other governments and dealing with practical international problems. I think that the task of training public opinion, the task of training the people to deal with these affairs is one which under our present distribution of labour falls in the main to other agencies.

Mr. WOODSWORTH: We have a Royal Military College to-day carried on specifically by the Dominion government, would there be anything wrong with having a national international relations college?

The WITNESS: I would like to answer that question by asking Mr. Woodsworth if he does not think it better to have all military training concentrated in a single college and to have every other college and high school open to the teaching of peace?

Mr. WOODSWORTH: Dr. Skelton must not evade the question. I am stating that that is the particular work supported by the Dominion government and comes solely under its jurisdiction. I would ask as to the constitutional aspect, would it not be possible to have a specialized college to deal with international affairs?

The WITNESS: No, I do not think there should be any necessary objection. If the Dominion government found that they could not in any way train trade commissioners or train members of legations and departmental staffs, it would be quite within its sphere to establish a training school for such a purpose, but I do not think it is necessary or advisable. The training for peace is so much wider than the training for war; it is not merely a question of specialized knowledge but a question of wide background, a question of a point of view, the question of an attitude, a question of training in thinking. I do not think the establishment of any one institution specialized in that field would be the best way to go about it. I think the Dominion government is much better advised in utilizing the ordinary product of our schools and colleges with the further facilitating of preparation through scholarships of the provinces or private agencies.

Mr. WOODSWORTH: Take another thing—the Dominion government is interested in cadet training, on which we spend half a million dollars a year. Would there be any more objection to providing some definite training from the peace point of view through our schools? We use our schools to give certain training, we use them to teach the cadets, is there anything unconstitutional in spending half a million dollars for that purpose?

The WITNESS: Does one wrong justify another; supposing we have started a bad precedent should we go on?

Miss MACPHAIL: Would Dr. Skelton consider the cadet training in the schools propaganda on one side of this question? He said he was against propaganda, and said he wanted general, broad education. What would he call that?

The WITNESS: I would have to make a much more intimate study of cadet training before I could express an opinion. So far as my personal observation goes I doubt whether the effect of such training on average youngsters is to increase their militarism. I had better refer you to the Department of National Defence.

Miss MACPHAIL: I want to make it clear that whatever difference of opinion there may be in regard to the value of cadet training I do not think it is going too far to say that it is in the nature of propaganda and is carried on by the Dominion government through the provincial governments in the provinces. And not only that—a thing I have never mentioned before—that is the opening of parliament in the Senate, with all the attendant military display. Every time we have official openings, which the representative of His Majesty attends there is purely military display. In my opinion that is

propaganda of a very subtle sort. It is done by the government of Canada, and if we are going to leave the propaganda on the other side to the initiative of the individual and to the initiative of the already over-burdened provinces, can, or will, Dr. Skelton say that, as a Dominion parliament, we are not putting propaganda on one side and nothing to counteract it on the other? That is the impression in Canada among the common people, the folk, the people that made Canada.

The WITNESS: That is largely a question of personal opinion. I suppose, defenders of the cadet training would say it is not established for creating military propaganda but primarily for the physical training, and is the best way of giving such training. Personally, I have never fully agreed with that view. I think it would be interesting, however, and I would suggest to Miss Macphail, that she make a study of the actual effect of cadet training in the schools. Does it or does it not increase military leanings? I think it makes a good many fed up with military training.

Miss MACPHAIL: It allows the school to bulldoze the child into doing something it does not want to do. While it is supposed to be optional, the cadet training in the province of Ontario is not optional. I say this for the reason that in the field of sport and social activities it is used as a club to see that the boy goes into the cadet corps. If he does not, he is ostracized and I think a youth feels that worse than an older person. This situation seems to me far more serious than some would seem to admit.

Mr. HOWARD: Mr. Woodsworth made a charge a minute ago when he stated the government was spending twenty million dollars a year in the preparation for war, and in his argument challenged the wisdom of the military college and cadet training. I do not think we should consider that those institutions are of the nature of a preparation for war, far from it, I think it is one of the finest ways of training boys who need proper discipline.

Mr. CHEVRIER: There seems to be a misunderstanding; it has not been proven one way or the other that the cadet training indicates that it is for the purpose of war. Some may have the opinion that its purpose is military training, but I hold the other opinion and so far as I am concerned, it is really wonderful to train cadets and girl guides in this manner. I have no boys of my own, but, if I had, they would certainly receive that training. I have two daughters, and they certainly are going to be girl guides. I do not think it has been shown that cadet training in any way fosters bellicose sentiments and ideas in the mind of the child. I think it is really a wonderful system of education and discipline, and I think that many of the deeds of valour that were performed on the fields of Flanders by an army that had had such a simple training as the Canadian army—many of these deeds found their origin in the summer schools and in the training camps that just give the rudiments, and, unfortunately, just the very rudiments of discipline and training.

Mr. THORSON: Surely all this is irrelevant.

Mr. CHEVRIER: There is only one thing I want to know: The means whereby the government may continue to give increased opportunities for the promotion of the sentiment which we are trying to discuss now, viz. peace.

Mr. McMILLAN: Mr. Chairman, just one point. With all due deference to the expressions of opinion of my good lady friend, Miss Macphail, I think it would be a mistake to allow the impression to go abroad that in the province of Ontario it is not optional to undergo cadet training. I may say that all of my small family went to the Seaforth High School, and it was made clear, my family have told me repeatedly that it was always made distinctly clear, that it was optional as to whether they would take part in it or not. With respect to military training, there is one thing we must all admit, and that is that if there is a

province in our dominion which is inclined towards peace, it is our sister province, the province of Quebec, and yet that province is patronizing cadet training to a greater degree than the province of Ontario.

Miss MACPHAIL: I would like to ask Dr. Skelton a question. What has he to say about the possibility, in the near future, of establishing in the Department of External Affairs a League of Nations Section, as has been done in Great Britain? This section is, I believe, closely connected with the work of the League of Nations Union in Great Britain. I am not clear on that point. I would like to know something about the work of the League of Nations Section in Great Britain, and what he thinks of the possibility of similar work being done in this country?

The WITNESS: I think that is a very practical and helpful direction in which to move. In the first place, with regard to the Foreign Office in Great Britain, there is a League of Nations Section in it which is simply a part of its general and administrative organization. It is not, as far as I am aware, connected with the League of Nations Union.

Miss MACPHAIL: There is no connection?

The WITNESS: No connection. The British Foreign Office has a section, for example, dealing with Western Europe, a section dealing with Middle Europe, and a section dealing with the League of Nations. It is not educational, but purely administrative. So far as Canada is concerned, we have made a beginning in the Department of External Affairs; we have assigned one man to give half his time to League of Nations affairs. It is not enough. We would like to have at least one to put his whole time on it, and to assist in preparing the material for the various conferences and delegations. I am glad Miss Macphail drew attention to this aspect. But it should also be remembered that Canada is the only part of the British Commonwealth of Nations, except the Irish Free State, which maintains a permanent office in Geneva.

Miss MACPHAIL: I know.

The WITNESS: There is no British office there, no Australian office. I understand Australia and South Africa have been thinking of establishing one. We have Dr. Riddell, together with Colonel Vanier and until recently Mr. McGreer, giving their time in assisting the government and various delegations.

Miss MACPHAIL: And they would more or less constitute a League of Nations Section?

The WITNESS: Exactly, except it is in Geneva rather than in Ottawa. I quite agree that it would be desirable if we could also have a separate staff, someone who had a good Geneva background, on full time.

Mr. WOODSWORTH: Dr. Skelton rather doubts the advisability of extending the grants to the League of Nations Society. I would like to ask him if he could give us any information as to whether the present grant is equal to that which is now being paid to Artillery and Infantry Associations and other national military organizations?

The WITNESS: I think I would like to qualify the statement that Mr. Woodsworth has made. I did not wish to give the impression, speaking as a citizen, not as a civil servant, that the government grant to the League of Nations Society should not be increased, but I think its increase should be made conditional upon the development of voluntary aid. I was glad to see an endowment fund campaign being launched by the Society the other day. I think it is a move in the right direction. If that is carried through to a successful conclusion, and if the voluntary contributions are kept up, although I frankly admit the great difficulty in extracting \$15,000 from 15,000 individuals throughout the country; but if the voluntary aid is kept up, I think that is a good case for increased government aid; but increased government aid should be conditional on such voluntary aid

Mr. THORSON: Has the Department formulated any policy with regard to promotion from the Civil Service as ministerial posts offer, or is it too early in the history of the Department to have formulated any such scheme? There has been a good deal of dispute with regard to the status of the ministers of some of the nations. In China for example, coming from the Departments rather than from persons who have served in parliament or who have occupied public positions. Has any policy been considered by the Department with regard to that?

The WITNESS: Well, it is rather early, particularly as our legations are as yet on so limited a scale, to have formulated a policy in that respect. My own view would be that a compromise should be worked out. I think there is need for promoting men from the ranks to fill ministerial posts, and that if you are to have an effective, keen and active service, there has to be an occasional opportunity for such promotion for keen and ambitious men. At the same time, I think it would be a mistake to have the service too wholly professionalized. I think it will be always desirable to call upon men of political and business experience, which is quite as necessary as technical training, to command particularly some of the more important posts. I think it would be desirable to work out such a compromise.

The CHAIRMAN: A university training would not be absolutely insisted upon for every position?

The WITNESS: Absolutely not. Some posts require special qualifications.

The CHAIRMAN: Are there any other questions? Mr. Letellier, I think you had a question to ask.

Mr. LETELLIER: I am sorry, but I believe I will wait until the next meeting, because what I wish to say might conflict with what is now under discussion.

Mr. McMILLAN: Mr. Chairman, I think the thanks of the committee are due to our good lady friend, Miss Macphail. I think I voice the feeling of every member of the committee when I say that we have had most valuable information contributed by Dr. Skelton this morning, and I would like to move on behalf of the committee a vote of thanks to him.

Mr. LETELLIER: I desire to second that motion.

Motion agreed to.

Miss MACPHAIL: Before we adjourn, may I say I would like to draw the attention of Mr. Howard to the fact that the discussion of this morning, and the very excellent review of the whole situation by Dr. Skelton—even if at some points I do not agree with him—have been so good as wholly to justify the resolution being referred to this committee.

Mr. HOWARD: I agree. I may say that I certainly enjoyed every word that Dr. Skelton said, and his remarks are all the more valuable because they come from a man so thoroughly in touch with the international relations of Canada.

The CHAIRMAN: Dr. Skelton, I have much pleasure in extending to you the thanks of the committee for your attendance here, and for the information and advice you have given to the committee on the question under review.

The WITNESS: I am very glad if I have been able to contribute to any angle of this discussion. It is a great pleasure, to those of us who work in the day to day grind, to know that there are so many of you who are interested in this problem, and I hope that, whether in meetings of this character or in individual discussions, you will call on the services of any of my colleagues or myself, at any time.

The committee then adjourned until Thursday, March 27, at 11 o'clock.

MINUTES OF EVIDENCE

COMMITTEE ROOM 425,

HOUSE OF COMMONS,

THURSDAY, March 27, 1930.

The Select Standing Committee on Industrial and International Relations met at 11 o'clock, a.m., the Chairman, Mr. C. R. McIntosh, presiding.

The CHAIRMAN: Ladies and Gentlemen, you remember the sub-committee you appointed at the first meeting to deal with our future meetings. I might say that sub-committee met and it has wired Professor Norman Mackenzie, of Toronto University, to be here next Tuesday. We have not received word from him as to whether he will be present or not, but we think he will. We are also getting in touch with Dean P. E. Corbett, M.C., of McGill, to give evidence later, and also the President of the League of Nations Society in Canada, Dr. H. M. Tory. They will be our future witnesses. We have had Doctor Skelton, and we have Mr. Graham Spry with us to-day. As to whether we need any more witnesses, the sub-committee, on instructions from the main committee, can take that matter up.

Now, we have with us this morning Mr. Graham Spry, National Secretary of the Association of Canadian Clubs. Mr. Spry has done splendid work in connection with that organization, and is doing it still. We thought it fitting to have him appear as a witness this morning to give us evidence on the motion before the Committee.

GRAHAM SPRY, called and sworn.

By the Chairman:

Q. What is your name in full?—A. Graham Spry.

Q. And your position?—A. National Secretary of the Association of Canadian Clubs.

Q. Now, I think, Mr. Spry, you are acquainted with what we did at our last meeting, and if you would just launch into the subject and give us your analysis of it from your point of view, then we can take the matter up more fully later on, by asking questions. But before you start, I have to go in to the Pensions Committee. There are a lot of soldier settlers in my riding, and I feel it incumbent upon me to be present, and I would like the Committee to appoint a Chairman in my place.

Moved by Mr. Johnstone that Mr. Jenkins be Acting Chairman.

The WITNESS: Mr. Chairman and honourable gentlemen, I was somewhat at a loss, when I was informed that I was to be summoned before this Committee, because I was not sure in what manner I could assist the Committee in its deliberations. On reading over the invitation, it struck me that, probably, in the work of the Association of Canadian Clubs, and in the work which has been done in some other similar organizations, such as the Canadian League, which is associated with Canadian clubs, that some information could be given, which would be of interest, and possibly of assistance, to the Committee in the matter of the study of international relations, and of the forming of public opinion on international questions in the Dominion of Canada.

With your permission, Sir, I would like also to draw upon the limited experience I myself have had in Europe; first, as a student, and, secondly, as an assistant member of Section of the International Labour Office at the League of Nations at Geneva. May I be permitted to draw on that experience in supplementing the most interesting information which I heard Dr. Skelton give to this Committee a few days ago? I desire, first, to make it clear that I am speaking solely on my own behalf; that the two organizations with which I am associated are, simply, deliberative bodies—they do not pass resolutions, they are not responsible in any sense for what I may say.

Possibly one of the most striking things, to the members of the Committee, if one interprets their minds correctly, was the brief review which Dr. Skelton gave on the quite extraordinary international position which this nation of Canada holds to-day: a member of the British Commonwealth—and when we are right we influence not only our own representatives, but the representatives of five or six other nations—an original member of the League of Nations; a part of the North American continent, and a neighbour of the United States, a nation midway between Europe and Asia, with increasing interest on both the Atlantic and the Pacific oceans. Our commercial and financial relations throughout the world, are growing. We have had a long experience—long for a nation old or young—long experience in arbitral methods of settling disputes. We are a people quite capable of fighting and yet, in no sense, are we militaristic, or in possession of militaristic traditions. I think also we can say that we are a people without any sense of race domination, whatever our racial origin may be, and that we are, at least sometimes at peace with our neighbours of the other races. With regard to our constitutional history, our relations with other British nations become not only the basis of what we know as the British Commonwealth to-day, but also of that system of relations which is the basis of the League of Nations.

Those of us who heard General Smuts will recall that phrase in his address making this clear; and in his speeches, and in Lord Robert Cecil's articles in 1919, will find that they looked to the experience of the British Empire—particularly to the relations as established by the nationalist movement of the Dominions—as the only working model of a Commonwealth system that existed in the world when the question of establishing a League of Nations arose. The Covenant of the League may quite accurately be said to be based very largely upon the constitutional relations of the British Empire of which Canada, in the nineteenth century, was the dominant influence.

Canadians are a people, also, who have neither a tradition of military aggressiveness, nor, on the other hand, of "splendid isolation" or of "no entangling alliances." We have no enemies; we have many friends. Above all, we are an intermediate nation of growing power—not a small power, but a rapidly strengthening nation, and a power in the international sphere, in the extraordinary and unusual position of being disinterested. At Geneva, the Canadian people have very little special interests to serve. They act impartially and judicially.

A situation, Sir, which we fail to realize in Canada. It provides us with a unique opportunity, in the present day system of international relations where, at least, in some respects, moral influence has its power, and gunnage and tonnage are not the only consideration. Dr. Skelton, I think, made that comment in other terms: that whereas the great powers were the sole forces in international matters formerly; to-day, the intermediate powers, such as Canada, and some of the greater South American republics, and other British dominions, and perhaps the Scandinavian nations (or Switzerland), not because of their aggressive strength of arms are of vital influence because of their impartiality and their disinterestedness—and exert quite an influence at Geneva. One may only recall the influence of Dr. Udden, during the first attempt of Germany, in 1926, to enter the League of Nations, to see the influence that the small nations may wield in the councils of the world where parliamentary methods obtain.

I think one may agree that if Canadians have the opportunities and occasionally, these virtues, they also have their defects. We lack the national unity and tradition of, say, Great Britain. We are too strongly influenced by the "parish pump," and we also have great difficulty in elevating our politics above local issues, local needs. The channels of forming national public opinion are amazingly weak, though they are growing and the obstacles in those channels are being reduced. Yet, in the main, it is accurate to say that the channels for the formation of a national public opinion—the basis of popular government or democracy—are too narrow, and there are too many obstructions.

I think also it is accurate to say, and I suggest this upon my acquaintance with the League of Nations Society, Canadian clubs, the Canadian League study groups, and the Institute of International Affairs, that there are too few people studying international questions in the Dominion of Canada. I trust that you will permit me to dwell a little upon that later.

I think also, speaking as an English Canadian, that the English Canadian fails to realize the great advantage which his fellow countryman, the French Canadian, has in being bilingual, and I regret that I went through an educational system which did not provide me with both languages, that I might compete with that ("dominant") Quebec bilinguism, a great advantage to anyone at Geneva, or any other international centre.

I think, in consequence of these defects, that Canadians may fail to realize the extraordinary position which I outlined at the beginning. I think possibly we fail to understand our position less than the people of Europe. I recall an election in Canada—not the last one, but the one prior to that—when I was in Geneva, and there were several editorials in the "Journal de Genève" on the Canadian election, and the possible effect the Canadian election would have on Canadian foreign policy.

I think the weakness certainly does not lie in our Department of External Affairs. I know all of the members of that department, and I believe that they are overworked, that the department is under-staffed, and that it is doing a magnificent work. The real weakness in Canada is the lack of a strong, healthy and well-informed national public opinion.

I will try, with that prelude, to deal now with the question in this manner: first, to show what some organizations are doing; secondly, to glance at what some educational institutions in Canada are doing, and some educational organizations with which I have had experience, are doing; and third, to touch upon a weakness of Canadian public opinion, which this committee might find it possible in part to correct.

First, as to the educational organizations, I will deal with that organization of which I am national secretary—the Association of Canadian Clubs. It is a non-partisan organization, as you know. It does not pass resolutions, and it is not engaged in political questions of any character. It is a deliberative body, an organization for the discussion of public questions, taking as independent a view as possible, welcoming all points of view. If one looks at the list of speakers who addressed the Canadian Clubs, it will be seen that it ranges from one extreme to the other in Canadian politics, and in Canadian social questions. Some three and a half years ago the Canadian clubs strengthened their federation and established a national office at Ottawa, with a committee, and since that time this committee at Ottawa has organized speakers' itineraries which cover the whole of Canada. The number of Canadian Clubs in that same period has grown from 83 to 110, and that number includes not only the large cities, but, latterly, several score of small communities. The smallest Canadian Club is at Govenlock, Saskatchewan. It is a railway station, with a population of 8, and the Canadian Club has a membership of 125. It is mainly composed of ranchers and farmers of the district.

By Mr. Bourassa:

Q. Did you say that the total number of clubs now is 110?—A. Yes.

Q. All over Canada?—A. All over Canada.

Q. And all federated?—A. Yes, that includes several bilingual clubs and one altogether French-speaking Club in Quebec. The point I am making about the small clubs is that the Canadian Club platform is capable of reaching practically every region in Canada, and that the committee which organized this National Association represents the various views of the Canadian people. I am not going into those itineraries, but I might say that, at least, one in eight of all the meetings which the Canadian Clubs hold in the year, are devoted to external questions. The Canadian Clubs hold nearly 2,000 meetings a year, and of these 2,000 meetings the Association office at Ottawa is responsible for some 500.

Now, with regard to our program covering international relations, may I touch, briefly, upon a few of the speakers, and indicate the work which has been done. For example, for 2 years the Association of Canadian Clubs organized itineraries for Sir Herbert Ames, covering all Canadian Clubs from coast to coast. In each university he delivered a series of four lectures. He also spoke to high schools and normal schools, to the League of Nations Societies, and to the study groups, the Canadian League, and thus reached a tremendous swath of Canadian public opinion. I might point out that, partly as a consequence of that tour by Sir Herbert Ames, in which he advocated that Canada, recently elected to the council, should be represented at Geneva by her Prime Minister, that Sir Herbert assisted in creating an opinion which made it possible for the Prime Minister to go to Geneva.

Sir George Foster, of course, has spoken frequently on the League of Nations. Colonel David Carnegie, two years ago, came across to Canada. He was on the Munitions Board during the war, and was in the Disarmament Section of the League of Nations. We have arranged to have him speak throughout Canada on the Naval Disarmament Conference. I might say, that our first subject for him was "The success of the Naval Conference."

We have arranged an itinerary for H. B. Butler, Deputy Director, International Labour Office; for Philip Kerr, on the Naval situation and European politics; for Mr. Lionel Curtis, on China and Pacific problems; for Dr. C. C. Wu, on China; for Hon. C. A. Dunning; Mr. Basil Allen, on India; Professor J. T. Shotwell, on American foreign policy, and Rev. Richards Netram, on India. We arranged for Hon. Herbert Marler; Professor Norman Mackenzie; Dean P. E. Corbett; Mr. Tom Moore, President Trades and Labour Congress, on the Kyoto conference; Right Hon. L. C. Amery, on the Near East; General Sir Gordon Guggisberg, on Africa; Major P. S. Hargreaves, on the Middle East; Professor F. W. Kerr; Hon. N. W. Rowell, on the Kyoto conference; L. J. Burpee, on the International Joint Commission; E. J. Tarr, K.C., on Pacific Relations. We have also, of course, assisted in the arranging of itineraries for various British statesmen, such as Right Hon. Stanley Baldwin; Right Hon. Ramsay MacDonald, who spoke on the general relation of the Empire to Peace, and for foreign ministers to Canada. The Canadian Clubs have also made it a policy to make use of Canadian trade commissioners who are visiting in Canada periodically, to speak on Canadian export trade, and on the countries from which they come. We have had numerous speakers on Canadian-American relations—for example, the St. Lawrence-Great Waterways Project, and other Canadian and American questions. Some of these addresses, especially the British Columbia addresses, are broadcast, the members of smaller communities in the country meeting at the same time as the Canadian Club in Vancouver, and they listen in to the broadcast address.

I hope I have indicated something of the ramifications of the work on international questions in which the association of Canadian Clubs, and individual Canadian Clubs have assisted.

The official publication, "The Canadian Nation," has also had a similar policy, and they had in each issue an article on international questions. Some of the articles were entitled: "Canadian Legations Abroad," by Right Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King; "Some Recent Developments in Internationalism," by Hon. C. A. Dunning; "Canada and the Anglo-American Naval Question," by Philip Kerr; "The Freedom of the Seas" and "The I'm Alone Incident," by Norman Mackenzie. There have also been articles on relations between the races within our frontiers, such as "Unity in Diversity," by Hon. E. Lapointe; "The Contribution of the French Regime," by Sir Robert Borden; "One Nation, Two Cultures," by the Editor; "Mosaic or Melting Pot," and other articles.

In some ways associated with the Canadian Clubs, is a net work of study groups called the Canadian League. There are some 20 of these study groups throughout Canada, mostly in the large cities. They have been in existence for four or five years. The idea of each of these groups is to represent the various points of view in each city. For example, in Winnipeg the editor of "The Free Press," the editor of "The Tribune," the editor of the farmers' paper, and a representative of the Labour party, etc., are members. Then the representatives of the various religions also attend. In a word, an epitome of the commercial, economic, political, and social interests of that community belong to the study group. These groups meet two or three times a month to study public questions. They do not pass resolutions. They do not attempt to bring their point of view to bear on any institution, but the information which the members acquire, the points of view they obtain at these group meetings, are carried into force in their own lines of activity. For example, an editor, dealing with an international question, uses the information for discussion on his editorial page. The relation between the Canadian Clubs and the Association—if it is not too controversial to mention it before a committee of the House discussing divorce—our relation might be described as "companionate marriage." There is no official connection between the Canadian Club and the Canadian League, but there is a link in the fact that the secretary of each is the same individual.

Mr. WOODSWORTH: "Personal union."

The WITNESS: There is no question of "sovereignty." These study groups devote a considerable amount of time to international relations. I have, here, the bulletin of the Canadian League, and it has questionnaires and notes on various international questions, and references to work which is going on. I desire to give only a hasty outline of these two organizations.

Turning to the universities; there may be a question raised, how far do Canadian universities devote themselves to the study of international questions. The obvious comment, in the first place, is that one cannot study history, one cannot study economics, without necessarily studying international relations. I do not know whether there are specific courses in international relations given in Canadian universities, but I do know that in my own university of Manitoba, we had many lectures on international questions, and I can remember Professor Chester Martin's lectures on Russia, for example. On this subject more information, probably, could be given by the professors who may be invited to appear before this Committee. I would like to mention, however, that there are a number of the study groups in universities under the auspices of the League of Nations Society, as well as university debating societies, in which international questions are frequently considered.

As a comment, may I say that the universities, in many respects, are ahead of public opinion on these questions, and—in my own opinion—I am not sure, sir, if they are not ahead of that of some members of the House of Commons.

There is "Interdependence", the monthly magazine of the League of Nations Society in Canada, which is the only publication in Canada solely devoted to external affairs. It depends entirely upon the League of Nations Society in Canada for its expenses, and it is operated under voluntary editorship; nevertheless, it reaches between 13,000 and 17,000 people. I hope it has some influence, and its usefulness could be measurably increased.

In connection with the League of Nations Society, I have here several small publications which that Society has published. The first is an English publication which deals with world peace, in which I think Miss Macphail would be interested. There is a publication in English and French issued by the Canadian League of Nations Society. Several of the provincial departments of education have adopted this literature for use in high schools and, possibly, though I am not sure on this point, in lower grades.

MISS MACPHAIL: May I say that I presented my schools in Southeast Grey with a copy.

(Hear, hear.)

WITNESS: There is another form of activity, model assemblies. These model assemblies are organized on the same basis as the Assembly of the League of Nations at Geneva. The different countries are represented, debates are carried on. It is a mock parliament method applied to the League of Nations. Colonel Meredith, of the League of Nations Society in Canada has produced an admirable pamphlet on the subject, which I have before me.

Turning to the daily press, there is the telegraphic service, and I took the trouble, when I was notified of being requested to appear before this Committee, to go into the amount of cable news which this country receives, and I think people should be surprised at the quantity of direct cable news which Canadian newspapers receive on international questions. I see Mr. White, M.P. (Mount Royal), and editor of "The Gazette," Montreal, here and I know I must go carefully. But, the information I have, is that at least from 3 to 4,000 words are received by direct cable over the Canadian Press from the Reuters Agencies in London, and the Canadian Press correspondents. This is received in Canada and sent out to all the Canadian Press. Possibly every paper does not use all of this, but they do receive a very considerable quantity of information on international questions.

MR. BOURASSA: Sometimes misinformation?

THE WITNESS: I am sure that such organizations has the most extensive activities, co-operating with all the great news agencies of the world. Their service is, in fact, possibly the finest that could be obtained, and it is a question of how far and how effectively that news may be used.

Before touching upon certain weaknesses, may I mention such little experience as I have had abroad in the study of international questions. Let me first refer to the Geneva School of International Studies, where I was present at the first series of lectures in Geneva given by that institution, which grew out of some lectures given by the International Federation of University League of Nations Societies in 1924. It was there decided to start a more systematic educational venture, and in the summer of 1925, there was established the Geneva School of International Studies. It was held during the weeks which preceded the Assembly at Geneva, and lectures were given by the League of Nations Secretariat, and representatives of other nations throughout the world delivered lectures to the students. I recall, in one summer, a gentleman was brought from the Press Gallery in Ottawa to give lectures on Canada. In the

first year, 1925, there were 579 students representing 30 countries, and 115 universities at that school, and that number is steadily increasing. However, there are too few Canadians represented and some scholarships to assist attendance at that school would be very helpful. They could be reasonably small in amount, and would provide Canadians with an opportunity of meeting people of other nations, and would equally provide the people of other nations with an opportunity of meeting Canadians.

There is another Institute at Geneva—the Geneva School of Higher Studies. The two heads of that school are—M. Paul Mantoux and Dr. Mack Eastman. M. Mantoux is of France, and Dr. Eastman was formerly professor of History in the University of British Columbia. Post-graduate work in international questions is the main study there.

MISS MACPHAIL: Do you mean that these professors now conduct the school?

THE WITNESS: They did a year ago.

MR. McMILLAN: At Geneva?

THE WITNESS: Yes.

MISS MACPHAIL: Is it a short course?

THE WITNESS: No, I believe the idea was to lead to a degree, possibly a doctorate in International Relations. It would possibly help to prepare students of Canadian universities for service in our Department of External Affairs.

In Paris, there is the Ecole Libre des Sciences Politiques which gives specific courses in preparation for the French diplomatic service. On page 52 of the syllabus of 1923-24, in my hand (not filed), is an outline for example, of courses in diplomatic relations to prepare students for examinations to enter the French foreign service. There is the Section Diplomatique, with the Cours Reguliers, and Cours Facultatifs. The courses cover studies of various countries and various international questions. There is certainly nothing of that character, interest, and great scope at present in the Dominion of Canada.

At the University of Oxford, there is also given a course in International Relations, which may be found at page 110 of the "Excerpta e Statutis" of the University. I will not go into that, but that course similarly assists people who wish to enter the British Foreign Service. It is an optional subject and it is not a compulsory subject as at the "Ecole Libre des Sciences Politiques."

MR. LETELLIER: In order to follow these courses, do students have to apply to the provincial government?

THE WITNESS: Are you speaking of the "Ecole Libre des Sciences Politiques" in Paris?

MR. LETELLIER: To follow the courses you have mentioned?

THE WITNESS: At Geneva?

MR. LETELLIER: At Geneva.

THE WITNESS: Anyone may register. I think if there is any limitation, the only limitation is that they be of university standing, but not necessarily graduate standing so that any Canadian student who has his matriculation, or possibly even before he has his matriculation, may attend these lectures. The cost is very reasonable. I have had a number of courses there. The courses are under the direction of Dr. Alfred Zimmern, who is one of the assistant directors of the Institute of Intellectual Co-operation in Paris, formerly a tutor at Oxford.

The idea which I am trying to convey to the Committee is that Canada's position in international affairs, I think, is quite extraordinary; and secondly, that she has somehow failed to realize her opportunities.

Now, what are the weaknesses? Why have Canadians failed to exert the influence which, possibly, might have been exerted in the sphere of international relations? It is certainly not because of the amount of cable news received, or our want of information and it is certainly not because of any weakness in the Department of External Affairs. The fundamental weakness lies in Canadian public opinion itself. What are the weaknesses of public opinion on international questions? One of the great weaknesses—The sentimentalism of League Enthusiasts. They are dealing with the League of Nations in far too general terms. They are not showing the direct and concrete relationship between specific international questions and our own Canadian position. They are talking in generalities. In a word, they are not broadcasting sufficiently concrete facts; they are not dealing with actual questions. In this, there is a very great weakness. If as Canadians, we have one dominant characteristic, it is certainly that we are a very concrete people. We hardly know how to deal with abstract questions.

—And I speak as a former telegraph editor—it seems to me that the use made of our excellent cable service by our newspapers, is not as good as it might be. I speak of the collation and the understanding of the questions which are cabled through Canadian Press. Quite frequently important questions are ignored. The telegraph editor, invariably an overworked man, may leave them out because their significance is not understood. I might give a story to illustrate that more completely. In a certain western newspaper which has been interested for years in the question of national status, the editor picked up his evening paper and did not find, in print, the advance report on the last sitting of the Imperial Sub-Conference. It had appeared in the morning edition of his paper, but the telegraph editor did not consider it of sufficient interest to readers of the paper to include it in the evening edition. The point I am trying to make is that it does not seem to me—and I speak as a former telegraph editor—with sympathy for telegraph editors—that the telegraph editor as a class does not make as full and accurate use of international news which he receives as he might. There is not adequate co-operation and possibly that lack of collation is reflected in our editorial pages. Few of them give to the Canadian public the insight on international affairs that is certainly required.

There is also, in this country, a serious lack of weekly, monthly and quarterly publications of a character which a person may pick up at his leisure and readily acquire some pertinent comment and general knowledge on public questions. It really requires a scholar to follow international questions or public questions of a domestic character in our daily newspapers. The information is so ample and the papers are so large, that one is almost swamped. The weekly, monthly, and quarterly publications should be guides; yet they are guides in Canada which we lack, though there are excellent quarterly publications issued by both French and English universities.

Not knowing the rules of the House of Commons, or the rules which govern its committees, may I suggest that possibly more attention might be paid, and more time might be devoted, in the House of Commons, to the discussion of international questions. May I say, with the most proper respect; that when I was editing "Inter-dependence" for three years, singularly little help or guidance was received from the debates of the House of Commons.

I understand this committee has been in existence for some five years as a committee on Industrial and International Relations, and, yet, I am informed this is the first reference of any international subject to this committee. May I ask, for example, has there been any expression of the policy of the League of Nations of Canada in the Council with respect to the European minorities. Has there been any debate on that excellent body, the International Labour Office at Geneva? And another thing one notices—a lack which one regrets namely, the scarcity of public papers on international relations. For example, is there

any public paper setting forth the policy of Canada at Geneva on this question of minorities? It is a question of course, which hardly stirs this country, but it is still a great question in Europe, and only last week I received a letter from a German friend asking this question: "Could you give me some idea of what Canadian public opinion is on the Canadian Minorities policy at Geneva?" There was no guidance in the debates of the House of Commons on that question.

There are the two points; the brevity, or, shall one say the infrequency of discussion on international questions which directly concern Canada, and to which Canada is directing some attention at international conferences, and the fact that public papers are singularly infrequent and not always very helpful. It may be said with proper respect, the question that one asks oneself is this: can Parliament give the lead to Canadian public opinion on international questions which, in many respects, the country is prepared for, and which the amount of cable information received should tend to prepare the public of Canada to understand and welcome? That, surely, is a question, the settlement of which would undoubtedly arouse greater Canadian interest in international questions.

Mr. BOURASSA: Do not forget that we are living in an age of democracy, and Parliament must not lead, but must be led.

The WITNESS: Mr. Walter Bagehot, in his book on English Constitution, deals with that general point, and says that Parliament should not only be led, but should also lead; should educate. Quoting from a speech delivered by the Prime Minister on March 14, 1930, page 631:—

There is the necessity of an administration having the backing of public opinion before it can effectively take any steps whatsoever. It sometimes takes a little while for public opinion to ripen sufficiently to make itself felt throughout the country.

From a number of notes here, and which I am not going to go into, and which outline a method of developing public opinion, and which has been discussed by the Canadian clubs for the last two years—and the main principle is to establish an independent committee which would select subjects of international import and interest to Canadians—and national questions, as well—and that committee would represent men of unquestioned prestige, known throughout the Dominion. The intention is to do in Canada, in a word, by a different method, the sort of work that is done in Great Britain by the Royal Institute of International Affairs. There is room in Canada for some such organization.

This concludes my remarks. May I thank the committee for the privilege of presenting my views. I hope I have been in some small and modest way of a little assistance to the deliberations of this committee.

The CHAIRMAN: We are delighted to have Mr. Spry with us, and we thank him for his most informative address.

Miss MACPHAIL: I would like to ask Mr. Spry if it would be possible for, say, the Dominion Government, or Parliament, to offer scholarships in at least two or three institutes he has mentioned—the one in Geneva, the permanent one, and the one at Oxford? Have you thought of that, Mr. Spry?

The WITNESS: Mr. Chairman, I read the debates on this question in the House. There seemed to be so many difficult questions that a mere secretary would feel unqualified to answer. With regard to the principle of Canadians attending these institutes, certainly it would be most helpful, and as to the necessity for an increased number of scholarships, there should also be no disagreement.

Miss MACPHAIL: Since it is offered outside of Canada, I cannot see how it interferes with provincial rights in education; I do not think that question is involved.

Mr. GRAHAM SPRY: Mr. Chairman, there are a considerable number of Canadians going over every year. At Oxford, while I was there, it was estimated that there were about 80 Canadians in residence, and at the University of Paris, in any one year, I believe there are some 200 others. Then there is the excellent work which is being done by the Overseas Education League, of which Major Fred J. Ney is the secretary, which takes over 150 Canadian undergraduates, and 50 or more teachers to different countries in Europe. For instance, there was a school last summer in Paris for the study of French, and in England, at Stratford-on-Avon, there was a school given to the study of English literature; and then there was a travelling school for music in European countries. That work is being done, but there is not enough of it.

Mr. JOHNSTONE: I have much pleasure in moving a vote of thanks to Mr. Spry for his very instructive information. I may say he has been one of the best prepared witnesses I have ever listened to in this committee. His evidence was of very great importance. I only wish we may have more valuable information.

Mr. LETELLIER: At the last meeting Mr. Woodsworth put a question to the speaker concerning the possibility of establishing a national, or international, school in Canada. We have heard a lot concerning European scholarships from our speaker to-day, and he has taken several courses in the past, and I believe we heard considerable on the same matter, from our speaker at the last meeting. I would like to have his opinion on the question as to whether he thinks it would be possible, or advantageous, to establish national colleges or international colleges in Canada?

Mr. GRAHAM SPRY: Mr. Chairman, I might say that something in the nature of a college, or an institution, is under discussion. That has been discussed very briefly at conferences of the Association of Canadian Clubs, and something has been suggested, not exactly on the lines of the Institute of Politics at Williams-town, but having some resemblance—not devoting itself only to international questions, but also to national questions—which would bring to Ottawa, or to whatever center was chosen as the seat, experts, say, on Maritime problems, or on the province of British Columbia. A certain part of the meeting would be devoted to international questions. The method would be the seminar method, group discussion. The idea has much to commend it, and there is a considerable interest in it, from the standpoint of developing a Canadian consciousness, and it would be of equal advantage in increasing a Canadian knowledge of international questions. It is practical and necessary, but the real question is, where can one get the money?

Mr. WOODSWORTH: If I might go a little further on that idea of an institute, we are told that there is a school in Geneva, a school in London, and a school in Paris, for the study of international affairs. Would it not be feasible to have a school, say, at Ottawa, where students might come and spend a considerable period, a year or two years, in a definite study, and where they might receive some lectures and help from our own men in the Department of External Affairs, and to which might be brought professors from other places? We might have Mr. Shotwell, for example, come over and give a series of addresses, and we might have some of these men—Professor Zimmern for example—who are occasionally here, come and give a three months' course to the students. Would it not be a very great advantage in educating public opinion if we had colleges or schools of that kind established?

Mr. GRAHAM SPRY: Mr. Chairman, unquestionably that would be my opinion; but it is only my personal opinion. Canada strangely lacks institutions, essentially national, and some such college as that proposed or suggested of national character, would have a two-fold advantage. Our universities tend

to be provincial. The older universities have a national character, but at the same time it is a local character—related to one part of Canada. Our universities have not reached the same national position as say, the University of Paris, which represents the whole of France. Some such university as that is necessary, but, once again, it is a question of finance.

Mr. WOODSWORTH: I fancy, that if the idea of the reference is carried out, we could have abundant finances, because one dollar in every one hundred dollars would provide a fund of over one hundred thousand dollars a year. Mr. Spry has had considerable association with students both in this country and abroad. Would it not be a very great assistance to individual students, ambitious young students, if scholarships could be made available?

Mr. SPRY: Yes, unquestionably.

Mr. WOODSWORTH: Do you think the lack of funds is a bar to it?

Mr. SPRY: Yes, from observation, but not from an analysis of the situation, I would say yes, unquestionably. But I am only expressing my personal opinion on the resolution of Miss Macphail.

The CHAIRMAN: I presume a great many of the students would go with scholarships?

Mr. SPRY: I should think the overwhelming majority were on scholarships. The largest scholarship is the Rhodes Scholarship, and the Rhodes scholars go to Oxford. There are at Oxford at any one time, possibly 30 Canadian Rhodes scholars. That, I should think, would be the largest scholarship in Britain. Then there are the French university scholarships.

Miss MACPHAIL: Mr. Spry, I had a letter this morning from the President of one of our Canadian universities, and he discusses two concrete suggestions. He says:—

The first kind would be scholarships worth from five to eight hundred dollars to enable senior students or students who have just taken the B.A. degree to proceed to the Summer School of International Studies in Geneva. A copy of the curriculum of this school may be secured from the office of the Geneva School of International Studies, 218 Madison Avenue, New York City.

The second type of scholarship would be worth from one thousand to twelve hundred dollars, to enable graduate students to take a year's course in International Studies in the University of London.

My correspondent states that he has consulted with the professors of his university.

Mr. SPRY: Mr. Chairman, the first school referred to, namely, the Geneva school, is the one which I mentioned, and on which I have information here. Certainly, a few Canadians do attend that school, but a scholarship of that amount would assist in increasing the number. I do not know what to say with reference to the second suggestion with reference to the University of London; but any scholarship providing for Canadians at our own universities or at universities abroad, is admirable.

Moved by Mr. Johnstone, seconded by Mr. McMillan, that the thanks of the Committee be tendered to Mr. Spry for his most excellent and informative address.

Carried.

The Committee adjourned until Tuesday, April 1st, 1930, at 11 a.m.

to be provincial. The other universities have a national character, but at the same time it is a local character—related to one part of Canada. Our universities have not reached the same national position as yet. The University of Toronto, which represents the whole of Canada, is a national university as that is necessary, but once again it is a question of finances. I have now addressed you.

Mr. Woodsworth: I fancy that if the idea of the reference is carried out, we could have abundant finances, because one dollar in every one hundred dollars would provide a fund of over one hundred thousand dollars a year. This I fancy has not considerable assistance with students both in this country and abroad. Would it not be a very great assistance to individual students, especially young students, if scholarships could be made available?

Mr. Woodsworth: Yes, unquestionably, especially when you read I am sure of Mr.

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Mr. Spay: Yes, from observation, but not from an analysis of the situation.

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The latest scholarship is the Rhodes scholarship, and the Rhodes scholars go

to Oxford. There are at Oxford at any one time possibly 30 Canadian Rhodes

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amount would assist in increasing the number. I do not know what to say

with reference to the second suggestion with reference to the University of

London; but any scholarship providing for Canadians at our own universities

or at universities abroad is admirable.

Moved by Mr. Johnson, seconded by Mr. McMillan, that the thanks of

the Committee be rendered to Mr. Spay for his most excellent and informative

address.

Carried.

The Committee adjourned until Tuesday, April 2nd, 1930, at 11 a.m.

MINUTES OF EVIDENCE

COMMITTEE ROOM, 425,

HOUSE OF COMMONS,

April 1, 1930.

The Select Standing Committee on Industrial and International Relations met at 11 o'clock a.m., the Chairman, Mr. C. R. McIntosh, presiding.

The CHAIRMAN: I think, ladies and gentlemen, we have a quorum and we will now proceed. Now, I am sure we are glad to have with us to-day Professor MacKenzie of Toronto University to give evidence this morning before the Committee. We have had two splendid witnesses so far, Dr. Skelton, Under-Secretary of State for External Affairs, and Mr. Graham Spry, National Secretary of the Association of Canadian Clubs; and now we are to hear the evidence of Professor Mackenzie of Toronto University. I think Professor MacKenzie understands the question referred to the Committee, therefore it is unnecessary to go into it, so we will just ask the Professor to be sworn and give to us his story.

PROFESSOR NORMAN A. MACKENZIE, LL.M., Lecturer in International and Canadian Constitutional Law in the University of Toronto, called and sworn.

The WITNESS: Mr. Chairman and members of the Committee, I have followed with the greatest interest the debates in the House of Commons on the motion of Miss Macphail and, also, the evidence given before your Committee by Dr. Skelton. My own interest is, perhaps, biased because I am in the nature of a professional, and anything I may say will naturally be along that line. At the same time, I propose to be as impartial as it is possible for one in my position to be. My interest, as I say, in this whole business of international relations developed out of my experience. My first experience in the conduct of international relations was gained, perhaps, in a bad school, and that was in a corner of Belgium, not far from Ypres, in 1915, and from then until November, 1918, I had, in one capacity and another, but principally as a private in the infantry, a first-class and a first-hand opportunity of learning something of war as a method of settlement of international disputes and of war as an instrument of national policy, and I am convinced that, from the personal point of view, it is thoroughly undesirable. I came back to Canada, and I have since followed with interest the debates and noted the estimates in our Federal Parliament, and I found, for instance, that the items of interest on war debt, and pensions, costs Canada something over \$160,000,000 a year—something over 40 per cent of our total budget; and I have come to the conclusion that it is one of the most wasteful and most destructive factors in our national life.

Another thing I have noted, from the statement of Mr. Snowden, Chancellor of the Exchequer in Great Britain, is that Great Britain pays something like \$5,000,000 per day, or, as he puts it, the whole time work year in and year out of two million workers goes to pay for the cost of the late war. Yet I note that we in Canada, and Great Britain with our Allies, are supposed to have won that war.

I suggest to you that anything that is as destructive as the late war has shown itself to be—and from my experience during the last three months I am convinced that any future war will be infinitely more destructive, particularly

to the civilian population—I am convinced that anything as destructive as that is well worth the consideration of the government of our country to the end that we do what we can, if we can do anything, to prevent the recurrence of it.

Another point. I note among the official statistics of our country, in regard to our trade, that our exports are over a billion dollars—a billion, two hundred million, something like that; that our imports are just over the billion. I note that we rank as the fifth country in the world in regard to trade. I know from my experience in Geneva that we were ranked as the fifth most important industrial country in the world, and I suggest to you that, with the interests we have in overseas trade, exports and imports, the interests we have in the development of our own industries, and the interests we have in the life of the peoples in other countries, due to the fact that we had such a large proportion of our population immigrants, I think it is essential that we, as Canadians, and you, if possible, as members of the Canadian Parliament, should give more consideration and attention to the whole business of international relations in the larger sense.

Now, among other things, I teach constitutional law, and realize that there are certain difficulties in the way of the Dominion government, or the Federal Parliament, interfering with the rights of the provinces. As to what can be done, as to what may be done:—first, I think it is essential that we do our share in the education of public opinion. Now, I suggested that war was thoroughly undesirable. I am not going to suggest that arbitration or judicial settlement is always an alternative for war at the present time. We do not go to war simply because we want a dispute settled; we go to war because we want a dispute settled in a very definite way, namely, when we want to impose on someone else what we consider to be our view of the rights of the situation. The task is infinitely more difficult than that of merely substituting one method for another. Sometimes we are going to have matters arise which are of great importance to us; if they go to arbitration they may be decided against us; and unless we have a body of public opinion in the country supporting you as a government and us as a parliament you are going to find it extremely difficult to continue that method of settlement of international disputes. And so I suggest that one of the first necessities in the substitution of international arbitration and judicial settlement for war is education and the development of public opinion. I agree that on the whole primary education and secondary education is wisely in the hands of the provincial authorities; but I do feel that there are steps that the Dominion government can and should take to bring the matter of education in international relations to the attention of the authorities in the provinces.

One of the methods that I would suggest to the people that are interested in such things is the method that has been adopted by the Department of National Defence. Now, some of you may misunderstand what I am getting at. What I am getting at is this: the Department of National Defence has been given the duty of looking after the defence of our country. How has it gone about it? I think the most important thing that it has done has been by education to create in the minds of the boys and girls and men and women of the cadet corps and through the militia, a suggestion as to things military so that it is a comparatively easy thing in times of national emergency to mobilize public opinion in Canada in matters of national defence. I suggest to you that it is as important that those who are interested in peace so accustom public opinion,—boys and girls and men and women generally,—to matters like the pacific settlement of disputes; so that they can just as easily mobilize public opinion in favour of pacific measures as the Department of National Defence does at the present time, or may do in the future in matters military.

I suggest to you as a practical suggestion that the government of the Dominion might make available through such organizations and institutions as

desire them, materials, literature, official documents, etc., on international relations and on the work of the League of Nations. Whether they do it by a grant to the League of Nations Society for literature or in some other way, is not important and here I say, I agree with Dr. Skelton when he remarked that he thought it was not wise to have a body like the League of Nations entirely subsidized by the government of Canada.

Sir GEORGE PERLEY: You mean the League of Nations Society?

The WITNESS: Exactly. I see no objection to the government giving a grant in aid of literature to those who desire it—not indiscriminately, but supplying it to those who really want it for educational purposes in the provinces of Canada.

The CHAIRMAN: What media would you use for distribution—all the educational agencies of the nation?

The WITNESS: I would use all of the educational agencies of the nation. I was thinking primarily of the elementary and secondary school. In addition I would make such material available to bodies other than the schools, like the League of Nations Society throughout Canada, the Women's Clubs throughout Canada, the Home and School Clubs throughout Canada—any body of a similar kind wanting material on international relations and the work of the League of Nations should, in my opinion, be given the opportunity to get it, provided they would use it and use it to advantage.

Now, that is a suggestion with regard to the general education of the public. I am not going into the matter of the work of the Canadian Clubs, because Mr. Spry has already dealt with it. But to come down to a matter that is closer to my own work, namely, the training of men and women who are likely to be members of the Department of External Affairs or who are likely to take a part in the public life of Canada; they, I suggest, can be best got at through the universities. And here I should like to refer you to a statement published in this month's copy of *Interdependence* of the work that is being done in the universities in relation to the League of Nations. I should also like to draw your attention to the report of the Carnegie Foundation for 1929, in which they give us a list of foreign institutions teaching international law and relative subjects. It includes Canada, and I note that they have the universities of New Brunswick, Dalhousie, Queen's, Western, Montreal, McGill, Ottawa, Laval, Saskatchewan and Toronto listed by the Carnegie Foundation as giving consideration to these subjects. Now, I am of opinion that Vancouver and Edmonton, which are not listed, also give consideration to these subjects, and there may be others in Canada.

I note in the speech of the Leader of the Opposition, Mr. Bennett, that he says:

We have enough to think about in the maintenance of our own relations with other communities, and the best effort we could make in our universities we are now making in the schools of international law. The great universities of the world have chairs of international law, and international relations are based upon the rule and the reign of law.

I commend Mr. Bennett for his suggestion about the desirability of courses in international law and relations; but I should like to point out that in my opinion our universities are not sufficiently well equipped for an adequate study of these subjects. I have had some experience in Canadian universities and in universities abroad, and I know of no library in Canada that is adequate in the way that some libraries in the United States and Great Britain and on the continent are adequate for the study of this subject.

Now, I suggest that this is a matter that the government might give its attention to by grants to university libraries or by the establishment of a library of its own which would be available to students in the universities of Canada for the study of international relations and international law.

I should like to bring to your attention, if I might, some calendars or syllabi of studies in the London School of Economics, the University of Washington, Columbia University, the Geneva School of International Studies and the Institute of Higher International Studies in Geneva. I merely select these at random in the United States, in Great Britain, and in Geneva.

Mr. WOODSWORTH: If I might interrupt, could we have a summary now of what range of subjects is included?

The WITNESS: I will give you a range of subjects in the London School of Economics to this effect; they have international history, international law, banking and currency, Imperial economic relations, political science, anthropology, commerce, international relations, French history and institutions, foreign trade, the economics of Russia, economic history, international studies, commerce, economic history, public administration, international history, industrial and administrative law, public administration, commerce, international studies, banking and currency, history, international law, international studies, political science. Those are the subjects which are included in the Department of International and Diplomatic studies at the London School of Economics. Now, those are the kind of things that come in under international relations.

The CHAIRMAN: Why London more than other British Universities?

The WITNESS: They have similar courses at Oxford and at Cambridge. London is particularly well adapted to the study of these subjects because of its library facilities and because of their nearness, students there have easy access to the British Museum, to the Colonial Office, and to the various official bodies that are in London. A graduate student who wanted to make a study of international affairs would be in an excellent position, from the point of view of facilities, at the London School of Economics. I have, as I say, a number of others. I am not going to refer to them, because they do include very much the same kind of curriculum that you will find in the London School of Economics. I noted yesterday, before I came down—I did study at Cambridge myself—a calendar of the University of Cambridge, and they have about eight men who are lecturing in international law and international relations. I did not look into the allied subjects such as anthropology, economics and history, etc., but there are some eight men and women professors and lecturers, who are giving courses in the general field of international law and international relations in Cambridge, and I know the same is true of Oxford. I say that we are not as well equipped in Canada as they are in Great Britain or in the United States, and I suggest that something you might consider as a Committee and that you might present to Parliament, would be the possibility of improving the facilities for the study of international law and relations. I do not mean necessarily the appointment of professors because there are difficulties in the way of that; but I do not see any difficulty in the way of making available to institutions that want it increased facilities for the study of these subjects I have mentioned.

Mr. WOODSWORTH: What do you mean by increased facilities, libraries?

The WITNESS: Libraries or literature.

The CHAIRMAN: You figure that if we had adequate facilities in the way of libraries to assist the students an organization might grow out of those facilities to produce and foster public opinion?

The WITNESS: Undoubtedly. I noted in the speech of the Prime Minister on this motion that, discussing the Department of External Affairs, he says:

The Department of External Affairs has to look to the Universities for trained men to carry on its work, men who have obtained a high position in history, international law, political economy, or political science in its different branches. The universities will in time be the better off by the addition to their staffs, particularly in the Departments of history, international law, political science and government, of men who have had practical experience in our Department of External Affairs and in the Legations.

Now, it has occurred to me, that in the meantime, while the Prime Minister is waiting for these men who are now in the Department of External Affairs, to come back into university life with their practical experience, it might be possible to give to those of us who are engaged in the actual work of teaching, the opportunity of seeing more of the practical administration of international affairs. I have in mind, for instance, the fact that at the present time the United States has at the conference on international law which is in session at The Hague, Professor Borchard of Yale, Professor Hudson of Harvard, and Professor Reeves of Michigan. They are there as the expert advisers of that government. Now, that has two advantages. It gives to the government the services of men who are qualified in certain fields, and next year those men will come back to Michigan, to Harvard, and to Yale, with the first-hand knowledge of how international affairs have been carried on at The Hague. I suggest that in line with this suggestion of the Prime Minister's he might, if he sees fit, consider making it possible for the men and women in the Universities of Canada, who are competent, to be given the opportunity of acquiring for themselves a first-hand knowledge of the administration of international affairs by serving on committees and commissions and with the delegation of the Canadian government.

I note too that the Prime Minister made some reference to scholarships, and that Dr. Skelton in his evidence before you approved of this suggestion but felt that it should be confined to persons who had passed the Civil Service examinations. Well, I am not particular how it is done, but I do think that it is of great value to have as many young men and young women as we can from our country going to other countries for their post-graduate work. They go to France; they go to Germany; they go to Italy; they go to Great Britain; to the United States. They come back with a different attitude toward international relations and toward the opinions and ideas and cultures of other peoples. But I should like to suggest that in addition to that we should take steps to bring to our country citizens and students from other countries. As an example of what I mean, the United States has, since the Boxer war, been providing scholarships out of the Boxer indemnity fund for Chinese students who study in the United States. Now, that is one of the shrewdest things the United States ever did, whether they knew it at the time or not; because many of the young men who are at present in charge of affairs in China have been educated in the United States, and after going back to China, when they want machinery or manufactured goods, they naturally go for them to the country of which they know something, which is the United States.

We, over a number of years, collected from the Chinese in the way of a head-tax, a considerable sum of money. I believe in one year it went as high as \$300,000. I imagine from what I know of governments that this has all been spent, but I doubt if it was spent for the benefit of the Chinese. I suggest it might be a nice gesture on the part of the Canadian government if

it saw its way clear to provide for Chinese students some scholarships that might bring them to the universities of Canada. We are having a good deal of discussion over the wheat pool, over the limitations of the markets of the world. I was talking to a Chinese student a couple of days ago in the University of Toronto and he suggested that China will afford one of the biggest markets in the world in the near future; and I would suggest that we might find there an additional market for the wheat growers of the west. I gave China as an instance but it applies to all countries, but if we did that kind of thing and did it on a large scale, I would suggest that it be done on the basis of reciprocity—that all these countries would agree to give us scholarships for our students in their universities, and we should agree to give scholarships for their students in our universities.

There are two or three other matters I want to bring to your attention. One arose out of the evidence of Dr. Skelton, and a resolution of a conference in Washington I attended about a year ago—the American Society of International Law. They were, like ourselves, impressed with the necessity of education for the public and the desirability of training men and women in international relations. One of the things that they were impressed with was the inadequacy of the publications of the American Department of State. And they passed this recommendation “that considering that the study of official documents is of first importance in the development of the science of international law, and that it serves as a preparation for those who intend to enter the foreign services that communication should be had with the Secretary of State or other officials in order to request that treaties and diplomatic correspondence as well as other documents of value in the study of international law, be made more easily and more immediately available for students of international law and international relation.”

They have in Great Britain a publication known as “British and Foreign State Papers.” They do publish in Great Britain a “treaty series” and certain other papers. I suggest that the Department of External Affairs, in addition to the publications that it does issue from time to time, should compile each year a volume of those documents that are not secret, those documents that are public documents, relating to international or inter-imperial affairs in Canada, and include with them the debates in Hansard on international affairs and imperial affairs. I think that kind of publication would be of great value to students of international law and international relations, not only in Canada but all over the world. I am not suggesting the publication of confidential documents, but there is diplomatic correspondence and there are diplomatic documents that could very well be published and would prove of great interest.

One other point. I note that the Dominion government does provide a fairly large sum of money to the National Research Council for research in industrial and economic matters. Last year I believe they spent something like \$190,000 on research work in industries and allied topics. I suggest that there is nothing in industry or in allied fields that has proved as wasteful as has war; that there are no items for which the government pays as much as it does for pensions and war debt. I suggest to you that it might be worth while having that National Research Council consider whether it would not be possible to make some provision for students or professors or public men to give some of their time to study and research in international relations, international law, and kindred matters.

Now, Mr. Chairman and members of the Committee, I have probably spoken too long, but those were a few of the ideas that had occurred to me in relation to this motion of Miss Macphail's, and I thought they might be of interest to members of your Committee. If there are any questions which any of the members have that I am able to answer, I shall be happy to do so.

The CHAIRMAN: Has any member of the Committee any questions to ask?

Miss MACPHAIL: I would like to ask Professor MacKenzie if he sees any reason why the universities might not use a fund made available by the Dominion government for increasing our knowledge in international affairs in much the same way as the schools and the universities to-day make use of the fund known as the Cadet Vote in the military estimates?

The WITNESS: In answer to Miss Macphail's question, I had never known universities to refuse money that was offered to them if there were not too many strings attached, and I have no doubt that the universities of Canada would be only too ready to accept money from the Dominion government for the improvement of their facilities for the study of international affairs. I do suggest, however, that they would probably want facilities in the way of libraries and literature and scholarships, and some assistance in the way of research funds for the teaching members of their staff and for the graduates whom they may send out, rather than in setting up another organization.

Miss MACPHAIL: I should like to ask if you would be a little more specific about the library—about what you think would be the best thing to do. If you want a library that is very excellent, you would not want very many of them in Canada, would you, Professor MacKenzie?

The WITNESS: You might establish in Ottawa a library on international law and international relations in connection with the Department of External Affairs, in connection with the Library of Parliament, or in connection with the Archives. That is one way. Students would come here in their spare time, vacations and so on, to study.

The CHAIRMAN: Would students outside of Ottawa have access to a library of that kind?

The WITNESS: Not very well. They would have to write in for books, and that, in international law, and law generally, is almost impossible. The better way, to my mind, would be to make available to those universities that are actually teaching international law and allied subjects appropriations, grants of money, as you saw fit, to increase, if they want to, their libraries on international law. I may suggest—

Miss MACPHAIL: International law and kindred subjects?

The WITNESS: Yes. I am a member of the Canadian Institute of International Affairs. I am the Canadian representative on the International Research Council of the Institute of Pacific Relations, and we are at the present time trying to make a survey of library facilities in Canada, with a view to further improving facilities for the study of international affairs.

Now, I know myself that our libraries are not adequate, and any method of assistance that the government can suggest would be desirable, and I am sure would be accepted.

Mr. WOODSWORTH: Would it be possible to hold a successful institute on International affairs in Canada, and if so, would there be anything in the way of the Dominion government contributing in some form?

The WITNESS: You have in mind something like the Williamstown Institute. I see no constitutional objections. I have not given it any thought. It would take some organization, because you have to develop a tradition, a reputation; but if you could bring to this country men, say, like Sir Cecil Hurst, late of the British Foreign Office, and Professor LaPradelle of Paris.—There might be someone invited from Germany, from Geneva, from the United States, etc., who are well known and interesting.—I do not think you would have any difficulty at any time in getting men and women to attend the Institute.

I sometimes think the contribution that Canada has to make to world international law and allied subjects is our experience in federal government and our experience in the settlement of our disputes with the United States, and a study of these things—by such an institute—might prove very attractive.

The CHAIRMAN: How often should such an Institute meet?

The WITNESS: The Williamstown Institute meets once a year. I would not think that Canada would need to hold one as often as that in the beginning.

The CHAIRMAN: Should it be located in any one place?

The WITNESS: I would think that Ottawa would be a good place to hold such an Institute. There is no reason why it could not be held elsewhere, but I would suggest Ottawa or Quebec.

Mr. WOODSWORTH: Why not Winnipeg or Vancouver?

The WITNESS: I have no objections. I merely suggest Ottawa because you have here your Dominion government and other facilities, and I suggest Quebec because you have there one of the most interesting places in Canada.

Mr. CAYLEY: Tell us about this institute.

The WITNESS: The Institute at Williamstown?

Mr. CAYLEY: Yes.

The WITNESS: The Institute at Williamstown is held, I believe, at Williams College and each summer a number of men who are world figures in the field of international law, international relations and politics are invited to come there to speak and to conduct round table conferences on matters of importance and immediate interest. They have in attendance men and women who are qualified because of their education and because of their position to ask intelligent questions or to give intelligent information on subjects under discussion.

Now, I have never been at the Williamstown Institute myself. I have met many who have been there, and I have talked with the Secretary, who, by the way, is a Queen's man, I believe. From what I can gather it is a thoroughly worthwhile organization, most interesting.

Miss MACPHAIL: It has become very popular. Quite a crowd attends. I have met so many women who went there last year.

The WITNESS: I believe their difficulty is not to get people to go but to curtail the number of people who want to go.

Mr. WOODSWORTH: I suggested Winnipeg and Vancouver, not altogether as a joke, but simply to emphasize the necessity of having some other agency than one central agency in order to cope with the whole situation. For example, in Winnipeg or elsewhere in the West we have need of some sort of institution that would bring us in touch with European affairs if for no other reason than to help us to understand the needs of minorities in Western Canada. We have large areas of non-English speaking peoples who are closely related to Ukraine, Poland, and Russia, and so on, and who bring with them a great many problems of which our ordinary Canadian knows nothing whatever. Then, with respect to the Institute of Pacific Relations, I think you will recognize that out in Vancouver they are facing the Pacific and a strong anti-Oriental sentiment, and yet if we are to develop that trade of which you spoke a little while ago we shall have to have some very close relationships between Canada and the Orient. Have you any suggestion as to what sort of machinery could be set up that would popularize this kind of information? You have been speaking of the necessity of libraries, universities and possibly an institute here in Ottawa in connection with the Department of External Affairs. How can we popularize this kind of thing in the various provinces?

The WITNESS: You want the men and women throughout the provinces to use the materials provided? That I suggest will have to be done through the education of the boys and girls in the schools, you may have to bring some pressure to bear on the provincial governments, to include some mention of international relations in their curricula of modern history and allied subjects, and to emphasize in the universities the importance of the study of such questions. There are in addition some clubs and local organizations doing the kind of thing that I think the Canadian Club have been doing very effectively; that is, bringing to the attention of the general public, matters of international affairs and relations.

The CHAIRMAN: You have been speaking about the educational facilities of the provinces or of the Dominion as the media for information of this kind. Now, what I have been wondering about is just this: where would you place the elementary schools of the nation in a great work of this kind? I find it to be the tendency throughout Canada to put all this work up to the universities or to the secondary schools. The elementary schools are perhaps not being given the attention they should.

The WITNESS: I agree that the elementary schools are not given the attention they should have but I suggest that that difficulty is partly the development of our federal constitution. It is very difficult to teach the students in the elementary primary schools matters like international relations unless you have teachers who are qualified to teach those subjects. You might do something through the Normal schools and through the summer schools for teachers, but as you no doubt realize education is a provincial matter, and the first concern of a province is naturally provincial, things that are of importance and immediate interest to the people of the provinces.

The CHAIRMAN: I think you can make your first impression in a work of that kind right in the public schools.

The WITNESS: If you can get into the public schools, and primary schools, you will do for the boys and girls in those schools what the cadet corps is doing for the boys and girls in the way of military training.

The CHAIRMAN: And then you spoke about Canadian Clubs. I think that is a splendid idea. We have Mr. Graham Spry with us this morning and we had him as a witness last Thursday. The difficulty with the Canadian Club idea, as I explained to Mr. Spry, is that while it is a splendid thing where you can get it, it largely boils down to organizations in the larger centres of Canada. Now, I think the great Problem of the Canadian Club Association from now on is to establish Canadian Clubs in the smaller centres of the country. How are you going to do that? We have so many towns of five and six thousand people. If that could be done, it would be a remarkable step in the way of advancement along this line.

The WITNESS: Could those other organizations of which you spoke, be used in any way?

The CHAIRMAN: They can be, but I think Mr. Spry will admit that the Canadian associations are doing good work. Personally I take the view that the Canadian clubs are doing splendid work, but how can they be effective outside of the larger centres? That is the question we are faced with, and it is, I think, a very important one. We have a lot of organizations that are doing very good work, but they are not getting to all the people in Canada.

By Miss Macphail:

Q. You think all that is necessary is to reach the students of the public schools in order to give them some idea of new world conditions. There are many Normal Schools in Canada where teachers are trained, and I do not think

it would be so difficult to include training on this subject in those institutions. There are seven Normal Schools in the province of Ontario, and the other provinces have them as well, the exact number of which I cannot give at this time. Has Professor MacKenzie thought about that? Is there any possibility that either the Federal government or the provincial governments could be induced to acquaint the teachers or provide them with some adequate knowledge of international affairs? I do not think the curriculum of a Normal School would touch this subject at all, except what may appear in the study of history and literature; international affairs is not a subject.—A. We will not get that done, Miss Macphail, until the subjects of international relations and international affairs are included in the curricula of the schools. I wish to give an illustration in order that my point may be clear. I gave a course of lectures at a summer school in Halifax, just after I returned from Geneva, and very few of the teachers took advantage of that opportunity. They did not take that attitude because I was the lecturer, very few of them knew anything about me. During a series of lectures I think I only had an attendance of about a baker's dozen, those were all the names that were put down for this course. Why? Because they knew it was not necessary for them to go back to their schools and teach that subject. They knew it would not give them any higher standing and it would not give them any increased salary. On the other hand, those courses which increased the standing and provided slightly increased salary, those classes had 100 per cent attendance. Until you get the topics actually placed in the teaching curriculum you are not going to interest many teachers in studying those topics.

By Mr. Murphy:

Q. Do you not think that, due to the fact that to-day we have formed nine provincial systems of education, and thereby we have nine national systems of education—in view of that, it will be very hard to develop an international system?—A. I agree that there is a certain danger, due to the fact that Canada as a nation, has nine different forms of education, and you are training boys and girls with nine different loyalties.

By the Chairman:

Q. Do you not think that is unity in the midst of variety?—A. It exists, nevertheless, and I do not think you will get a change. I mean it is in the constitution. I do not think you would have had confederation without the educational system being a matter for the provinces.

By Mr. Murphy:

Q. I am not asking about that, my suggestion is the difficulty in establishing training on international affairs, due to the nine provincial systems of training on national affairs.

By Mr. Woodsworth:

Q. Several years before the war maps and publications were widely distributed throughout our schools by the British Navy League. Would it not be possible to provide maps and charts illustrating the work of the League of Nations; also literature of the kind that would show modern world conditions and its problems?—A. That was the kind of thing that I had in mind when I suggested that a grant could be made through the League of Nations Society, or some similar organization, to distribute in the way of literature and maps, general information through our schools. You would probably get it done better by some organization like that than if it were left entirely to the government.

Miss MACPHAIL: The League of Nations Society have published pamphlets on the League of Nations' work; one on the "New World," is very simple and easily understood. I feel if one of these pamphlets was placed in the hands of every public school teacher, it would be of very great assistance. I distributed this literature myself, and was well satisfied with the result.

The WITNESS: But you will have to revise that within a year or so; the pamphlet to which you refer is now two years old, and many things in it must be changed.

Mr. CAYLEY: During the war there was issued what were known as "War Readers," they were interesting facts. Could not something like that be done? The League of Nations has accomplished great things in the world's court, and very interesting stories could be told of that work which would be beneficial to the young mind. I understand the curricula of all our schools and universities are pretty well overloaded, and whenever any thing in the way of the new study is wanted, it is passed on to the teacher.

The CHAIRMAN: It is not necessary to have this subject put down definitely, but it could be dealt with as suggested by Professor MacKenzie.

Mr. CAYLEY: These readers that I have referred to contain plenty of historic information of the time of war, now I suggest giving some thing with regard to the subject of peace—for instance, sacrifice in the cause of peace, how people organize in the time of peace, and heroes of peace. The teacher who is alive with the spirit of promoting peace, after receiving a course of this kind would be able to give lectures that would reach the mind and heart of the child, and in that manner work out quite satisfactorily.

The WITNESS: Who provided the funds for the publication of those readers?

Miss MACPHAIL: It would be interesting to find that out: they were distributed for the specific purpose of popularizing war, I do not know who provided the money for their publication.

The WITNESS: I would suggest that that kind of thing might be done if the funds were available.

Miss MACPHAIL: Some members of the committee may be acquainted with the work of the National Council for the Prevention of War of the United States of which Frederick Libby of Washington is the executive secretary. They have prepared readers for the public schools. I tried them out in some of our public schools, and I found they were very popular books to put in the hands of the students, they all wanted to talk about them and were keen to ask for them. These books contain pictures of great heroes down through the ages but nothing in connection with war.

The WITNESS: Where were those books obtained?

Miss MACPHAIL: I got them from Frederick Libby in Washington and they certainly went over very well. I feel that if that could be done in our public schools generally it would put new interest in the minds of the children and would be of great educational value throughout our country in getting to the parents.

The CHAIRMAN: I think that is very important because you are there getting at the real foundation. Until you do that you will have great difficulty.

By Mr. Woodsworth:

Q. I would ask Professor MacKenzie to give the committee the names of one or two Americans who might be available to give evidence here on the problems of international affairs that the United States has had to deal with. Professor MacKenzie mentioned that this question has been given consideration in the United States to a greater extent than it has been in Canada, and it

has occurred to me if we could have one or more outstanding men before this committee they might be able to give us valuable suggestions.—A. The name that occurs to me is that of a Canadian, Professor Shotwell of Columbia University. He is a graduate, I believe, of the Toronto University, and is connected with the Carnegie Foundation. He was at the conference on Pacific Relations and he knows Geneva thoroughly. It might very well be worth while, if he could come, to have him tell you as an outsider, what we, in Canada, might do to improve our education in or knowledge of international affairs. I do not think you could get any one better in the United States, or one with greater knowledge of what they have done and are doing on this question. There are, however, a number of other men whom I could suggest to you.

The CHAIRMAN: There is another question, Professor, how would you tap the potential forces for peace from the ordinary man on the street? I have talked with numbers of people here and there, and I have formed the opinion that they have the idea that the League of Nations is a highbrow association. In other words, the ordinary person has either forgotten or never did thoroughly grasp the idea for which the League of Nations has been organized. We could, of course, obtain an advantage by enlightening the parents through teaching international affairs to pupils of the public school. I think that is one of the main reasons why we should approach this subject through that medium. How would you suggest overcoming that difficulty, Professor? I think it is gradually being broken down, but a lot has to be done yet.

The WITNESS: I do not think you can do anything in that regard other than by gradual education. I listened, while in Geneva, to Herr Stressman and Mr. Briand. The suggestion was made that France had not lived up to her obligations under the covenant in the matter of the reduction of armaments. Mr. Briand immediately came back with the French point of view, and emphasized that the question of disarmament was really a matter of the individual, and that the individual Frenchman and individual German, could not be changed in a day or a week or a year, it would have to be done by intelligent education over a long period. Now I am very sorry but frankly, I must confess that I do not know how you are going to convince the man on the street overnight.

Miss MACPHAIL: You cannot do it.

The WITNESS: The possibility of international peace can only be realized after generations.

The CHAIRMAN: It can only be done gradually.

The WITNESS: Yes, it will be very gradual.

Miss MACPHAIL: The sooner we get started and the larger number of organizations we have at work, the more rapidly it will be done.

The WITNESS: Yes, I quite agree with that.

The CHAIRMAN: Professor MacKenzie, as Chairman of this committee, I extend to you the thanks of the committee as a whole for the splendid address you have given us this morning, and for the very valuable information contained in it.

Dr. H. M. Tory will be the next witness, and there will be no difficulty in having him here for the next sitting.

The committee then adjourned until Friday, April 4, 1930, at 11 o'clock, a.m.

MINUTES OF EVIDENCE

COMMITTEE ROOM 425,

HOUSE OF COMMONS,

FRIDAY, April 4, 1930.

The Select Standing Committee on Industrial and International Relations met at 11 o'clock a.m., the Chairman, Mr. C. R. McIntosh, presiding.

The CHAIRMAN: We were to have Dr. Tory to-day, and as he was unable to be present, we immediately got in touch with Dean Corbett of McGill University, in order that we would not miss a meeting, and I am pleased to announce that he is with us.

Dean Corbett is acquainted with the proposed resolution on international peace, referred to the Committee.

P. E. CORBETT, Dean of the Faculty of Law, McGill University, called and sworn.

By the Chairman:

Q. What is your name in full?—A. Percy Elwood Corbett.

Q. And your position in McGill University?—A. Dean of the faculty or Law.

Q. Dean Corbett, if you would tell the Committee what you think about this resolution, explaining your position as you proceed, it would be the best way. The Committee may have a number of questions to ask that will throw light on your remarks as you go along, and after you have finished your evidence.

—A. Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen, I have not come with any set speech. If I had had one, I think it would have been blown to pieces by the evidence given before you, which I have read since you invited me to come here. Not having any prepared speech, I am going to take advantage of the chairman's permission to remain seated and talk to you.

In the first place, may I say from the point of view of a student of international relations and a teacher on the subject, it is a most gratifying thing to see a committee like this in operation. I suppose that you want me here to learn what I think and I shall speak therefore, quite frankly. I want at once to underline a point made, I think by Mr. Spry in his evidence, and that is that the reader of Hansard is struck by the large amount of space devoted to bridges and culverts, postmasters and post offices; and by the extraordinarily small space devoted to the business of this country in the world at large. There are, of course, several reasons for that. It is said that we are a young country, and one has to accept the adjective "young," though when people add to that the description "pioneer," I begin to doubt. As a community participating on its own behalf in the affairs of the world at large, we are a young country and as a people we do not devote much attention to what is going on outside our boundaries. Therefore our representatives, reflecting the popular interest, concern themselves almost exclusively with local matters. On the other hand, I wish to say that I do not agree with one opinion brought out by a previous witness. I do not agree that this country has not made the most, up to the present time, of its opportunity in the field of world affairs. When

you consider that in that particular sphere this country is only twelve years old, I think we are taking quite a large enough part. A little modesty is a becoming thing in youth, and to start out afresh without experience, and to bring the high missionary spirit and the tone of moral superiority into the affairs in Europe, would be about as unpopular and paralyzing a thing, from the point of view of ultimate influence, as one could imagine. We have been taking, I think, a part quite as large and quite as sane, in view of our newness in this world of international affairs, as could be expected. At the same time I think that even the least rosy-hued vision of the future leaves one convinced that the part Canada is going to play is destined to be very much greater than she is playing now. That is not merely because of our commercial importance; our rank among trading nations of the world; there are other reasons as well. For one thing, up to the present time we have been taking the place in the sun of Geneva, that a much larger planet ought to have occupied. That has brought attention to Canada as a unit in world affairs which otherwise she might not have received, and it looks as if we might have to go on representing North America in the great international organization that the League has become.

When General Smuts returned to London he made the point, which he considerably did not make here, that he doubted whether the Canadians realized the potentialities of their position and the part they were going to play in the world. I think there is some reason for that doubt, and if that is so, we are going to have to develop a background of knowledge of world affairs, and we are going to have to develop a reservoir of human material for the conduct of international affairs. From that point of view I welcome the effort to encourage study of international affairs in the universities. I think the suggestion that there should be chairs of international relations is excellent, and every effort should be made to meet the difficulties which will undoubtedly present themselves. Those difficulties can be largely handled by the universities themselves. There is just one reservation that should be made; if the government is going to assist in establishing chairs it must abstain from attaching strings and must abstain particularly from attaching the peace string. You cannot make a university a centre or nucleus of peace propaganda any more than you can for war propaganda. You must leave it completely free if you are going to have chairs on international affairs; leave the hands of the professors free to examine international politics coolly and judicially. You cannot expect a university to become an instrument of propaganda of peace, that is not its business. I believe that universities are agencies in the development of the desire for peace, but only because they are centres of knowledge. One of the principle seeds of international discord is the suspicion which comes from ignorance, and the universities insofar as they dispel ignorance and disseminate knowledge, I believe overcome suspicion and work for international peace. It is only in that sense that these chairs will be useful in the maintenance of peace—only by the dissemination of knowledge, not by the active propagation of peace doctrine.

Another thing I am raising certain points that occurred to me when I was reading the evidence already submitted, evidence that constitutes a series of admirable discourses on the place Canada is taking in the world of humanity at large. Something has been said of the press, and the work of the press in the dissemination of knowledge, and here again I speak quite frankly. To my mind, at the present time the press is one of the greatest problems in international relations, and one of the benefits that we should expect to see derived from these chairs of international affairs would be that they would bring to bear upon the facts a judgment detached and impartial, which the press often lacks. The press in this country is in its infancy in the reporting of international business. A great many of our reports are shared with American papers or news agencies, and one is rather shocked as a Canadian, to pick

up the morning paper and read an article which begins: "Our delegates are advancing the following thesis" and find that "our delegates" are the American delegation. Of course I understand the mechanical and economic difficulties of maintaining complete press service, but it is to be hoped the day will come when we shall have complete services of our own, because now even the press despatches are coloured by the interests of the reporter's country. In another way, it seems to me, the press itself would benefit enormously by the opportunity afforded through the scholarships and chairs to assist in educating the people in international affairs. Often, in press despatches, and more often still in editorials, one finds the discussion marred by ignorance of geography, of economics, political parties and international organization. For example, for years some of the best newspapers of Canada failed utterly to distinguish between the supreme council, the council of the League of Nations, and the conference of ambassadors at Paris. Again, I have seen in one of our most reputable newspapers an editorial describing the situation in Russia and referring to Trotzky as recuperating on the banks of the Caucasus. There are precedents for that sort of thing. Everyone will remember that Lloyd George at the Peace Conference is reported to have thought Teschen a river. There are precedents for those things, but they show the need of education in international affairs, and the proposed courses might well produce better informed journalists.

For the precise benefit that might come from the establishment of the chairs, I can see these possibilities. The universities are centres of intellectual activity, centres of thought, and whether we always merit it or not, I think it is true that the community looks to us for a lead in thought. I think that the establishment of chairs and the maintenance of courses in international affairs, would draw the attention of the general public to these affairs. Of course a good deal is being done at the present time. There is, I think, a department of Political Science and Economics in every Canadian university, which studies international questions to a certain extent; international money and banking, exchange of products, world markets, prices, commercial treaties. All these things are international affairs and in our course of international law, we must perforce study more or less international affairs also. We have to do so in a limited time, and our principal concern is the formal aspect of international politics and the rules or laws which should govern nations in their conduct towards one another. There is where I see a difference between the proposed system and the existing one. Chairs of international affairs, or departments of international affairs would concentrate their attention upon international politics, the needs and aims of foreign countries and their modes of satisfying or achieving them. I take, for example, a department already mentioned before you, the department of International Studies in the University of London. The University of London has three professors, three chairs, and a great number of assistants and lecturers. The three chairs are: 1, International History; 2, International Relations; 3, International Law. All these three departments of study are very closely related; they cannot be isolated. Each has a field of its own, though their territories overlap and joint cultivation is most productive. That example shows the scope of the work that can be covered from these various points of view. Departments of international affairs should serve as a corrective to what is sometimes the ignorance and sometimes the prejudice of the press in reporting international affairs and foreign politics.

I think I will go no further with this general statement; I should be more than glad to answer any questions which the members of the Committee may wish to put to me.

The CHAIRMAN: Any questions now on the part of any member of the Committee.

MR. WOODSWORTH: I should like Dean Corbett to tell us his opinion as to the proposed establishment of scholarships; to bring outside students to the Canadian universities, or to enable Canadian students to visit universities in other lands?

THE WITNESS: Do I understand, Mr. Woodsworth, you are asking my opinion of the merits of this as compared with the merits of the other proposals—the chairs?

MR. WOODSWORTH: The merits of the scholarships.

THE WITNESS: Not the merits of the chairs compared with the scholarships.

MR. WOODSWORTH: No, no, they are distinct.

THE WITNESS: Well, that is a splendid idea, everything that can be done to increase the exchange of students is worthy of encouragement. I think that I should be more in favour of scholarships that would take Canadians away than scholarships that would bring foreign students to Canada. We need knowledge in this country; we need informed Canadians.

THE CHAIRMAN: What countries would you first include in a policy of that kind, Dean Corbett, say the first half dozen countries?

THE WITNESS: I think possibly I should send more scholars to the British Isles because students taking up the study of international law would be more perfectly fitted for their understanding of international affairs if they first understood empire affairs. I should put Great Britain first, then I think I should send them to France, Germany and Italy. You have given me half a dozen, that makes four. I should send the other two to South American countries. For the moment, as you have given me only half a dozen, I should not include the countries of the far east.

THE CHAIRMAN: What about the United States?

THE WITNESS: Well, we have such a large interchange already that I should not employ any extra resources in that country. Already we owe an enormous debt to the American universities of Harvard, Yale, Columbia and Chicago for the extraordinary generous treatment they have given Canadians. I only wish that the Canadian universities could do more in the way of quid pro quo.

MISS MACPHAIL: I would like to ask Dean Corbett what, in his opinion, should be done first—the chairs or the scholarships? I think it was Dr. Skelton, though, who said he thought the first thing that should be done was to provide scholarships, because at the moment there were not many in Canada fitted to head such departments as we have been talking about this morning.

THE WITNESS: Mr. Chairman, and Miss Macphail, I think the chairs should be first. I do not agree entirely with the suggestion made as to the lack of persons fitted to fill those chairs. I do admit it would be exceedingly hard to find 17 in Canada.

MISS MACPHAIL: Seventeen are too many.

THE WITNESS: Yes; but for one thing I do not think you need to confine the field of choice to Canada. The professors will have to have rather exceptional qualifications in the way of languages and I should think also, in the way of disinterestedness. They would be hard to find, but we might get some in Great Britain, some from other parts of the empire. I do not see why you might not have, possibly an occasional French professor. Of course you could have French Canadian professors in these chairs, but I mean even old country Frenchmen. You might at least have one or more for temporary purposes. The reason why I think you should start with chairs first, and develop scholarships afterwards, is that after all the chair is the permanent centre of information

and influence whereas the scholarship operates on a succession of individuals. I think the total influence of a number of years of scholarships may be less than that of one good professor.

Dr. MURPHY: Do you feel our Canadian universities have not been keeping apace, in growth and knowledge, on international subjects?

The WITNESS: I am afraid that that is true. I think that the universities have lagged behind; that they have not recognized the charms and the importance of international affairs as a medium of liberal education, for one thing. I think that may be explained by the lack of money, but not entirely. There has been a tendency among the universities to regard university training as to being exclusively aimed at the preparation of men for a business or professional life in this country, and too little attention to fitting them for life as members of the human community.

Mr. BOURASSA: The observations of Dean Corbett are very interesting, but there seems to me—at least I would take it from two or three answers—that there is an apparent contradiction with regard to scholarships. He said, I think that it would be better to encourage young Canadians to go abroad than to bring foreign students to our universities. With this I agree entirely. The process of exchange might be developed by itself, but I think we have more need for studying the affairs of the rest of the world than other countries have for studying our affairs. But with regard to the chairs, would not the same thing apply? Dean Corbett observes, although he did it in a very guarded way, that we have few men in Canada to-day qualified to teach international affairs in its various forms, and covering the various aspects of international relations, and therefore we might have to borrow a professor sometimes from a foreign country. Would not the same objection arise with regard to teachers, which, as I understand, the speaker had in mind in regard to the scholarships? In Canada would not the beginning be that the universities, encouraged by public bodies, would send young Canadian professors to foreign countries to study the affairs in those countries. I believe they have introduced that system in Quebec. When that is done you have contact, not only with the theory of international relations, but the practices, habits of life, currents and undercurrents of economics, and politics in the broad sense of the word. I believe in the system of contact perhaps because I am not a university man myself. In the actual contact professors and scholars would receive teachings in the various countries and understand the various races. In other words, should we not begin forming a staff of international teachers by sending young Canadian teachers and professors to learn the practice as well as the theory in other countries?

The WITNESS: Mr. Chairman, I think that the last speaker is underrating a little the possibilities in the matter of suitable candidates for chairs. We have already a fairly large body of people going abroad on scholarships of one sort or another. I think that you could fill worthily a certain number of these chairs at once from Canadian material. The plan of assisting young professors to go abroad is an excellent one too, but it is a difficult thing to carry out. Moreover, I am not sure whether the man sent abroad by his university is going to be the best sort of material for your chair of international affairs. I have an idea that the best sort of man is one who will have found his way abroad in spite of all obstacles that may have been in his path. They do exist and they are being picked for the heads of our department of External Affairs and our legations; they are the sort of people desired for those posts. I served for two successive years upon a small committee that was appointed by the Government to advise upon the appointment of a successor to myself at Geneva. I spent some four years at Geneva, two years on the secretariat of the League of Nations, and two years assistant legal adviser to the International Labour

Office. I left in 1924 to come back to McGill, and was asked to act upon a committee of three to select a successor to my post. Here is the point I wish to emphasize: We advertised and received 25 applications for that post; the man we sent over first was Norman MacKenzie. He was over there about a year and then came back. Mr. Norman MacKenzie, another gentleman and myself were appointed as a committee to choose a successor and again we advertised. We received 45 applications for that post. In advertising, those requirements were specified—adequate knowledge of at least one foreign language, and preferably two; university degree, of course, and some knowledge of international law, economics, and so on. Let me say I was at that time not so many years distant from Oxford; Mr. MacKenzie had come from Cambridge a few years before; and we were surprised and tremendously gratified by the qualifications of those applicants. It was exceedingly difficult to choose. There were in each case three or four people who we thought might have done the job admirably, and there were among the 60 applicants for those two posts a number that one could have chosen as fit persons for chairs on international affairs at that time. If you advertise for them, a number of qualified persons will turn up.

Mr. BOURASSA: I gathered from the first statement that you might have meant there was a lack of material in Canada.

The CHAIRMAN: After all, then, our universities are doing first-class work with regard to preparing men for positions in Canada.

The WITNESS: I do not think they are doing as much as they should. Certainly an amount of material is being turned out that is excellent and fit, but I do not think as much work is being done as should be.

The CHAIRMAN: You spoke about the lack of information in the press of Canada with regard to the Empire and international affairs. Is it not true—at least I know it was my experience anyway in the British Isles—that you may pick up papers from any part of the British Isles, weekly or daily, and find practically nothing in paper after paper or issue after issue, as to what is transpiring in Canada, New Zealand, Australia, or any part of the Empire. There are columns and columns of information as to what is taking place in the United States, and we from Canada, travelling in the British Isles, are struck with the fact that we cannot find anything as to the state of affairs in Canada. That feature causes us to wonder because, contrasting that with the daily press of Canada and even the weekly papers, you can hardly pick up one that does not appear to give a certain amount of information on Empire affairs. What is your standpoint comparing the Canadian press with the British press, for instance, with regard to that?

The WITNESS: I said the Canadian press was in its infancy in reporting international affairs and it seems to me that my meaning would be clear if, for example, anyone took half a dozen of the most reputable dailies in this country and compared them with the large European dailies; it may be an unfair comparison. The fact that it is unfair is due to this, that the Canadian papers are in their infancy in international affairs compared with the London Times and the Daily Express of London, Le Temps of Paris, the Frankfurter Zeitung, the Corriera Della Sera in Italy, and so on. Now, you spoke of the press of England, and its lack of attention to dominion affairs. I think that that is true and in a sense, it is regrettable. It is a matter of relative importance. If one looks to the position of the English press I think it will be found to be something of this nature; that foreign affairs are on the whole, more vital, that which is going on in the United States is of more importance because its significance is more doubtful. I think there is a tendency to take the Dominions for granted. If you want to deal with the point of what information is most needed, I think the emphasis is going to be on foreign affairs rather than on dominion affairs.

Mr. BOURASSA: I am glad you brought up that point, Mr. Chairman. I think it is of extreme importance to realize what influence the press exercises by the spreading of international news; because, as I understood the speaker, he said even the news was being coloured and we have a danger even from peace news. We, in Canada, of course, are slightly familiar with what agency the press secures its news as to our own little affairs. We know how easy it is for a political party to get hold of some correspondent or some news agency and spread the kind of news that political party is interested in spreading. But we know less of the same process as applied to international affairs. Under the influence exercised by governments over telegraphic agencies the same piece of news regarding a policy pursued in the various countries, is presented to the reading public of each country according to the requirements of the policy of that country; so that the same event may create an entirely different impression and give birth to entirely different reactions when presented in various aspects. That is inevitable during war time. But precisely the object of this inquiry is to find out means of working for the development of the peace feeling, of a feeling of good-will and understanding among the nations through various agencies. It seems to me we should endeavour to do something to make use of press agencies to create better feeling between nations in peace time, so as to render threats of war less menacing. I understand that is the object of this inquiry. May I ask Mr. Corbett if he has thought of some practical means that could be either put into operation or helped by governments, and I use the word "governments" purposely, because it might have influence on the Federal and Provincial governments here as well as on the British government, in order to prevent news agencies from being so monopolized by governments of one country or another as to coloured news matters even in peace time.

If, for example, you have referred to the service of information to the Canadian press, I have followed those things pretty closely for many years now. Take, for example, the service of the Montreal Gazette, it is rightly regarded as one of the best services in Canada. But if one is familiar with it, it will be easy to find out the difference in the tone of the news from those correspondences which are sent away to various newspapers, or the special correspondences of the Montreal Gazette, or the special correspondences which the Montreal Gazette shares with the New York Times, which, you know, is an English organization, connected in some way with one of the large papers of London. I think it is a very important feature of the international situation, because after all the daily press and the weekly press are the means of conveying international news to the masses and thereby shaping international opinion. Through universities and through scholarships you may create slowly an elite of thinkers, of informed men, whose opinions may through a long period of time make themselves felt. But it is not so with the masses. If an important political movement is launched, or any political measure is taken, say in Germany, Italy, the United States or anywhere, the news is immediately spread out, and, as everybody familiar with the press knows, 99 per cent of the readers in every country read first the headlines and then two or three paragraphs of the first column, and leave aside two or three columns on the subject; and they form their opinions accordingly. There has become a science in the presentation of the headlines of the large newspapers.

The CHAIRMAN: And quite a science, is it not, too, putting the headline on one page and the news on another?

Mr. BOURASSA: Yes; and they have a few short paragraphs written in the office to go at the head of a column of news, or a "resume" of a speech made, say, by an English statesman or by a French statesman, or by a German statesman, giving the impression which the newspaper wants to create upon the minds of its readers. I think most countries to-day are connected more

or less, not by real facts, not by the statements of their leading politicians and statesmen, but by the coloured news in the press. I followed that very closely in Canada, of course, and also in England and in France, Germany and Italy. At the time of the Genoa Conference, I happened to be in Rome—Rome is perhaps the best informed centre of the world—every evening I picked up the English papers, and also the French and the Italian papers, which were the only ones I could read, and I could see the same declarations of statesmen and diplomats, but with different colouring given to them in the various countries, so as to give an entirely different feeling. Then, talking with Englishmen, Germans, French or Italians, I could see within three or four hours that they had formed their opinions not upon the real declarations of the respective statesmen of this or that country, but upon the colour that had been given to them by the press. I think that is going to the root of the question, as far as the influence of the press in international affairs is concerned. I have asked myself very often what means might be taken, and if the Dean has thought about it, I think it would be very interesting to know what his conclusions are in that regard.

The WITNESS: Mr. Chairman, I do not think there is anything like a rapid, immediate and effective panacea for the difficulty which the last speaker has presented; but I have studied it and I repeat that one of my reasons for interest in this proposal is that, in process of time, we may set up a counter-agent against the influence of the press, in so far as the press colours news by those preliminary paragraphs. As I have said, the press is influenced in its transmission of foreign news by its own political bias; for example, of the two questions that occur to me, which are very different, one is the tariff in the United States. Where in Canada can you find an impartial study of the reasons which lead to the demand for a higher tariff in the United States? Again, the second instance, where can you look in the press of Canada for a dispassionate and scientific study of what is going on in Russia? Those are two examples. The news is coloured. I think with the increase in attention to international affairs and the growing habit of treating them scientifically and dispassionately, which would result from the establishment of chairs in the universities, there would be set up a counter-agent, or at least in time we should no longer be in a position where our sole source of information and even of opinion is the press. We should have criteria of criticism. And, again, as I said, and I repeat, the very maintenance of courses in the universities on these subjects would, to my mind, attract the very sort of man who is going into journalism and would give him a new idea of the world at large and the place of the country in it, and give him less prejudice in his approach to his profession afterwards; and I think I may say without dogmatism that you would get better journalists.

Mr. LETELLIER: I have the honour to be a member of the British Parliamentary Association, and I suppose many of the members here present to-day are also members of that organization, and we are receiving a splendid report of international affairs, from all the dominions and all the different countries of the world; and it is splendidly written. So I should like to find out from Mr. Corbett if he does not think it would be wise if the Canadian press would read these reports and change their attitude in the future.

The WITNESS: There is one great difficulty. The Parliamentary Association reports, which Mr. Letellier refers to, and which I also receive as a member of the Royal Institute of International Affairs, are confidential; they are not supposed to be given to the press or quoted by the press.

Mr. LETELLIER: Although there are many, many splendid reports, so far as my own views are concerned, that could be easily given—do you not think so?

The WITNESS: Those reports are, I think, the result of a completely unbiased study of facts in foreign countries. They are not edited to bring them into conformity with any thesis or doctrine. Unfortunately, those very valuable reports are produced by the Association for its members and for the members of affiliated associations, and are not available to the public at large.

Mr. MURPHY: If these chairs were established, what would be the result? What influence would they have on world peace?

The WITNESS: I think I have already given my answer to that, and if I may expand it just a little I would say that you must not expect peace propaganda from these chairs, any more than you should expect or allow war propaganda from a university. I would look for results in the furtherance of peace from these chairs simply because they would disseminate scientific knowledge. I believe wars are caused more by ignorance and suspicion than by any other cause; and so far as you disseminate knowledge you dispel ignorance and prevent suspicion. You study affairs and people and geography and economic interests in various countries, and you increase familiarity with these matters and diminish suspicion; and in that way I think you increase greatly the chances of peace. That is all I look for.

Mr. MURPHY: You would establish these chairs not for the particular purpose of preserving world peace, but for the promotion of knowledge in general?

The WITNESS: Yes.

Mr. WOODSWORTH: If I understand Miss Macphail's motion, it is that there should be given grants for the stimulation of a better knowledge of international affairs by the creation of chairs, scholarships and so on. Now that involves a question of administration. It has been pointed out that since education is provincial, there may be some difficulty in making grants of this character. I should like to inquire how Dean Corbett considers such funds might be administered in our industrial research bureau. I understand that there is a more or less independent board that does co-operate with provincial universities, and we have an example in the Rhodes Scholarships. I should like to have Dean Corbett outline it and give us his opinion.

The WITNESS: Mr. Chairman, I think the only way to do this would be for the Federal government, acting if it were necessary, in agreement with the provincial governments, to offer funds that would be placed at the disposal of the various universities and left there. There should be no administrative influence brought to bear in connection with appointments or the choice of scholars. There should be no government criticism of theories advanced by holders of chairs; there would have to be complete liberty.

I think those funds must be entirely at the disposal of the university. In so far as the university is subject to a general supervision by the province, the use of the funds would come under official supervision, I take it. There would be a guarantee that the money is not taken and expended for other purposes.

The CHAIRMAN: Do you not think the money could be got provincially, rather than from the Federal government, provided there was peace work done and a body of public opinion built up from year to year?

The WITNESS: Of course this is the work of the federal government in connection with international affairs. To me the interest in this proposal is the possibility that it will increase the efficiency of our conduct of foreign affairs, and that is federal business. I would say that the point would appeal to the provincial universities in so far as they are interested in education, in that it would add another medium of liberal education to their curricula.

Sir GEORGE PERLEY: Would you add a little to the point to which Mr. Woodsworth has referred? No one in this House is more interested than I am in the dissemination of information in international affairs, because I believe it is most helpful in promoting that peace feeling that we all desire. If the Dominion government overcoming its disinclination to help in this matter with money, said, "Yes, we will provide money for ten chairs in Canada," how would the universities be selected, and is there anybody who could select them with satisfaction to all?

The WITNESS: There is in Canada a conference of Canadian universities which meets annually, sometimes at Ottawa, and at provincial capitals; and I think that would be a question which might be referred for advice to the conference of Canadian universities. That conference might select the universities to which grants would be made.

Sir GEORGE PERLEY: Do you think it would be likely that the conference would be able to agree upon the selected universities; if a restricted number were to be given grants, would the Conference be able to agree upon the universities to which such grants should be given?

The WITNESS: I believe so, Sir.

Sir GEORGE PERLEY: And the others would not start an agitation immediately they, too, should have a part in the grant? Because after all there is this practical difficulty—the government takes the ground that this is entirely a matter for the provinces, as education is a provincial matter—and if the government were willing to consider such grants a little further, would it be possible for you to express a definite opinion to it that grants might be made with entire satisfaction to all universities?

The WITNESS: Mr. Chairman, I do not say that it could be done with entire satisfaction to all universities; there certainly might be heart-burnings and misgivings; but I do believe you could get a selection from the conference of universities. Where one university gets an advantage, it is scarcely human to expect other universities to be content until they get the same or a greater advantage. There will always be that difficulty. But if the government said, "This much we can do, and will you universities tell us what is the best use you can make of it," I believe you would get a plan from the conference.

Sir GEORGE PERLEY: Still, the government might reasonably look forward to further pressure for more money?

The WITNESS: Eventually. I do not know.

The CHAIRMAN: Do you not think that would be the basis on which the first decision would be made, that a conference of Canadian universities would be held and five or six would be chosen; do you not think the government would start out with the thought that eventually further universities would expect to join or share in the scheme?

The WITNESS: When you are dealing with universities, I do not think you need expect to find narrow-minded localism or rivalry, but I think you may expect from the universities of Canada liberal-minded treatment of such a problem. Personally, I should have no misgivings in handing over to the conference of universities a problem like this, saying, "Here is so much money available. What can you do with it, what scholarships can you establish," and so on. Because it must be quite obvious to every university in the Dominion that there are some places where such chairs might be established at the present time with good results; and there are other places where they could not be established at the present time with good results.

Miss MACPHAIL: May I ask Dean Corbett what he thinks about the need for a library on international subjects? It was pointed out that there was a need and that something might be done to meet such need.

The WITNESS: I would not be prepared to go quite so far as Professor MacKenzie in what he said about the facilities for research in international questions at Canadian libraries. We have already, at McGill, a very useful collection, a very useful nucleus for such a study, and it is growing all the time. It is part of the Faculty of Law, and is being increased every year. That stock of books is not only upon international law, but upon diplomatic history. It comprises all the main treaty series there complete; we have a fairly well equipped library. Again, at McGill there is the second greatest Chinese library in the West. It is not merely a collection of Chinese books; it also has a large number of books in English, and other modern languages, on the history, economics, diplomacy and politics of the Far East. Yet it is by no means a sufficient stock. If it were all put together in one place it could be much better arranged than it is at the present time.

We receive, for instance, the League of Nations documents, but I think it is admitted that a Canadian librarian hardly knows how to handle the League of Nations documents. I do not know yet of any satisfactory classification of those documents. We get them all, and it is difficult to find one's way through them.

Although I think our faculty provides a very good start for a man studying international affairs—and I speak of my own university because I know the situation there better than elsewhere—and that student would not be under any great hardship or handicap, still the facilities could stand a great deal of improvement. I do not know whether Miss Macphail's suggestion was a central Canadian library or a number of libraries.

Miss MACPHAIL: I had not any opinion on the matter. I just wanted to know if there were sufficient library facilities.

The WITNESS: One of the first things that the occupant of any international chair established at a university would have to do would be to see that his equipment of books was adequate; and I venture to suggest that the equipment of books will never be satisfactory until you have such a department, because the compilation and collection of such books is a big job in itself, and requires a specialist. I think you need not see that there is a sufficient supply of books in a university before you establish such a chair, for you may expect to see it increased and made more efficient after the chair is established.

Sir GEORGE PERLEY: Although I have not made up my mind to any changes yet, at the same time it seems to me the suggestion as to the Dominion Government establishing chairs in universities is impracticable, and could not be worked out; but in order to help out what Miss Macphail has in mind, perhaps the best thing would be to have an annex to the Department of External Affairs, where there could be a library on all these matters. The idea of establishing such a library at various universities does not seem to me to be practicable; but if the Department of External Affairs made arrangements to equip a full library of all such matters, why would it not possible to have a summer school, for instance, here in Ottawa in connection with that department for the purpose of teaching men, students from all over Canada, these matters; and, in that way, the Dominion Government might help along something which would really be a Dominion concern. Let students come for a summer school, where the best men the government could get would teach the visiting professors and students, and where there would be a complete library. There would need to be a special place for such school with all facilities. I have not made up my mind upon it, but it has occurred to me that something of this kind might be a practical solution. I would like to ask the Dean what he thinks about this suggestion?

The WITNESS: I notice the idea of a summer school along the line of the Institute of Politics has already been suggested to this Committee. It occurs to me now that it conceivably might be of some help to the Committee to answer

questions upon the idea. Last summer I was Chairman of the Round Table on Canadian-American Relations at the Institute of Politics at Williamstown, which has been mentioned here, and I know, therefore, the working of that institution and would be prepared to answer questions on it.

My own feeling about the proposal to establish chairs is simply this, that I wish to see encouraged and effort to increase attention to, and study of, international problems. I know there are practical difficulties. My feeling is that, if the principle is declared, the practical difficulties can be got over. I am also in entire sympathy with the suggestion that there might be a large central library on international affairs at Ottawa. Those two proposals do not seem at all contradictory, to my mind. If it is not thought practicable to establish chairs, I would be quite satisfied to see a central international library and a summer school established here. It would be exceedingly useful, and I think there is no doubt about the influence exerted by the Institute of Politics at Williamstown upon the American people on problems of international affairs; but I think I must say that you would be putting a great strain upon our Department of External Affairs if you are going to ask them to lend their cooperation in any way to the maintenance of and carrying on such a school.

SIR GEORGE PERLEY: The government may not be willing to consider any such suggestion, but it is quite possible it might be less unwilling to consider such a proposal that the suggestion as the establishing of chairs in universities in the different provinces, which it must consider is a matter of education, and to which it must disincline to make a grant. It might be willing to spend some money upon a central establishment here in Ottawa. Of course it would be necessary to give the Department of External Affairs more help, and, perhaps, create a new branch of the Department.

The CHAIRMAN: I am rather inclined to think that such an idea should appeal to any federal government, apart from its political complexion, because such a policy would work in admirably with a Department of External Affairs;—a Department which many would like to expand as far as possible.

Miss MACPHAIL: My impression is that the Dean thought the school should not be attached to the Department of External Affairs. May I ask who is responsible for the Institute of Politics at Williamstown?

The WITNESS: Before I answer Miss Macphail's question, may I say that I think there are perhaps great advantages to be derived from an Institute of Politics here. For one thing, such an institute would go a long way toward preparation for filling the international relations chairs which may be established later on in universities. At the same time I wish to say that I cannot agree that this is entirely an educational matter for the provinces. It seems to me that if the action of the federal government is so prescribed by provincial autonomy, its possible line of action is narrowed. It is not merely a question of education, but it is a question of establishing a group of people who can be drawn upon for the future conduct of the foreign policy of this country.

Now, as to Miss Macphail's question, the Institute of Politics at Williamstown is attached to Williams College. The president of Williams College is a son of the late President Garfield of the United States, and his idea was that the plant of the college should be used during the long summer vacation; and he thought it would be a useful thing to gather together there for the consideration of international problems experts from other countries. He propounded the scheme to the governors of Williams College, and they said, "All Right, get the money." The money was obtained from private sources not from the government. So far as I know, there is no government subsidy whatever. Some of the money comes from the governors of Williams College. Every year it spends more than the income from its fund, and every year Mr. Baruch gives it more or less a blank cheque for the deficit.

Sir GEORGE PERLEY: About how much a year does that cost?

The WITNESS: I could only make a guess.

Sir GEORGE PERLEY: Is it a million?

The WITNESS: Really, it is only a guess, but I do not think it would run into a hundred thousand dollars a year.

The CHAIRMAN: Have you any idea what the foundation fund is?

The WITNESS: No.

Sir GEORGE PERLEY: By whom is the organization controlled?

The WITNESS: The President of the Institute is President Garfield, of Williams College. It has a Board of Governors, some of whom are governors of the university, but that Board of Governors includes financiers, economists and university professors.

Sir GEORGE PERLEY: By whom selected?

The WITNESS: I think they co-opt.

Sir GEORGE PERLEY: They selected themselves?

The WITNESS: Yes. They have, as an executive secretary, a very active man, formerly of Queen's, Doctor W. MacLaren, who is really responsible for most of the conduct of the Institute.

The CHAIRMAN: Any other questions? If not, Dean Corbett, I express the thanks of the Committee to you for being with us this morning and giving us your analysis of this very important subject.

With regard to the next meeting, it is impossible for us to get Doctor Tory, but we have another name, I think, before the Committee, that of Professor Shotwell. I think the wish of the Committee is to have him after Easter; so we have him on our list of speakers. Now what about our meeting for next week? I think the wish of the Committee was that we should have Professor Shotwell and Dr. Tory. Senator Dandurand was also mentioned, but he is not ready to give evidence this week—he may later. I think in the opinion of the Committee that these men would be all we need call to give evidence.

The CHAIRMAN: The date of the next meeting then will be at the call of the Chair.

Witness retired.

The Committee adjourned.

SUBMISSION FOR THE SELECT STANDING COMMITTEE ON INDUSTRIAL AND INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

By H. M. TORY

I have read with great interest the resolution introduced into the House of Commons by Miss Macphail, M.P., and also the statements made by Dr. Skelton, Mr. Spry, and Professors Corbett and Mackenzie. The survey which they have made of the agencies now available for conducting our international relations, for securing international good will, and for giving to the people of Canada at large a knowledge of international affairs is so complete as to leave little to be said.

I would like, however, in the shortest possible space to call your attention to one group of agencies for the promotion of international good will not previously mentioned, to tell you in some detail of the work being done under the League of Nations Society in Canada, and to make a few suggestions as to the best method of furthering the cause of international good will and understanding in Canada.

The group of agencies not previously mentioned are the international associations for the promotion of Science. Previous to 1914, such organizations had begun to come into existence, but under the stress of the Great War, they completely disintegrated. Not only was that the case, but the men of science in all nations, men who in civilian life were doing the utmost to improve social and industrial conditions, were called to use their knowledge for the destruction of the very society which they had sought to benefit. From 1914 to 1918 the scientific men of all nations devoted their whole energy in devising either new and deadly means of attack upon their enemies, or schemes for defence against enemy designs.

Following the making of peace, the scientists of the Allied Nations formed a group of international scientific societies for the purpose of maintaining the exchange of knowledge which had been begun during the war. International organizations for chemistry, physics, geology, geodesy, etc., were formed, culminating in an International Research Council through which all these various organizations could function. In 1925 the scientific men of the Central Powers were admitted to these organizations, so that today they not only have as member nations all those nations now in the League of Nations, but also those nations which have not yet joined the League. So far as the men devoting their lives to pure science are concerned, these agencies are bringing about a pooling of knowledge in an intimate way never known before.

Of course, industrial organizations work only in the interest of their own particular industry, and the scientific men engaged by Governmental war departments have been forced to keep aloof. There is no question but that these international agencies, made up of men who know so well the deadly effect of science used for destructive purposes, are doing a great work in promoting international good will. The facts they publish with respect to the deadly nature of modern war equipment must of themselves be a great deterrent to future wars.

As pointed out by Dr. Skelton, Canada occupies a somewhat unique position in international affairs, not only because of her position in the British Empire, but because of her isolation from Europe which makes it unnecessary for her to live in the state of fear which is common among European nations. It is generally agreed that her influence in the League of Nations itself has been

very much greater, due to this fact. European nations have regarded her, in comparison with other nations, as being disinterested, and as willing to use her influence in favour of just treatment. In addition, Canada, by the very nature of her situation is becoming a world trading nation. Situated as we are on this continent, it has become necessary that we should reach out in our trade relations as widely as possible. This has made it necessary that we should be understood to be peaceful in intent. The time was when trade could be forced, and was forced by the great nations of the world upon the less powerful nations. That day, however, has gone by. Only by good will and understanding and by the use of scientific methods in production can we hope to enter the markets of the world and maintain the hold we get.

I think it can be truthfully said that Canada is the least military of all the nations of the world. The League of Nations Society had a map prepared which they presented as an exhibit to the Peace Meeting at the Hague last year. The map was intended to show the relation between military forces and trade per capita. Looking at the map, it is a striking fact that the nations which rank highest in military equipment, rank lowest in external trade per capita, while the nations which rank very low, like ourselves, in military equipment, rank at the very top in external trade. Trade and standing armies seem to be an inverse ratio. After all, that would appear to be the natural thing, for nations will prefer to trade with those whom they do not suspect, and with whom they have relations of good will and understanding.

The task before the various agencies working for peace is really to create an anti-war psychology among the peoples of the world. The end of the war saw all the nations paralyzed by the destruction that had taken place, and by a deadly fear of its repetition. This led to the creation of societies in all the countries that joined the League of Nations for the purpose of seeking to mould public opinion in the direction of disarmament. It was seen that the making of a body of international law by the political organizations of the nations must have running parallel with it the making of public opinion favouring settlement by law. Hence, there arose in every country that joined the League of Nations, a League of Nations Society, maintained for the purpose of carrying on educational work, creating public opinion in favour of settlement through the League. It was recognized that this would have to be done on an enormous scale, reaching down to the ordinary citizen. Previously it had been regarded as correct and reasonable that when difficulties reached a certain stage, they should be settled by war. These Societies were formed for the purpose of substituting for that attitude of mind a new attitude of mind, namely, to make it become part of the psychology of the masses in all the League member nations, that settlement by law and justice should be the normal mode. These Societies represent a determination that in future the mentality of the War Lord shall not dominate the peoples of the world.

In Canada a League of Nations Society was formed for the purpose that I have just mentioned. The following statement which was prepared for the purpose of enlisting the sympathy of the public in the League of Nations Society's work, shows in a very brief form the objects which the Society has, and the use to which the money was to be put:—

1. The work carried on by the League of Nations Societies in the member countries is supplementary to that done by the League itself, being entirely educational in character.

2. Every country having membership in the League has such a society devoting itself to creating and maintaining public sympathy with the League through education.

3. To carry on the work of the Society, it is necessary to maintain a central office with sufficient staff to make its work efficient.

4. The Society in Canada has been crippled from the beginning on account of lack of sustained support which would enable it to meet reasonably the demands upon it.

5. The central committee estimate that \$25,000 is required annually to maintain the Society.

6. The money is to be spent—

- (a) In the maintenance of the administrative office, requiring a paid secretary and a small office staff.
- (b) For the printing of "Interdependence," a monthly periodical which goes to all members of the Society telling of the development of the League's work month by month.
- (c) For the printing and distribution of circulars and other material used for publicity purposes.
- (d) In supporting organization work in the smaller communities throughout the country.
- (e) In providing occasional travelling expenses for lecturers on the work of the League.
- (f) For the rental of such office accommodation as is required for headquarters.

7. The associate membership at one dollar a year is only approximately self-sustaining. The Society is now seeking to raise annually \$15,000 by a new form of pledge membership. The object of the pledge is to save the pledge members the annual annoyance of being reminded of having to send a subscription to the Society and to assure the Society of the modest sum necessary to carry on its educational work. The funds derived in this way will be devoted entirely to educational work through schools, lectures, the press, churches, etc.

Canada is to-day paying approximately \$164,000,000 a year as her share of the cost of the last war. The Government of Canada is also paying approximately \$200,000 a year to support the League of Nations at Geneva. It is respectfully suggested that the sum of \$15,000 from the public by special subscription is not a large amount to ask for the support of its educational propaganda, by this means keeping public sentiment abreast of the peace movement in the world and keeping pace with the educational work in other countries.

H. M. TORY,
President.

Perhaps you would bear with me if I enter into a little further detail as to what the Society is at present doing. First, we are doing a great deal in the way of distributing literature in connection with the League. This is not only literature which is prepared by the League of Nations itself at Geneva and purchased by us for distribution, which in itself is a considerable item, but it is also material which we have deemed it wise to prepare in a way suitable for Canadian readers. Last year we distributed 50,000 copies of a booklet, "A New World." Just the other day we received an order for 2,000 additional copies of this booklet to be used in the schools of Canada. It was published in both an English and French edition, and there has been a great demand for it. We also published "An Outline of the League of Nations, Its Origin, Accomplishments and Aims." Copies of each of these are submitted.

Further a definite effort has been made to stimulate interest in the schools, colleges, and universities of the country. The following information was gathered last year as to what is now going on in our schools, colleges, and universities, and is I think of sufficient interest to the Committee to make it part of this report:

EDUCATIONAL WORK

That important phase of the work of the Society, the making known of the League to the younger generation, is making progress but there is still much to be done in this direction.

DEPARTMENTS OF EDUCATION

Generally speaking the Departments of Education of the various provinces have been ready to co-operate with, or consider suggestions coming from, this Society. From the most recent survey made, the situation in the various Provinces is as follows:

Alberta

In the course of studies laid down by the Department of Education of Alberta, the purposes and work of the League of Nations are emphasized in Grade VIII, and the text-book, "A New History of Great Britain and Canada," by Wallace, treats the subject. There is also for Grades X, XI and XII as a supplementary text, the booklet, "A New World, or the League of Nations," published by the League of Nations Society in Canada.

British Columbia

Matriculation students are required by the Department of Education of British Columbia to make a special study of the provisions of the Treaty of Versailles and of the work of the League of Nations. The students and the teachers have been supplied with copies of "A New World or the League of Nations." The Matriculation Examination in June contains at least one question in reference to the matter. The Department provides teachers in charge of the senior grades of the elementary schools with copies of the handbook in order that they may keep their pupils informed on the work of the League.

Manitoba.

"A New World or the League of Nations" has been made a part of the course in History for Grade X, by the Department of Education in Manitoba. A special series of articles on the work of the League of Nations has been published monthly in the Western School Journal.

New Brunswick

In New Brunswick in one of the School Readers there is a chapter on the League of Nations, and it is expected that one will be included in the text book on Civics. In addition to this the teachers take up the matter of the League in the course of their work. Both teachers and pupils have received other instruction on the subject from a variety of sources.

Nova Scotia

The Department of Education of Nova Scotia has prescribed the book, "A New World or the League of Nations" for use in each of the high school grades in Nova Scotia schools. This booklet supplements the regular history text books. Each provincial examination contains at least one question on the structure, functions, or achievements of the League.

The Department conducts a Summer school each year, which is attended by teachers from all over the Province. A course in Government is given at this school and part of this course is devoted to the organization and work of the League of Nations.

The Department is giving a series of Educational Broadcasting to public schools. Mention is made of the work of the League in each of the programs so broadcast.

Ontario

In September, 1928, a new authorized Canadian History entitled "A First Book of Canadian History" was introduced into the Public and Separate Schools by the Ontario Department of Education. Chapter 16 of this text has the title "Making of Peace," and in this chapter frequent mention is made of the League of Nations and the work of the League up to the present time. This text book is part of the official course of study for the High School Entrance Examination in Canadian History.

On the inside cover of the Daily Register for Public and Separate schools the preamble of the Covenant of the League of Nations has been printed.

A study of current events is required in the senior grades of the Public and Separate Schools, and in this connection the activities of the League of Nations receive frequent attention.

The Society has recently been assured by the Minister of Education that he proposes to provide adequate treatment of the work of the League of Nations in the next High School History of Canada.

Prince Edward Island

The Department of Education of Prince Edward Island has authorized the study of the League of Nations and requires that an examination be passed in it at the end of Grade VIII and also at the end of Grade X. A booklet, which forms the subject matter, was printed and distributed to all schools for the Grade VIII examination, and Grade X examination may include current literature dealing with this subject. In this way the subject has been made compulsory in all the public schools of the Province.

Quebec

In the province of Quebec it has been felt that the ordinary work of the schools demands such constant attention from the teachers that many objects of a higher character, such as that of the League of Nations is brought to the attention of the teachers from time to time in the *Educational Record*. This publication goes to every Protestant School throughout the province.

Saskatchewan

In the province of Saskatchewan, the League of Nations is a definite topic for instruction in Grade XI History of the Course of Studies for High Schools.

A pamphlet entitled "The League of Nations", has been placed in the hands of each teacher in the province. In addition to this, students attending the Normal Schools receive instruction respecting the League of Nations. The Department has reason to believe that teachers throughout the province are giving attention to this matter.

WORK IN THE UNIVERSITIES

A continually growing interest is being evinced by the faculty, and students in the various universities and the requests for information from these sources are constantly increasing. It is hoped that ultimately some course on the League of Nations and International Relations generally will be given in every university in Canada.

The following is a survey of the work being carried on by the Universities throughout the country:—

University of Alberta

There is no course on International Relations but Freshmen are taught about the League at the end of their course in Modern History. The League is also taught at the end of a Senior course on the history of the last one hundred years.

Bishop's College

Although there is no special course on the League of Nations it is touched on frequently in the course on Modern European History.

Laval University

The subject of the work of the League of Nations is widely discussed in different courses; it is first taken in the Faculty of Arts in History, then in the Second Year of Philosophy with the study of Sociology and also in the Faculty of Law.

McGill

The organization and work of the League are studied in the Faculty of Law as a part of the course in International Law and in the Department of Political Science; special stress is laid on the activities of the Economic and Financial section and of the International Labour Organization. It is expected that, in the near future, the Department of History will extend its courses in such a way as to embrace post-war international organization.

Montreal University

In the Faculty of Law in the course in International Law many lectures are given on the League and its work. At examinations several questions are based on the new features of International Law; the Covenant of the League, the Hague Tribunal, Arbitration, etc.

Mount Allison University

Lectures on the League, its origin, organization, various activities and work are given in the History Course. This course of lectures was also given at a summer school.

In 1929 the University held a Model Assembly of the League which necessitated a review of the whole work of the League for the year. The University is participating in a Model Assembly to be held in Halifax in March.

St. Joseph's University

The work of the League is taught in the classes of Canadian History and important decisions of the League are brought to the attention of the students.

University of Saskatchewan

The League of Nations is not directly a subject of any of the history classes, although it is alluded to and discussed in three classes, European History of the Nineteenth Century, Diplomatic History of Europe 1870-1914 and Canadian History. A League of Nations group composed of students meets regularly and discusses various phases of international life, which encourages interest in the League among the students.

University of Toronto

The course in Politics and Law includes in the fourth year, one full course of three hours a week for the whole of the year on International Law. This includes a consideration of the League of Nations, the Permanent Court and the International Labour Office. There are many student organizations and clubs each dealing with and discussing matters of international interest, including the League of Nations and its activity. It is hoped that an additional course will be arranged in the third year in International Law, which would provide for a further opportunity of considering the work of the League.

University of Western Ontario

The League of Nations is definitely studied in connection with two courses in the Department of Economics and Political Science; one in Labour Problems,

dealing more especially with the International Labour Bureau; the other, introductory to the Study of Political Science, dealing with the work of the League from the point of view of International Law.

In addition we have been promoting model assemblies of the League of Nations among the college groups. In the last two years, four of these model assemblies have been held in Canada, one at Dalhousie University, one at Mount Allison University, one at the University of Saskatchewan, and one at the University of Toronto. The two in the Maritime provinces brought together representatives of all Maritime province colleges. The one at Saskatoon brought together representatives of the Central Western provinces, and the model assembly at the University of Toronto had seventeen universities represented, a number of these being universities in the United States. I had the good fortune to be present at two of these model assemblies, and was tremendously impressed with the part they were playing in making the students of the university acquainted with the difficulties and grievances of the various nations of the world. In conducting them, an individual is selected to represent one of the nations of the League. To him is assigned the duty of studying carefully the point of view of that nation as expressed in discussions in the Assembly of the League of Nations itself. The result is that a group of students in each University have become quite familiar with the ideals that find expression in the League.

Last year the Society published a little booklet on Model Assemblies, which is made available to all schools and colleges which are interested in promoting these organizations. A copy is enclosed herewith which it might be of interest for members of the assemblies to see.

In addition to the foregoing, weekly material has been prepared and sent out to the press of Canada. This material has gone in the form of editorials and news items. It has been used widely, especially by the weekly press, and in this way is reaching out into the country districts.

Further, an effort has been made to hold public meetings in most of the larger centres of the country. In this the Society has been co-operating with the Canadian Club and the Service Clubs. Organizations like the I.O.D.E., the National Council of Women and the Women's Institutes have been especially interested in arranging these meetings.

Again I would call your attention to the map that was prepared by Mr. Lynch of the Natural Resources Intelligence Department for the League of Nations Society for the peace exhibit at the Hague. I may add that this map made such an impression in Europe that the authorities at the Hague asked to purchase it from the Society that it might be a part of their permanent exhibit. The map as prepared of course was a large wall map done in colours. We immediately made a present of it to the Hague authorities, and have since been informed that it is being used as part of the Peace Exhibit being sent to the various capitals of Europe. This I think can surely be considered as very useful propaganda from the point of view of creating in Europe that mental attitude toward peace, to which reference has already been made.

Now with regard to the best way in which the Dominion Government could assist in promoting the ideals which are aimed at by the Resolution before the House of Commons, I should like to make just a short statement.

First, I think the establishment of a small number of scholarships could be made exceedingly useful. It should not be forgotten that persons to get the full benefit of such scholarships must be well grounded in History and Political Science before they could hope to become expert in international affairs. These scholarships would belong rather to the graduate student class than to the undergraduate class. I am convinced that the foundation work in undergraduate courses is at present being well laid in most of our universities. May I re-

spectfully suggest that these scholarships might very well be made available in Canada in any university where graduate work of the type required was being given. We have a similar scheme now in operation in connection with the National Research Council for the promotion of scientific studies. At first the thought was that these scholarships should be given to students for foreign study, but it was decided ultimately to make them available first in Canadian universities, provided suitable graduate instruction could be given. The result of the use of these scholarships has been that there has been a gradual development of work for graduate students in Canada, so that to-day, at least for the fundamental sciences of Physics and Chemistry, it is unnecessary for students to go abroad in order to obtain the Doctor's degree unless they desire very special studies. This development of graduate work has resulted in a large percentage of our ablest students remaining in Canada for their higher studies and their research training, thus making them more available for our Canadian institutions and Government departments. Of the 200 men who have already been trained, over 75 per cent are now at work in the higher technical services of Canada. I would suggest that scholarships for the study of international problems might very well in the first instance be made available in Canada, associated, as in the Research Council case, with a very limited number of travelling scholarships for special men to study abroad. In this way we would not only stimulate the building up of our own higher institutions, but help to bring into the country more information on major international problems.

Secondly, I would suggest that the Dominion Government might undertake the creation of a great central library in Ottawa as a second contribution to the same idea. Here again I am thinking in terms of the plan which we are working in the National Research Council. A survey of the library equipment available in Canada showed us that there was a great need of additional library equipment for research workers in this country. The National Research Council has, therefore, undertaken the development of a national scientific library, co-operating in this with the Parliamentary Library and the various departmental libraries now available in Ottawa. The material for this library will be made available to scientific workers anywhere in Canada, either by means of the loan of books and periodicals, or by photostating important scientific material as required. For this purpose a Research Information Division has been established under the National Research Council organization. It is respectfully suggested that a similar plan would make available to such of the universities of Canada as wished to take advantage of it, the material required for higher studies. A complete collection of historical documents on international relations, covering Western Europe and America could, at a reasonable cost, be made available.

To have them in Ottawa would have the great additional advantage that the material would be available to the Department of External Affairs, and would make possible the holding of a conference on international relations, or even summer schools, if it appeared wise later so to do.

Third, I would suggest that the League of Nations Society in Canada might be further assisted. I agree entirely with the statement made by other witnesses that the League of Nations Society should be, in the main, a publicly supported society. As previously stated, its work is educational rather than political, its purpose being to parallel the political work of the League with a corresponding growth of public opinion. The work in colleges and universities of necessity reaches only a few who may ultimately become leaders in public thought. The League of Nations Society aims at bringing to bear upon the masses of the people, views of world peace which may become possible within the political arena. At the present moment it has a membership of approximately 12,000, each paying in one dollar per year, for which they receive in return "Interdependence," the

monthly circular mentioned earlier in this Memorandum. In addition, there are a certain number of members paying in \$2.50 per year, who receive in return the monthly summary of the League. Altogether, the League has raised and is spending annually through public subscriptions just over \$20,000 a year. Of this amount the Government at present makes a grant of \$3,000, \$750 of which is returned in the form of publications, the balance just about covering the cost of postage. Certainly these public subscriptions should be maintained and enlarged, but it is respectfully suggested that Parliament might be willing to make a grant to the League of Nations Society on a percentage basis of the amount raised through public subscription, with a maximum limit fixed. If this were done the way would be quite clear to carry on intensively the work which the Society has now in hand, and enable them to maintain one Field Secretary who would not only be useful in spreading knowledge himself, but would be able to undertake the raising of funds from the public, the organization of meetings, and the handling of the work of publicity.

April 23, 1930.

Mr. C. R. McINTOSH, M.P.,
Chairman,

Committee on Industrial and International Relations,
House of Commons,
Ottawa, Ontario.

Dear Sir,—My attention has been called to the investigation by your Committee of Miss McPhail's motion regarding the establishment of chairs for the teaching of International Relations. I take the liberty of writing you as Chairman of the Committee to add my voice to the evidence put before your Committee by Professor MacKenzie and Dean Corbett.

I have taught the subjects of International Law and Relations now for some six years—at Princeton and Cornell Universities and here at Dalhousie. Since my return to Canada three years ago, I have been more and more impressed with our deficiencies in teaching International Relations in Canada. In the first place, there is relatively little attention given to the field in our universities. Secondly, the facilities for teaching the subject in Canada are utterly inadequate. Not a single library is adequately equipped for research work, except in isolated subjects. In this respect Eastern Canada is, perhaps, the worst section of Canada. For example, so far as I am aware, there is no collection of the British Accounts and Papers, or British, Foreign and State Papers, or British Hansard, in the Maritime Provinces. Nor is there any complete collection of the League of Nations papers, nor American Government Documents.

This condition, it will readily be seen, reacts unfavourably on teaching students and prevents any serious research work, either in the field of international or British imperial relations.

As I see it, we have three problems before us in Canada in education for playing our role in foreign affairs wisely and well.

I. Teaching undergraduates in our universities and colleges to take their part as citizens on graduation. This can and is being done with partial success in some institutions without elaborate library facilities. It could be greatly improved by larger staff and better library equipment.

II. Adult education. The general public must be educated to understand and appreciate our opportunities and responsibilities to the Empire and to other countries. The daily press and periodical literature are mediums for this, as well as public lectures and discussion groups. We are, however, inadequately supplied with journalists who really understand foreign or imperial affairs and can interpret events satisfactorily. This deficiency can, of course,

only be made good in time and through training. Another means, which I am glad to see has been emphasized before the Committee, is the public conference method as is used at Williamstown. Some such institution would be of great advantage to Canada.

III. We need to train experts for public service, for teaching, for research, for journalism, and other activities. At present there are really no adequate facilities for this in this country. It would entail the building up of library equipment and securing a staff of trained teachers or experts. In view of the decentralized nature of education in Canada and of the size of our country, the provision of suitable facilities at present may be out of the question, though they might be built up gradually by establishing chairs in International Relations, as Miss McPhail's motion suggests, and by improving our libraries, or beginning a national library and research staff at say Ottawa, where summer work could be encouraged.

Meantime a system of scholarships for students to attend universities abroad, e.g., London, Paris, Berlin, Geneva, and Harvard, Johns Hopkins, etc., in the United States, would, in my opinion, be a thoroughly sound method of getting experts trained at a minimum of cost and preparing them for public or private service, under conditions we could not hope to duplicate in Canada for years.

If your Committee has not yet completed its investigations, and if written testimony of this sort is of any use or advantage, I should be only too willing to go on record as above.

Very truly yours,

R. A. MacKAY,
Professor of Political Science.

UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

PRESIDENT'S OFFICE

EDMONTON, April 15, 1930.
ALBERTA, CANADA.

Mr. C. R. McINTOSH, M.P.,
Chairman,

Committee on Industrial and International Relations,
House of Commons,
Ottawa, Ontario.

Dear Sir,—I have your letter of March 28 and have read Dr. Skelton's statement before the Committee on Industrial and International Relations. My feeling is that scholarships sufficient in attractiveness to give our best men an opportunity to spend some time at Geneva and elsewhere in Europe would on the whole be the best service that could be provided to stimulate interest and knowledge in international affairs. As a rule it is not possible for universities with their relatively limited finances to provide such scholarships and we have to rely on public-minded citizens who are interested in this work or the Dominion of Canada to help out in financing such schemes. It might well be possible that an energetic committee could raise the nucleus of an endowment for scholarships in the universities and in that event the Dominion of Canada might be prepared to give assistance as well. As far as chairs are concerned I concur very fully with Dr. Skelton that unless in some one centre for Canada this plan would not be advisable.

Very truly yours,

ROBT. C. WALLACE,
President.

UNIVERSITY OF SASKATCHEWAN

PRESIDENT'S OFFICE

SASKATOON, SASKATCHEWAN,

April 14, 1930.

Mr. C. R. McINTOSH, M.P.,
Chairman,

Committee on Industrial and International Relations,
House of Commons,
Ottawa, Ontario.

Dear Sir,—I read yesterday Dr. Skelton's evidence before your committee and believe his suggestions are eminently wise, but it seems to me the greatest assistance could be derived from travelling scholarships enabling students and teachers of the University to see conditions at Geneva and Europe at first hand. This opinion is given because of our experience here.

Two students and one Professor, Mr. Simpson, Professor of History, were enabled to visit Geneva and study conditions in Europe and they returned ardent advocates of the League of Nations and firmly convinced of the necessity of promoting a better understanding among peoples of the world. Some of the fruits of their observations have already become evident in the University. A study group of able young men, numbering about twenty, has been formed by Mr. Simpson and meets regularly for the study of international questions. He also put on last year a very interesting representation of a meeting of the Assembly of the League in which about thirty or forty nations were represented. The addresses of Briand, Stresseman and Lord Cecil were given as they would be at the League and translated by a member of the staff of the University. The attendance and interest was very great and it had an exceedingly good effect upon the representatives of the different nationalities.

This is only an illustration of the benefits to be derived by young folk who come into close contact with the workings of the League for peace and with the conditions in Europe.

I also thoroughly agree with the suggestions of Dr. Skelton with regard to the training of men for public service. There is an increasing number of young men who are political minded and are interested in political problems and if directed rightly and equipped with proper training will be a great service to the country.

The establishment of Professorships undoubtedly would promote the objects you have in view but their costs may be prohibitive. If so, it might be possible to establish travelling Lectureships whereby one person could give courses in more than one University. It would be well that such courses should occupy about one-half year's time, so that students taking them could be given credit for a degree and could be encouraged to study very thoroughly the subjects taken up in these courses.

Sincerely yours,

WALTER C. MURRAY,

President.

C. R. McINTOSH, M.P.,
House of Commons,
Ottawa, Ont.

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